

کوردستان

ئۆرگانى کۆمەڵەى خوێندکارانى کورد لە ئەوروپا

ژمارە (۱-۱۷)

مارتى ۱۹۵۸-۱۹۷۴

نەوزاد عەلى ئەحمەد

نامادەى کردوو و پيشه‌کى بۆ نووسيوه

پروژه‌ى هاو به‌ش



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لە ئامادە كۆرۈنى پىنگە

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كوردستان

KURDISTAN

گۇقارى كۆمهلهي خويندكارانى كورد له نه وروپا

مارتى ۱۹۵۸-۱۹۷۴

نهوزاد عهلى نهحمهه

ئامادهي كردروه و پيشهككي بۇ نووسيوه

پېرژەي هاوبهش



بنكهی ژین

بنكهی ژین و نهكادیمیای هۆشیاری و ییگهیانندی كادیران

سلیمانی ۲۰۱۱

منتدی إقرأ الثقافي

۰۷۰,۹۹۱۵۹۷

۶۵۸ ئەخمەد، ئەزاد ئەلى

كوردستان گۇفارى كۆمەلەي خويندكارانى كورد لە ئەوروپا/ ئامادەكردنى ئەزاد ئەلى ئەخمەد.

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۱- مېژوو- پۇژنامەوانىيە كوردى.

۲- ئاوينىشان.

ئەكادىمىيەي ھۆشيارى و پىنگەياندىنى كادىران

دامەزراۋەيەكى كەلتورىيە بەيىنى بىرپارى كۆنگرەي سىنى سالى ۲۰۱۰ يەككىتىي نىشتىمانىي كوردستان دامەزراۋە، ئەركەكەي بىرىتىيە لە دەستەبەركردنى پىداۋىستىيەكانى ھۆشياركردنەۋەي سىياسى، فراۋان كردنى چوارچىۋەكانى رۆشنىبىرىي گىشتى، تۆكەكردنى بەھاكانى دىموكراسى و مافى مۇۋۇ و دادى كۆمەلايەتى لەكۆمەلدا، ئاۋتوتى كوردنى مەسەلەكانى بىرى ھاۋچەرخ و دابىن كردنى كەرەستەي پىۋىست بۇ پىنگەياندىنى كادىران لە بۈرە ھەمەجۋرەكاندا.

بنكەي ژين

بۇ بوۋژاندنەۋەي كەلەپوۋرى بەلگەنامەيى و پۇژنامەوانىيە كوردى

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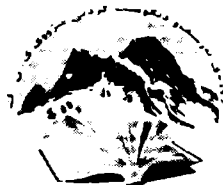
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ژماره‌کانی گوڤاری کوردستان

KURDISTAN کوردستان	١	مارتی ١٩٥٨
KURDISTAN	...	NOVEMBER 1958
کُردستان	...	
KURDISTAN	IV	APRIL 1959
KURDISTAN	V	NOVEMBER 1959
KURDISTAN	VI	JULY 1960
KURDISTAN	VII & VIII	1961
KURDISTAN	IX & X	JULY 1965
KURDISTAN	XI & XII	DECEMBER 1967
KURDISTAN	XIII	1969
KURDISTAN	14	1970
KURDISTAN	15	NEWROZ 2583
		21 MARZ 1971
KURDISTAN	XVII	1974

پېښه کی

ماوهیهک له مەوبەر، کتیبی "له بهلگه نامه کانی کۆمهلهی خویندکارانی کورد له ئه وروپا" م له لایه ن (بنکه ی ژین بۆ بووژاندنه وه ی که له پووری به لگه نامه یی و پۆژنامه وانیی کوردی) یه وه له سلیمانی چاپ و بلاو کرایه وه. له و کتیبه دا پامگه یاندوه، دووم هه ولم بۆ پاراستن و زیندوو راگرتنی به لگه نامه کانی کۆمه له ی ناوبراو، بریتی ده بیته له به چاپ گه یاندنه وه ی ژماره کانی گۆقاری "کوردستان" که کۆمه له ی خویندکارانی کورد له ئه وروپا بلاوی کردوه و ته وه.

گۆقاری کوردستان سالانی ۱۹۵۸-۱۹۷۴، ۱۷ ژماره ی ئی ده رچوه. له م کتیبه دا جاریکی تر سه رجه می ژماره کانی گۆقاری ناوبراو چاپ ده که مه وه، به داخه وه ته نیا ژماره ۱۶ ی تیدا نییه، که نه متوانی بیدۆزمه وه. "کوردستان" تانیستاش یه کیکه له گۆقاره هه ره ده وله مه نده کانی کوردی که له ئه وروپا ده رچوو بیت، به تایبه تیش بۆ خوینه رانی ئینگلیزی زمان، چونکه زۆربه ی ژماره کانی به زمانی ئینگلیزی ده رچوه. به خویندنه وه ی بابته کانی ئه و گۆقاره، ئینجا ئاست و سه نگی نیی گۆقاره که و خه باتی کۆمه له ی خویندکارانی کورد له ئه وروپا مان بۆ ده رده که ویت.

ئه م گۆقاره، له باری هه م ناوه بۆ که وه ده وله مه نده، هه م هونه ری پۆژنامه گه رییه وه کاری وردی پۆژنامه گه ریی بۆ کراوه، به تایبه تیش له پووی دیزاین و گرنگیدان به بلاو کردنه وه ی وینه وه. به چاپ کردنه وه ی ژماره کانی گۆقاری کوردستان، به ره مه میکی گرنگی پۆژنامه گه ریی کوردی له فه وتان پزگار کرا و هیوادارم ببیته سه رچاوه یه کی به سوود بۆ لیکۆله ران و پسپۆرانی بواری پۆژنامه گه ر.

بۆ دۆزینه وه ی ژماره کانی ئه و گۆقاره ئه رک و ره نجیکی زۆرم کیشا، چونکه ژماره کانی به جۆریک په رت و بلاو ببوونه وه، ده سته که وتنیان ئه وه نده ئاسان نه بوو، سه رته که لای کاک عومه ر شیخموس ژماره (۱) م دۆزییه وه، زۆر دلخۆش بووم، هه ر ئه و به ریزه پینی راگه یاندم زۆربه ی هه ره زۆری ژماره کانی پاراستوه. سه یرم کرد، کاک عومه ر له هه ر ۱۷ ژماره که چه ند ژماره یه کی نییه. سه رته که وک کاریک بریارم دا ته نیا ئه و ژمارانه چاپ بکه م که ده ستم که وتوون، به لام که سه رم له کوردستان دا، زۆربه ی براده ران، به تایبه تیش براده رانی بنکه ی ژین، پێیان باش بوو هه ول بدریت هه موو ژماره کان بدۆزینه وه. ئیتر له کوردستانیش که و ته سؤراخکردنی ژماره کان، ئه وه بوو ژماره ییکی تایبه ته که سالانی ۱۹۵۸ ده رچوه، له لای "کاکه مه م بۆتانی" دۆزییه وه و ژماره ۶ له لای کاک جه مال خه زنده ار و ژماره ییکی تایبه ت و ژماره ۷-۸ کاک عه بدوللا زه نگه نه کۆمه کی کردم و ژماره ۱۲ یش مامۆستا ره فیق سالج هه ببوو. به و شیوه یه زۆربه ی ژماره کان دۆزرایه وه، ته نیا ژماره ۱۶ نه بیت، هه ر بۆیه پنیوسته زۆر سوپاسی کاک عومه ر شیخموس بکه م، که له م کتیبه دا بۆ دۆزینه وه ی ژماره کان به شی شیری به ر ده که ویت. هه ره ها زۆر سوپاسی هه رییه که له کاک عه بدوللا زه نگه نه، مامۆستا ره فیق، جه مال خه زنده ار خاوه نی سه نته ری

لىكۆلىنەۋەي پۇرنامەگەرىي كوردى و كاك مەم بۇتانى بىكەم كە لە بەرھەمەينانى ئەم كىتەبەدا يارمەتەييان داوم.
ھەرۋەھا زۇر سوپاسى مامۇستا ەلى عوسمان يەعقوب دەكەم كە كورتە نووسىنەكەمى بۇ ئەم كىتەبەم ۋەرگىپرايە
سەر زمانى ئىنگلىزى.

نەوزاد ەلى ئەحمەد

ستۇكھولم – سۋېد

۲۰۰۹/۶/۱۶

Nawzad.ali@hotmail.com

كورتە مېژووېنكى بىزاقى خويندكارانى كورد لە دەرەو

ئەگەرچى كوردستان ناوھند و ھەناوى دامەزراندنى بزووتنەوھى سىياسى و پىڭخراوى حىزى كوردى بوو، بەلام ئەگەر ئەستەنبوول ۋەك پايتەختىكى پىنيسانسى مەعريفى كوردى لە (۱۹۰۸-۱۹۲۴)دا لەو رستەيە دەر بەھايىن، ئەوا ئەوروپا مەلەبەندى دامەزراندن و پاگەياندىنى بزووتنەوھى خويندكارانى كورد بوو، ھەرچەندە سالى ۱۹۴۶ دواى جاپدانى كۆمارى كوردستان لە مەھاباد كۆمەلەيەك بە ناوى (يىكەتى جەوانانى ديموكرات)ھوھ دامەزرا، گوڤارى خۇشيان ھەبوو، بەلام كۆمەلەيەكى تايبەت نەبوو بە خويندكاران. ئەمە و سالى ۱۹۱۳ لىقك بۇ پىڭخراوى (كورد تەلەبە ھىڭى جەمعيەتى) لە شارى (لۆزان)ى سويسرا لەلەين جەميل پاشاى دياربەكرىيەوھ دامەزراو. پاش ئەم ھەولە، كامەران بەدرخان سەنتەرىكى بۇ توڭرەنەوھ بە ناوى سەنتەرى توڭرەنەوھ كوردىيەكان دامەزراندوھ و بە ھاوكارىي چەند خويندكارىك گوڤارىكى بە زمانى فەرەنسى و ئىنگلىزى بلاو كردوھتەوھ. ھەرەھا سالى ۱۹۴۹، ھەر لە شارى (لۆزان)ى ولاتى سويسرا، بە دەستپىشخەرىي نوورەددىن زازاو عيسمەت شەرىف وانلى كۆمەلەي (لاوانى ديموكراتى كورد لە ئەوروپا) دامەزرا و زياتر گىنگىي بە ژيانى پىڭخراوھىيى خويندكاران داوھ. بۆچوونى دوو نووسەر سەبارەت بەم پىڭخراوھ ۋەردەگرين:

((سالى ۱۹۴۹ چەند خويندكارىكى دلسۆزى كورد كە ئەوكاتە لە ئەوروپا ئەيانخويند، لەوانە: نوورەددىن زازا، عيسمەت شەرىف وانلى، شەوكەت عەقراوى، عەبدوللا قادىر. بىريان لەوھ كردەوھ كە پىڭخراوىك بۇ خويندكارانى كورد لە ئەوروپا دابەزىنن، تا ئەمانىش بتوانن ۋەك خويندكارانى ولاتانى ترشان بەشانى خويندكارانى جىھان تىبكوشن و ھەول بەدن مەسەلەي گەل و نىشتەمانەكەيان بە گەلانى جىھان بناسىنن، لەبەر كەمى ژمارەي خويندكارانى كورد لەوكاتەدا و لەبەر ئەوھى ئەو سەردەمە ئەو بىروباوەرە زياتر باو بوو كە خويندكارانى ھەر ولاتىك دەبى لەو پىڭخراوھەدا كار بكەن كە بە ناوى دەولەتەكانىيەنەوھ ناو نراوھ، ئەم كۆمەلەيە ئەوھەندە بىرى نەكرد و پاش چەند سالىك لەناوچوو)). بەلام د. جەمال نەبەر لەپال ئەو ناوانەي پيشەوھەدا، ناوى ئەوھەممانى قاسملوو و ئەحمەدى براى قاسملووشى ھىناوھ.

((لە ۱۹۴۹دا لە لۆزان -سويسرا- پىنچ قوتابىي كورد لەيەكتر كۆ دەبنەوھ و بىريار دەدەن كۆمەلەيەكى قوتابيان لە ئەوروپا دروست بكەن، ھىچ نەبى بۇ پيشوازىكردن لەو قوتابىيە كوردانەي كە تازە دەگەنە ئەوروپا، ھەرەھا لەپىناوى بلاوكردەنەوھى دەنگوباس و زانىارى لە بارەي كىشەي كوردەوھ لەناو زانكۆكانى ئەوروپا و ناو قوتابىيانى كوردى لە ئەوروپادا، عيسمەت شەرىف وانلى و نوورەددىن زازا، كە دوو پرووناكبير و سىياسەتەمدارى ديارى كوردن، سەرقاڤلە و پىيەرى ئەو قوتابىيانە بوون، كۆمەلەكەيان دامەزراند بە ناوى كۆمەلەي لاوانى ديموكراتى كوردەوھ لە ئەوروپا.

ئەم پىڭخراوھ كار و چالاكى زۆر ديار و بەناوبانگى نەواند، بەلام ھەولنىكى سەرەتايى گەشە لە مېژووى بىزاقى خويندكاراندا لە ئەوروپا و بووھ بناغەيەك بۇ گەلەلەي بىرى كاركردن بۇ دامەزراندن و پاگەياندىنى پىڭخراوېنكى

باشتر و يەگرتووتر و پېرېرھەمتر (ھەقدە خویندکاری کورد کە ئەوکاتە لە ئەوروپا ئەیانخویند، بە ھاندان و دەستپیشخەری دکتۆر نوورەدین زازا لە ۱۰ تا ۱۶ ی ئابی ۱۹۵۶ لە شارى قیزیان لە ئەلمانیای پۆژئاوا کۆبوونەووە و بریاریان دا کۆمەلەیک بۆ خوین دابەمزینن، بەلام لەبەر ئەوەی ھەموو بەشداریوانی کۆبوونەووەکە لەسەر ئەوە یەک نەبوون کە خویندکارانی کوردیش مافی ئەوھیان ھەیە وەک خویندکارانی ھەموو وڵاتانی جیھان پێکھراویکی تایبەتی خوین ھەبێت، پاش گێرمە و کیشەیکى زۆر کە ھەوت پۆژی خایاند، ئەمجا بریاریان دا پێکھراویکی پۆشنیری بۆ خویندکارانی کورد دابەمزینن بە ناوی (کۆمەلەى پۆشنیری خویندکارانی کورد لە ئەوروپا) وە کە تەنیا لە پووی پۆشنیری و گۆپنەوہی زانیارییەوہ پەيوەندى نیوان خویندکارانی کورد لە ئەوروپا پێک بخت و ھەقى بەسەر سیاسەت و تیکۆشانی سیاسى و خەباتى نەتەوہی کوردەوہ نەبێت).

ئەم پێکھراوہ لە کۆنگرەى سێدا بە دواوہ. ناوی خوێ گۆپی و کردی بە (کۆمەلەى خویندکارانی کورد لە ئەوروپا) و سالانە کۆنگرەى خوێ بەستووە و تا ھەرەسێ سالی ۱۹۷۵ بە یەگرتووی مایەوہ و لەو ماوہیەدا شازدە کۆنگرەى بەستووە.

چەند دێرێک دەریارەى کۆمەلەى خویندکارانی کورد لە ئەوروپا

- وہک لەپیشەوہ ئامازم پێدا، ھەقدە خویندکاری کورد کە ئەوکاتە لە ئەوروپا دەیانخویند، ئەم پێکھراوہیان بە ناوی (کۆمەلەى پۆشنیری خوینکارانی کورد لە ئەوروپا) وە دامەزراند.
- ئەم پێکھراوہ لە کۆنگرەى سێدا بە دواوہ. ناوی خوێ گۆپی و کردی بە (کۆمەلەى خویندکارانی کورد لە ئەوروپا) و سالانە کۆنگرەى خوێ بەستووە.
- * کۆنگرەى دامەزراندن، ۱۰-۱۶/۸/۱۹۵۶ لە ئەلمانیای فیدرال، ھەقدە خویندکار بەشدار بوون.
 - * کۆنگرەى دووہم، ۲-۴/۱/۱۹۵۸، بەریتانیا، بیست و دوو خویندکار تییدا بەشدار بوون.
 - * کۆنگرەى سێیەم، ۴-۸/۸/۱۹۵۸، ئەلمانیای پۆژئاوا. ھەقدە خویندکار تییدا بەشدار بوون.
 - لەم کۆنگرەىدا ناوی کۆمەلەکە کرا بە (کۆمەلەى خویندکارانی کورد لە ئەوروپا).
 - * کۆنگرەى چوارەم، ۲۳-۲۶/۷/۱۹۵۹ نەمسا، چل خویندکار بەشدار بوون.
 - * کۆنگرەى پینجەم، ۲۱-۲۶/۸/۱۹۶۰، بەرلینی پۆژئاوا، ھەفتا و دوو خویندکار بەشدارى کۆنگرەیان کرد.
 - * کۆنگرەى شەشەم، ۲۱-۲۶/۸/۱۹۶۱ ئەلمانیای فیدرال، سەد و نۆ خویندکار بەشدار بوون.
 - * کۆنگرەى ھەوتەم، ۹-۱۵/۸/۱۹۶۲ ئەلمانیای فیدرال، سەد و دە خویندکار بەشدار بوون.
 - * کۆنگرەى ھەشتەم، ۹-۱۵/۸/۱۹۶۳ ئەلمانیای پۆژئاوا، سەد و پەنجاشەش خویندکار بەشدار بوون.
 - * کۆنگرەى نۆیەم، ۳-۶/۸/۱۹۶۴ ئەلمانیا، سەد و ھەشتا و سێ خویندکار بەشدار بوون.
 - * کۆنگرەى دەیەم، ۱۷-۲۲/۸/۱۹۶۵، بەرلینی پۆژئاوا، سەد و بیست و پینج خویندکار بەشدار بوون.
 - * کۆنگرەى یازدەم، ۲۶-۳۰/۸/۱۹۶۶، بەرلینی پۆژئاوا. سەد و ھەقدە خویندکار بەشدار بوون.
 - * کۆنگرەى دوازدەم، ۲۷-۳۱/۱۲/۱۹۶۷، بەلگرا.

- * كۆنگرەى سىياز دەم، ۱۹۶۹/۸/۱۶-۱۱، بەرلىنى پۇژئاوا.
- * كۆنگرەى چوارەم، ۱۹۷۰/۸/۵-۱، سوید.
- * كۆنگرەى پاز دەم، ۱۹۷۲/۸/۱۹-۱۵، پۇمانیا.
- * كۆنگرەى شاز دەم، ۱۹۷۳/۸/۲۰-۱۶، بەرلىنى پۇژئاوا.
- * كۆنگرەى خەقدە، ۱۹۷۵/۸/۲۸-۲۷، بەرلىنى پۇژئاوا، ئەم كۆنگرەىيە نەيتوانى ریزەكانى كۆمەلە بە يەككەرتوویى بپاریزیت و لەبەر يەك هەلۆەشایەو.

كۆمەلەى خویندكارانى كورد لە ئەوروپا، خاوەنى گەنجینەيەكى دەولەمەندە لە بواری پۇژنامەگەری كوردیدا، چەندان گۇقار و بلاوكراوەى بە زمانەكانى كوردی، ئینگلیزی، فەرەنسى ھۆلەندى، عەرەبى، ئىتالى، فارسى، توركى، ... دەر كردوو. كە دیارترین بەرمەى گۇقارى "كوردستان"ە، ژمارە ئۆرگینالەكانى لەم كۆمەلەدا كۆكراونەتەو.

گۇقارى كوردستان، يەكەمین ژمارەى سالى ۱۹۵۸ دەرچوو و دوا ژمارەيش سالى ۱۹۷۴. لەو ماوەیدا ۱۷ ژمارەى ئى دەرچوو كە زۆرەى ھەرە زۆرى ژمارەكانى بە زمانى ئینگلیزییە. بۇ باشتەر تىگەيشتن دەربارەى گۇقارى ناوبرا، دەتوانریت سەیری ژمارەكانى بكریت.

ئەرك و ئامانجەكانى

كۆمەلەى خویندكارانى كورد لە ئەوروپا

۱. ھەلەدان بۇ پاراستن و بەھیزكردنى يەكیتىی ریزەكانى بزوتنەوہى خویندكارانى كورد لە ئەوروپا و پتەوكردنى پەيوەندى دۆستایەتى لەنیوان ئەندامەكانیدا، بۇ یارمەتیدان و نەھیشتنى گروگرفتە ئەكادیمی و كۆمەلایەتیەكانیان.
۲. بەشداری و پشتگیری لە خەباتى رزگاربخوازی و دیموكراسیى گەل كورد لە ھەموو بەشەكانى كوردستاندا، لەپیناوى بەدیھینانى مافى چارەنووسى خۇدا.
۳. پەیداكردن و پتەوكردنى دۆستایەتى و ھاوكارى لەگەل ھەموو رێكخراوہ پێشكەوتنخاوەكانى لاوان و خویندكارانى جیھاندا و ھینانە كایەى پۇل و چالاكیى كۆمەلە لە ریزی يەكیتىی قوتابیانى جیھانیدا و پشتگیری خەباتى گەلانى ژێردەست و ھەموو بزوتنەوہ شۆرشگیرییە پێشكەوتنخاوەكانى جیھان.
۴. پاراستنى ویزە و كەلتوورى نەتەوايەتى و سوودوەرگرتن لە بیرى زانستى و پۇشنییری پێشكەوتنخاوە لە جیھان.
۵. بەھیزكردنى پەيوەندى لەنیوان خویندكارانى كورد و ئەو دەرووبەر و كرێكارە كوردانەدا كە بۇ دەرەوہى كوردستان كۇچیان كردوو، یان بەزۆر كۇچیان پى كراو.
۶. سازدانى بە كۆپ و كۆبونەوہى تايبەتى و گشتى بۇ خویندكارانى كورد و ژياندنەوہى پۇژ و يادە میژوویى و جەژنە نەتەوايەتى و نیشتمانییەكان.

۷. نواندى چالاکى بۇ پەيدا کردنى ھاوکارى بۇ گەلى کرد و گەلانى چەوساوەى جيهان.
۸. پەيدا کردن و برەودان بە پەيوەندى لەگەل پىڭخراو و دەزگا دەولەتییەکاندا.
۹. ئاگادارى و چاودىریکردنى بارودۇخى خویندکارانى کرد لە پووى خویندەنەو و ھاندانیان بۇ بەرەو پىشەوەچوونى رادەى زانست و زانیارییان و گەرەنەویان بۇ بەشداری لە خەباتى پزگاریخوای گەلى کرددا لە ھەموو پارچەکانى کوردستاندا.
۱۰. دەرکردنى ئۆرگانیکى ناوەندى بە ناوی "کوردستان" ەو ھەرەھا بۆلۆکراوەى تر بە زمانى کردى و زمانە بىگانەکان.
۱۱. پىشتگىریکردنى ھەموو ھەولەدانىكى زانستیانە بۇ ھینانەکایەى زمان و نووسىنى يەگرتووى کردى و بۆلۆکرنەو ەو نووسراوانەى کە لە خزمەتى مێژوو و کەلتورى گەلى کرددان و دەولەمەندى دەکەن.

سەرئى:

- بۇ زانیاری زیاتر سەبارەت بە بزوتنەو خویندکارییەکان بەگشتى و کۆمەلەى خویندکارانى کرد لە ئەوروپا بەتایبەتى، دەتوانرێت سەیری ئەم دوو کتیبە بکړیت:
- نەزاد عەلى ئەحمەد، پۆژنامەگەری خویندکارانى کرد لە ئەوروپا و ئەمریکا ۱۹۴۹-۱۹۹۱، لە بۆلۆکراوەکانى مەلەبەندى کوردلۆجى -سلیمانى، ۲۰۰۸. زۆربەى ئەم زانیاریانەى پىشەو ەم کتیبەو ەمرگىراو.
 - نەزاد عەلى ئەحمەد، لە بەلگەنامەکانى کۆمەلەى خویندکارانى کرد لە ئەوروپا ۱۹۶۲-۱۹۷۳، لە بۆلۆکراوەکانى بنگەى ژین، سلیمانى، ۲۰۰۹.

گۆڤارى کوردستان

لە بارەى ناوەرپۆکەو:

بە خویندەنەو ى ناوەرپۆکى ژمارەکانى گۆڤارى کوردستان ھەست بەو دەکړیت، کە گۆڤارىکى دەولەمەندە بە بابەتى مێژووى، زمانەوانى سیاسى، ئابوورى، ئەدەب، کەلەپوور، فۆلکلورى کردى، بە تايبەتیش بە زمانىک بابەتەکان داپژێرداون، کە ئاراستە کراون بۆ نەتەوەکانى تر؛ بۆ نموونە وا ئاماژە بە ناوەرپۆکى چەند ژمارەيەک دەدەم:

ژمارە ۱: لەم ژمارەيەدا جگە لە وتارى پىشەکى، بانگ بە زمانى کردى و ەربەى بە ئیمزای عیسمەت شەریف وەک سەرۆکى کۆمەلە نووسراو. زاھیر حوسین لە بابەتیکدا لە زمانى کردى و گرنگى بەکارھینانى دەوێت. عومەر قازى بابەتیکى پوختى سەبارەت بە کورد و ەرچەلەکى نەتەوەکەمان نووسیو، عەبدولقادر عەبدولرەزاق لە بابەتیکى سەرنجراکیشدا لە خانوو و جۆرەکانى خانوو لە کوردستان دەوێت، وریا ەرەواندزى بابەتیکى پزىشکى نووسیو، لەگەل چەند بابەتیکى تردا، بەلام لە بەشە ئینگلیزى زمانەکەدا، بانگەوازەکەى سەرۆکى کۆمەلە بە زمانى ئینگلیزى و ئەلمانى بۆلۆ بوو، بە قەلەمى بەکر عەلى بابەتیک سەبارەت بە مۇسیقا و گۆرانیى کردى نووسراو، عیسمەت شەریف باسێکى سەبارەت زمانى کردى و دیالیکتەکانى نووسیو.

- ژماره‌كانى ۲، ۳: ئەگەرچى ئەم دوو ژمارەيە، وەك دوو ژمارەى تايبەت ناودىر كراون، بەلام دوايى زنجيرەبەند كراون، بابەتەكانى ژمارە ۲ زياتر تايبەت كراوہ بە كاروبارەكانى كۆنگرەى ۳ى كۆمەلەى خویندكارانى كورد لە ئەوروپا و چالاكیيەكانى كۆمەلەى ناوبراو لە سالى رابردوویدا، واتە لەنيوان كۆنگرەى ۲ و كۆنگرەى ۱۲. ھەرەھا بابەتەكانى ژمارە ۳ تەرخان كراوہ بۆ چەند مەسەلەيەك كە تايبەتن بە كیشە و ميژووى كورد و چالاكى و كاروبارەكانى كۆمەلە و بابەتەكانى زياتر ئاراستە كراون بۆ كۆنگرەى كۆمەلە خویندكاريیە ەربەيەكان كە سالى ۱۹۵۸ لە بەغدا ساز كراوہ.
- ژمارە ۴: لەم ژمارەيەدا سەرەراي بۆوكردنەوہى سەروتار و چەند بابەتيكى ميژوويى سەبارەت بە بارودۆخى پارچەكانى كوردستان، چەند ھەوالىك بۆ كراوہتەوہ، بە تايبەتیش ھەوالى چالاكیيەكانى كۆمەلە و ھەوالەكانى كورد لە پۆژنامە و كەنالەكانى راگەيانەندا لە ئەوروپا. وتاريكى كەمال فوناد لە دوو لاپەرەى كۆتاييدا بۆ كراوہتەوہ سەبارەت بە جەژنى نەورۆز.
- ژمارە ۵: ەبدولكەريم و كيشەى كورد، ليكۆلینەوہيەكى ميژوويى عيسمەت شەريف وانلى، راپۆرتىك لە كۆنگرەى چوارەمىنى كۆمەلەى خویندكارانى كورد، كە تەواوى ئەو وتار و برووسكانەى لەخۆ گرتووە كە لە كۆنگرەدا پيشكەش كراون. چەند ھەوالىك لە پارچەكانى كوردستانەوہ، نامەيەك لە سووریاوہ ... لەلایەن كوردىك لە سووریاوہ، ھەوالى چالاكیيەكانى كۆمەلەى ناوبراو.
- ژمارەكانى ۶، ۷-۸، ۹-۱۰: بە ھەمان شێوہ كۆمەلەى بابەتى ميژوويى و سياسىيان تیدا بۆ كراوہتەوہ، سەرەراي ھەوالى لقەكانى كۆمەلە.
- ژمارە ۱۱ و ۱۲: وتاريك لەمەر كۆنگرەكانى كۆمەلەى خویندكاران بۆ كراوہتەوہ. چالاكیيەكانى كۆمەلەى خویندكارانى كورد لە ئەوروپا ۱۹۶۶-۱۹۶۷،
- چەندىن برووسكەى كۆمەلەى خویندكارانى كورد كە بۆ كۆمەلە و يەكيتییە خویندكاريیەكان نێردراون، بۆ كراوہتەوہ، وتاريكى كەمال فوناد سەبارەت بە قەلاى دمدەم كە بەشى دووھە.
- كورد لە سووریا لە نووسىنى ئۆمەر شىخمووس، بيبليوگرافىي چەند نووسىن و كتيبيك بۆ كراوہتەوہ كە جگە لە زمانى كوردى، بە زمانەكانى ترى سەبارەت بە كورد و كوردستان نووسراون.
- ژمارە ۱۳: نووسىنىكى "توفيق وەھب"ى تىدايە، ھەوالىك سەبارەت بە فيستيقالى ئیونەتەوہى سۇفيا، چالاكیى لقەكانى كۆمەلە، بەرنامەى كۆنگرەى ۱۲ھەمىنى كۆمەلە، شەرى كورد لە عىراق لە نووسىنى ئەدمۆندس، كۆمەلەىك بەلگەنامە سەبارەت بە پۆژنامەگەرى پۆژئاواو چىيان لەسەر كورد نووسيوە، كتيب سەبارەت بە كورد و كوردستان، بریتیيە لە لیستیكى چوار لاپەرەيى.
- ژمارە ۱۴: سەروتار سەبارەت بە ريككەوتننامەى ۱۱ى نازار نووسراوہ، راپۆرتىك سەبارەت بە كۆنگرەى ۱۲ھەمىنى كۆمەلەى خویندكارانى كورد لە ئەوروپا، ھەوالەكانى كۆمەلەى خویندكاران، پۆلى پارتى ديموكراتى كوردستان لە شوێشى كورددا، كوردستان و نەوتى عىراق، بابەتيكى ئەكادىمىيە بە ئىمزاى ئىيج. سامان نووسراوہ، پەپرەوى ناوخواى كۆمەلەى خویندكارانى كورد لە ئەوروپا كە لە كۆنگرەى ۱۳ھەمىندا دەنگى بۆ دراوہ. كوردستان لە ماس میدياكاندا، كە ۸ لاپەرەى بۆ تەرخان كراوہ، بریتیيە لە دەقى چەند ھەوال و راپۆرتە ھەوال و وتاريك كە لە (فاينانشيال تايمز، لۆمۆند، تايمز، و ئىكۆنۆمىست)دا بۆ

كراونه تهوه، دهقى خالهكانى بهياننامهى ۱۱ى ئازارى ۱۹۷۰، نەورۆزى ۱۹۷۰ لە لەندەن بە وینە، كۆنگرەى
هەشتەمى پارتى ديموكراتى كوردستان. كتيپ سەبارەت بە كورد و كوردستان.

- ژمارە ۱۵: سەروتار، وتاریكى بارزانی سەبارەت بە بهیاننامهى ۱۱ى ئازارى ۱۹۷۰، كیشەى كورد لە
پارچەكانى كوردستاندا.

- ژمارە ۱۷: ئەم ژمارەىە زیاتر ژمارەىەكى بەلگەنامهىیە، چەند وتار و هەوال و چاپیکەوتنیكى تیدایە
سەبارەت بە كیشەى كورد و كوردستان نووسراون و نامادە كراون. ئەم ژمارەىە دەولەمەندترین ژمارەىە لە بواری
بلاوکردنەوهى وینەدا، لەكاتى هەلگیرساندنەوهى شەڕ لەنیوان حكومەتى عیراق و پارتى ديموكراتى كوردستاندا
دەرچوووە و هەك دەبینین زۆربەى هەرە زۆرى بابەتەكانى بۆ پووداوهكانى ئەو بارودۆخە تەرخان كراوە.
شایانى باسە، زۆربەى هەرە زۆرى ژمارەكانى "كوردستان" سەروتاریان هەیه، زیاتر گوزارشت لە ئاراستەى
كارکردنى كۆمەلەى خویندكارانى كورد لە ئەوروپا دەكات.

لە بارى فۆرمەوه:

گۆفارى "كوردستان" لە بارى فۆرمەوه یەكێكە لە گۆفاره هەرە پيشكهوتوهكانى نيو ميژووى پوژنامهگەرى
كوردى، بەتایبەتیش ئەگەر حیساب بۆ تەمەنى بكریت، بۆ نموونە ژمارە ۱، ۴۱ سال لەمەوبەر دەرچوووە، بە
هەروردکردنى شیوهى گۆفارى كوردستان لەگەڵ ئەو گۆفاره ئەوروپیانەدا كە ئەوسا دەرەدەچوون، دەتوانین بە
فۆرمیکى پيشكهوتووى لەقەلەم بەدەین، وەك بە پووکاری بەرگ و فۆرمى ناوهوهى ژمارەكاندا دیارە، ژمارە دواى
ژمارە گرنگى بە جوانکاریى فۆرمەكەى دراوه، بە تايبەتیش لە بارى دیزاینەوه.

هەرۆهە بلاوکردنەوه و گرنگیدان بە وینە. پانتاییەكى دیارى لە ژمارەكانى گۆفارهكەدا بۆ تەرخان كراوە، كە
كۆمەلەىك وینەى دانسقە لە دووتویى ژمارەكانیدا بلاو كراوهتهوه.

بۆ زانیاریى زیاتر پێویستە ئاماژە بەوه بەدەم، كە لە دوا لاپەرەى هەموو ژمارەكاندا ناوى چاپخانه و شوینی
چاپکردنى ژمارەى گۆفارهكە نووسراوه.

هەرۆهە هەر ژمارەىێك بە ئەندامىكى كارگێڕى كۆمەلەكە سپێردراوه، تا پۆلى سەرنووسەر ببینیت بۆ
سەرپەرشتیى دەرکردنى گۆفارهكە، لەو پووهوه دەتوانریت سەیرى لاپەرەكانى پيشهوهى ژمارەى گۆفارهكە
بكریت، لە هەر ژمارەىێك ناوى ئەندامىكى دەستەى كارگێڕ بە سیفەتى سەرنووسەر یا سكرتێرى نووسین
نووسراوه.

پښتني گؤڅاري كوردستان

۱۹۵۸-۱۹۷۴

ژماره ۱

مارتي ۱۹۵۸ دەرچووه، بریتیه له ۲۷ لاپره به زمانى كوردى و عره بى و ۱۱ لاپره به زمانى ښنگلیزی. قهبارهكه ۲۶،۵ X ۲۱ سم، سكرتیرى نووسین: عومهر قازى.

ژماره ۲

نهم ژمارهیه، له مانگی تشرینی دوهمی سالی ۱۹۵۸ دا دەرچووه، ۲۹ لاپرهیه، تهواوی بابتهکانی به زمانى ښنگلیزییه و ژماره ییكى تایبته به کاروبارهکانی کونگره ی ۳ ی کومه له ی خویندکارانی كورد له نهوړپا. سهرنوسهر: سلاخ سهدوللا، نهگرچی لهسر بهرگی پیشهوه ی نهم ژمارهیه دا نهووسراوه ژماره ۲، وهك ژماره ییكى تایبته پیشكش كراوه، به لام پاشان كه ژماره یهکانی تر ژماره بند كراون، نهم ژماره یه چووته خانه ی ژماره ۲.

ژماره ۳

مانگی كانوونى يه كه مى سالی ۱۹۵۸ دەرچووه بریتیه له ۵۲ لاپره، تهواوی بابتهکانی به زمانى عره یییه، چونكه ژماره ییكى تایبته به کونگره ی خویندکارانی عره ب كه هر نهو ساله له به غدا ساز كراوه، سهرنوسهر: سلاخ سهدوللا، نهم ژماره یه ش زنجیره ی ژماره ی گؤڅاره كه ی بو دانهندراوه: به لام كه ژماره ۴ دەرچووه، نهم ژماره یه بووته ژماره ۳.

ژماره ۴

مانگی نیسانی ۱۹۵۹ دەرچووه و بریتیه له ۳۲ لاپره په قهباره ی ۲۵ X ۱۸ سم، نهم ژماره یه به زمانى ښنگلیزییه، سهرنوسهر: سلاخ سهدوللا.

ژماره ۵

مانگی تشرینی دوهمی سالی ۱۹۵۹ دەرچووه و بریتیه له ۳۲ لاپره، به قهباره ی ۲۶ X ۲۰ سم، به زمانى ښنگلیزییه، سهرنوسهر: ته حسین محمده نهمین.

ژماره ۶

مانگی ته مووزی سالی ۱۹۶۰ دەرچووه، ۲۴ لاپرهیه، به زمانى ښنگلیزییه، سهرنوسهر: ته حسین محمده نهمین، به ریوه بری نووسین: سهدی نهمین دزه یی.

ژماره ۷ و ۸

سالی ۱۹۶۱ دەرچووه، بریتیه له ۴۴ لاپره، تهواوی بابتهکانی به زمانى ښنگلیزی نووسراوه، ناوی سهرنوسهر، نهووسراوه.

ژماره ۹ و ۱۰

مانگی تەمووزی سالی ۱۹۶۵ دەرچوو، بریتییە لە ۴۰ لاپەرە، تەواوی بابەتەکانی بە زمانی ئینگلیزییە، سەرنووسەر: عومەر شیخمووس.

ژمارە ۱۱ و ۱۲

مانگی کانوونی یەکەمی سالی ۱۹۶۷ دەرچوو، بریتییە لە ۲۴ لاپەرە، بە قەبارە ۲۷ X ۲۰ سم، بە زمانی ئینگلیزییە، سەرنووسەر: لەتیف رەشید.

ژمارە ۱۳

سالی ۱۹۶۹ دەرچوو، بریتییە لە ۴۴ لاپەرە، بە قەبارە ۲۶ X ۲۰ سم، سەرنووسەر: دارا عەتار، بە زمانی ئینگلیزییە.

ژمارە ۱۴

سالی ۱۹۷۰ دەرچوو و بە زمانی ئینگلیزییە، بریتییە لە ۴۴ لاپەرە، قەبارە ۲۶ X ۲۰ سم. ناوی سەرنووسەر نەنووسراوە.

ژمارە ۱۵

مانگی مارس ۱۹۷۱ دەرچوو، بریتییە لە ۴۷ لاپەرە، قەبارە ۲۵ X ۲۰ سم، بە زمانی ئەڵمانییە، ئەدرنسی بەرلینی لەسەر داندراوە.

ژمارە ۱۶

بە گوێزە ڤەند سەرچاوەیەك، ئەم ژمارەیه مانگی شوباتی سالی ۱۹۷۲ دا دەرچوو، بەلام بەداخووە تانیستا ژمارەكە دەست نەكەوتوو.

ژمارە ۱۷

ئەمە دوا ژمارەیه و پاشان كۆمەڵە هەلوەشاوەتەوه، ئەم ژمارەیه سالی ۱۹۷۴ دەرچوو، بریتییە لە ۶۴ لاپەرە، بە زمانی ئینگلیزییە، بە قەبارە ۲۹ X ۲۱,۵ سم.

1 /

KURDISTAN

کوردستان



KOMLEY ZANISTÎ XWÊNDIKARANÎ KURD
LE EWROPA

منتدى إقرأ الثقافي

« کوردستان »
 کومه لهی زانستی فوئیدکاریانی کورد له ئه وروپا

ژماره - ۱ - سالی - ۱ - مارت ۱۹۵۸ دانهی هه سی ملنه

له م ژماره یه دا

- ۱- بیه کی
- ۲- بَاتْک - نداء
- ۳- مه روله عهمت شریف
- ۴- زو بانی کوردی - - - - - ظاهر صبیح
- ۵- مهر وی کورد - - - - - عمر القاضی
- ۶- خاتوله کوردستاندا - - - - - عبده القادر عبده الرزاق
- ۷- له له به مه و بویره کامنان
- ۸- فیر بونی ییی لاتیینی - - - - - صدام سعد الله
- ۹- له کونگره ی دوه مدائما ده بویت - - - - - کهریدی شمش
- ۱۰- له رزوتا (مالاریا) - - - - - وریا ره واندوزی
- ۱۱- « کوردستان » و فوئیدکاران
- » به مئی ئینگلیزی «

1. AN APPROACH TO KURDISH MUSIC.

By : B.A. ALI

2. KURDISH LANGUAGE & ITS DIALECTS

By : I. CHERIFF.

THE EDITOR,

89 ALSTON CRESCENT,

SUNDERLAND - ENGLAND.

پیشگی

له م کاته دا که به شی زوری کوردستان دا، ئیه ناتوانین فیری، پشو و ئیه و زاننی خومان
 بپین وه به ده موهریک ریگه مان له گیلاوه یوده رختنی ناویان له تاوگه لانی جههان دا،
 که ره کبابی میرونی که وره نه که وینه سه رسانی خویندکاری کورد له له وروپا، نه وه ش
 پروه گانده کردنه بو نیشانی خوینه وسته وده رختنی زاننی و چوینه فی زیانمان
 بو میلله تانی تر.

له یی گومان ئیه که وابه شی زوری خویندکاران له پیره وه ده ستیان به م که ره که کردوه وه
 خه کبان به ده موهریک بهرینه دی. کو نگره ی فیزبادن و نه نیامه کانی یا ش ده ی نه فانت
 که چوین پیلانی ریک و بیک خرابه پشه وه یو بیک له یانی کومه له ی زاننی خوینه
 وسته، که وایا شترین ریگه به یی به یی کرمه یی که و یو بستیا نه ی که کوردستان
 خنویه نه سه رسانی روله کانی.

به لام دوری خویندکاران له یه که وه وه چه نه که م و کور ئیه کی کومینه ی کار بهری و بهری
 کومه له بوبه هوی نه وه ی که وانه له ناماچه کان نه به نه دی. نه ودا که وینه نه بوبه وه ی
 که خویندکاران بوه ستنیت یو کرمه یی کو نگره یی دوهم بونه وه ی به یه کجاری نه و که م کور
 تیا نه و نه و کو سیانه ی که که و توتیه سه مدیگانان لای بهرن. کو نگره و یو یارو نامور گاره
 کانی یا ش ده ی نه فانت که ده موبه دله وه وه به چوینه وه نامادون بوبه زر کردنه وه ی
 کومه له وه هانیه دی ناماچه کانی که نه مانه ی خواره وه ی :-

- ۱- به هیز کردنی نا شانی له به یی خویندکاری کورد له نه وروپا وه ریاختنی به کتر ریس.
 - ۲- لهانیه دی یارمه یی دانی مادی له به یی خویندکاری کورد له نه وروپا.
 - ۳- موهردان و به زر کردنه وه ی زاننی نیشانی کورد.
 - ۴- که یاننی زاننی و چوینه یی که و وولانی کورد به جههان.
 - ۵- نا شانی به یید کردن له له ل کومه له خویندکاره کانی بیگانه وه یارمه یی دان ددن
 یان دان نه وه نه یی ناماچه و که کلیان ریگه نه دا.
 - ۶- ده کردنی گوتاریک یو یی به یی کردنی نه و ناماچه.
- یه کی له یارمه کانی کو نگره نه وه بوبه کومه له وه ودا که وه ودا که گوتاره کانی کوردیه

بوی که ده ها سال زمان زاناکانی کورد را یوگرتنی کونکره به ده (چووه زگیرانی) موته ی بیگانه بو کوردی
 و ده بیله هینانی به همه عیالی زطانی کوردی . ناوی کومه له که مان بیله ی تری به وزانایانه ی
 (کورد یا بیگانه) که له میوزانسی کوردنه کولینه وه ده بانگه بکریه بوئه وه ی بیرویه ی
 گه نجانی کورد و ونانک بکه نه وه ، نایا به نویسن له کیو قاری کوردستان داوه یا قهده و دیارانت .
 ده کوردی گوچار برباریکی تری سوزیه بو .

گو قاری « کوردستان » ده کتا و یکی گه وره یه بو پسته وه ، چرایه کی به هیزه بورونانک کورد
 نه وه ی ده ور یگایه ی له گرتنه زانده ، ریگای خرمه نه کوردی کورد کوردستان به ده موته نا مانو
 ، نه ور یگایه ی که قاره مانه نه به زه کانی کورد زبانی خویان یو پش که ش کرد ، ریگای ها
 نینه ری هیوای گه لی کورد ، ده به یو ی له زید خنایی بیگانه تاوه کوبه به ره متی تری و کوه
 مبلله تانی تر وه شان به شانی نه وان به ره و پسته وه سوا .

دانی کرانه که واهو قیه ی دیانان له کوردستان دای نی کوردین که ده موته زطانی خومات
 یاش نازانی . له به ده وه می زمان له م گوچاره ده یه . کومینه ی ده کوردی گوچاره هیوا
 داره که به ره به ره نه به لایه ریت وه له دواور یکی ترکیله گوچاره که له کوردی شی لاتی درطیا .
 کومینه کتا له و خویندکارانه نه کات که ناتوانی به کوردی و عربی و ئینگلیزی بوسن ، ووتار
 به و زمانه شیرت که نه تران ، له ی داره که بو نی سی زمان نه یان و مستی یونانی ووتار
 نه به له لایه که وه ، له لایه کی توه وه کومینه دوتارم یو وه کوردنه وه ده ره و خویندکاری
 بیگانه (عه ده پ ، ئینگلیز ... هت) یو نه ووتار نه ی که له له ل نایا نی کومه له ری که که و .
 له ی داره که نه به نه بیته له ی به هیز کوردی نایا نی خویندکاری کورد له که له
 خویندکاری تری سوا .

نه واکومینه ی ده کوردی گوچاره زوریه د کومینه وه ژماره ی به کم نه خاته پیش
 چاوتان . بادرینی نه که بن له ووتار نویسن و پیش که ش کردی داهیان و
 ناسورگاری و لایردی ده موزکوپیلک له ریگه یل تاوه کوردی قاره که نه بیت به
 مرای یکی راست به پیش هتینی چو له نه وه ی خویندکاری کوردی کورد نه له ده
 له نه دیوایه کورد ده ده موزکوردستانه .

نیت خویندکاری کورد گو قاری « کوردستان » گو قاری نویسه . سه رکه و تن و پیش
 که وندی نه که وینه سه ریارمه یی و ناسورگاری توه .
 لیتر یو پسته وه

مانگه

خویندکاری کوردی خوښه ویت،

کومه لهی زانستی خویندکاری کورد له نه وریا به رهو بیته وه نه دوا بوچی به چی کوردی
نه خواجه کافی که ده ستور ده ری نه خات وه تهرنگترینان کوردنه وهی خویندکاری کوردی
به نه گرتی هیری مادی وهه عنویانه بوپاس کردنی زانستی نیشتهانی کوردی .

کومه له ده نگاری باش و به تین نه بی وه سه رکه و نی له دهو نوژدا نه که ویتسه
شانی لیمو وها وکاری نان له گه ل کومیتسه ی کار به ری به رو کومیتسه کافی لهه کان ، وه
جه نه ده دیکه ی له نیمه ده ول نه را ، نایا له م کومیتسه داییت وه یا تیا نه بیت ، بو
هائینه دی نه خواجه کافی . سه رکه و نی له که دیتسه جه رنه و ووتارا نه ی که سرتیری
گوفار داوی لی کردن بیوسن ، وه له سه رپاره ی نه خراج که نه یه ن به ریک و
پیک و هائینه دی بویه ره کان وه پیاوردی کردنی کومیتسه کان که له به ده ی نه نه به نیشه کانار
کومه لهی شوه به ، بو شوه به ، باهه و یاسی بکه ی بوته وهی له میده و لم دوا ورا که ره لکای مه نیه دی
کومه له که مان تانیستانه بیتوانوه که لگات به ده موضوعینکاری کوردی له نه ویتسه ، وه پیوسته له
به ره موبکی له نیمه ، نه ندم له کومیتسه ی کار به ری و به روه یا نه بیت ، به ده موانیه وه
ده ول بات که لگات به دهویندکارانه ی که تانیستانه دعوت وه له دهویندکارانه ی که کومیتسه ی
کار به ری و به ر به نه وه ی به کیه نمان ته و اویت و کردنی زانستیان به ره به نه بیت .
باهه ول به رین بوگه بته به ده موضوعینکاره کوردی کان له ده م و ورتیکه وه لهاتون
وه له ده م و ورتیکه له فوینن وه کویان بکه یه وه له نه نالی کومه له ی خوښه و
بستان بوپاس کردنی زانستی که له که مان به تابه یی دمان و ویره و میرو ولی کو
لینه وه له خوښه یی له ده موریه که وه وه له یانزی به ده وه .

که لی کوردی مه زن که ره کی به نیمه به ، وه نیمه نه توانی که ده کان چی به ده ، بکه یین
بوپاس کردنی به شی زانستی که که ده مویارمه یی به لته به یین وه به له بگرین وه
نانه ی به ره یی وه بهرچونه ناره یی نیشی کردنی لی ترسن و به ده
نه ی خویندکاری کوردی ، له ده م کویه له یین ، به له یین بوپاس کردنی زانستی بیکه ی
نه مه شیعاری نیمه به ...

سه روک کومه ل زانستی خویندکاری کوردی

نیشتهانی کوردی

لغز

ابها الطلاب الاكراد الاعزاء :

ان "الجمعية الثقافية للطلاب الاكراد في اوربا" سائرة قدماً الى الامام في خدمة الاهداف التي ينص عليها الدستور واهمها جميع شمل الطلاب الاكراد وتعبئة قواهم المعنوية والمادية من اجل خدمة الثقافة الوطنية الكردية. انها تدير بحسب هادئة قوية ونجاحها في المستقبل يتوقف علىكم وعلى مقدار تعاونكم مع لجانها الادارية والقرية وعلى مقدار ما يبذل كل واحد منا سواء اكان عضواً في هذه اللجان ام لم يكن، من جهود في تحقيقها، ان نجاحها يتوقف على المقالات التي دعاكم لتحريرها لكتابتها والتي سوف تنشر في مجلة الدورية، وعلى الاشتراكات التي سوف تدفعونها بانتظام لهيئتها، وعلى تنفيذ قراراتها وعلى الرقابة الدائمة التي ستفرضونها بحجرونا على لجانها، بانها جميعتكم وهي في خدمتكم فلنكن جميعاً في خدمتها لكي تؤدي رسالتها دائماً وابدأ في المستقبل.

ان جميعنا لم نتمكن لغاية الآن من الاتصال بجميع الطلاب الاكراد في اوربا، وان من واجب كل واحد منا سواء اكان عضواً في اللجان الادارية ام لم يكن ان يسعى جاهدة للاتصال بالطلاب الاكراد المنعزلين او الذين لم يحدث الاتصال معهم واعطاء عنايتهم الى اللجان الادارية لكي ينضم اتحادنا وتوسع دائرة نشاطنا الثقافي. لنفعل من اجل الاتصال بكافة الطلاب الاكراد مهما كان جهاز السفر الذي يحملونه ومهما كانت البلاد التي يدرسون فيها وجميع شملهم تحت راية جمعيتنا العزيزة في سبيل خدمة ثقافة شعبنا ولا سيما لغته وآداب وتاريخه ودراسة مختلف نواحي حياته ودراسة علمية موضوعية وتعميقها الى الاخرين.

ان شعبنا الكردي الكبير بحاجة لنا واننا نلتزم ان نقوم بواجباتنا في خدمته من الوجهة الثقافية اذا ما تأزرنا واتحدنا معنوياً ومادياً وفرغنا من نطاق الهاطفة الى نطاق العمل الجريء والتنفيذ الحثيث.

ابها الطلاب الاكراد حيثما كنتم اتحدوا فيما بينكم لخدمة الثقافة الوطنية الكردية ذلك هو شعارنا...

رئيس الجمعية الثقافية للطلاب الاكراد في اوربا
عصمت شريف - سوريا

به یوه نډې زو بانه که مان به زو بانی فارسه کانه وه ده کو به یوه نډې زو بانه نژیکه کان
 له به کتروایه ده کو آره سو ئیبری یا خود ئیٹالیز یو فرسی بان کوردیو آوردو. نه م له
 به کچو فی زو بانه نه فامکې هه رنه بی به یوه نډې که لاند له نامه خوریا نه .
 نه وانه ی که نه لین زو بانی کوردی له تکه له زو بانی خاسی یا خود زو بانی تورکی
 بی کومان له ده ریای نه زانیده مه له نه که ن، چو تکه نه م وونه دانه مه زروه له سر
 راست کوی و رهورای میرو بی راست، بویه نه م ووتنه له به رده م ره خندی
 زانیا ریبا نه تلبینه وه. خاوه بی نه م بیه و تانه رنه روژی که باین که نو بانی
 کوردی له فرسه وه هاتره نه که رهاتو زانیا ن که که لی ووشه هه به له هه رنو
 زو بانه که دایه کلر نه هین وکو (بی، نه ژنو، سه ر، کی، او ... هتد)
 له بانی نه م به ره تایه ئیجا یا بزاین زاناکان چون زو بانه کاهی گیتی به ش
 نه که ن وه زو بانی کوردی له کویدایه :
 زو بانه کانی گیتی نه گرین به دوو به شې بنجسته وه :
 ۱- زو بانی پشکه و تو - نه وانه ن که مهاوی ازې ناو له که ن نه رمان له کل
 شې تیا داهیه وه کو فرسی، آره بی کوردی .
 ۲- زو بانی دوا له و تو - نه وانه ن که مهاوی نه م سی یا ره بان تیا ده رناکه
 ویت به تکه به دیاوه له ده تکی زخیره بی، وه کو زو بانی هینه سوره کان .
 دیان زو بانی پشکه و تو نه کریت به سی به شه وه :
 ۳- زو بانه ناریه کان - وه کو زو بانی تورکی . ب - زو بانه سامیه کان - وه کو
 زو بانی آره بی . خ - زو بانه تورا نیه کان - وه کو زو بانی تورکی .
 له به رنه وهی زو بانی کوردی مه راحمانه ماهر به شې به که م وه رنه گرین .
 زو بانه ناریه کان - زو بانی نه وکه لاند که نه هینه به رره هه له کی
 ناری وه له ناو خویا ندا نه گرین به دوو به شې که وره وه :
 به که م : زو بانی ناری خوارو - نه هینه به زو بانی سانسکی، له م
 زو بانه کوردیو فارسیو نه وانه ی که له خوارو ی ناسیا به کار نه هین .
 دوهم : زو بانی ناری ژوورو - نه وانه ن که له نه ووبا به کار نه هین .
 نه م به ش کردنه وه که ده رنه که ویت داتراوه به کوی به نه هه له کی که لای
 گیتی وه نه توانی بودری که به ش کردنی ر وایه و به سوده چو تکه

زوبان له (گهل) چيا ناکړينه وه، نه م به ش ستر نه ديان په يوه ندي زوبانه کان
 به په که وه در نه هات
 نيمه که کور دین برومان وايه زوبانه که مان زه ناکړينو بالاترین زوبانه نار به
 کافي خوار وه، لکيا به ربه ست و تايه يي که لي کورده نه که رخي نه مرو نه بو راوه
 نه وه - نه نجاي رواکه وتي که له که مانه و که مي هاندا نو گوي نه دانه بويش
 که وتي به نرسه ته که پين زور که س برومان يي ناکه ن.
 گوما يي تيا نيمه که نه و هوبانه يي به ره وه، وه په يوه ندي به هيري که لي کورده
 به تايه يي نه که ل فارسه کاند له وروڼه ده يي که نه گوي ده راي ته زوين بکله وه
 لهاته خورای (۶۰۰) مال يي عیسی) يو وولايي کورده ستاوا بران وه ديان په يوه
 ندي نه که ل نه ره به کاند وه به هيري يي نه م په يوه ندي باش برومان کورده
 کيسلام نه مانه هم موي نيکه يي زوبانه که مانان نه که ل زوباني نه وگه لانه را
 له تايه پيه وه ده که لي چاروي دا که مپه ندو و نه په کان وون ببيت به به
 کار هينايي ووت يي نه م زوبانه هاوسيانه - نه م ديليه يي زوبانه که مان کا
 نيکي دور دري ژي هايان له به رنه بويي چولانه وه په کي به تين بعدزگار يون.
 وه ده س پي کوردي نه م به ده په بکه که لي نه نو سه ران و وړه زانان بيرکي
 دلوزانه يان کرده وه بو بوژانده وه يي زوبانه که مان. نه م نه که پير وړه
 دا چه ندکه نگاويک نيرا بوسه وه، نه وه يي که که مرو نه پين له ماب
 کوردي نو سينو هه ليه ست و خړ وک ميوه يي نيکو شايي نه و دلوزانه به
 نه رکي نه وانه يي نه مرو نه که نه رنه ورنگه يي هه نگادي به مودنه يي.
 نه م چولانه وه به نه مرو هوبايه کي باش نه دايه زوباني کوردي هونکه زوري
 له سامانه وون يوه که يي نه رنه نشته وه دور يوه نه وه. نو سيدي که مکور ديل
 نه وه په که نه م چولانه وه به هه مپه بالا وکول نه ده ربيت - زوبان گرنگ ترين اناري که
 له هه نگادي زوبان بوژانه وه به دانه رله کيشه کان هون نه نجاي باش وه رنه گرن
 وه هون نه ببت باش ترين هه نگا و ببت که کاري دلوزان هه تاس به ده ببيت.
 ۱ - زوباني کوردي پويي به پوخته کردن هه به سات به چايي بوژانده وه
 وکرو وتمان که ليک ووت يي بکانه نيکه لاري زوبانه که مان يوه وه له ندي
 له مانه وایان لي لهاته که گوايه به يي نه وان زوبانه که مان کور يي ديسيت.

ميٿوي گورد

عمر القاسمي - ٽينگلانڙه

پيش ته وه ي بتوانين ڏهي دوا ڪه وٽمان باش تي ٻڌه ين ، پيوسته له سه دله موان
ميٿوي گه له ڦوڻه وسته ڪه مان بزانين . هوي به له وه ي گه پسته وٽمان دوا ٿه ڏان
نه وه به ڪه وا زور ڪه من تان ناسن وه هه ندي له وه ي ناوي ٿيمه ي پسته ، ميٿوه
ڪه ماني به جور ٿي نارنگي بي ووتراوه . له به ڏٺه وه به ڪه وا پيوسته له سه راشاني
هه سو ڦوڻه واري گورد ڪه دريبي نه ڪن له وه ي ميٿوي گه له ڪه يان باش تي
يگه ن بوٿه وه ي بتوانين پوهه مولايه ي هرجهن ڪه گورد ٿي به وه هون ٿياوه وه
چي لي به سه رهائوه وه بوٿه وه ي بوانتي ٿه وانه به سه بجهه نه وه ڪه واميٿوي
ٿيمه يان پوهه ڪي هويان نيڪداوه وه مه نه نه ساله هه ريان به لهه سوهوريل ڪه
ناوي ٿيمه له ناوي به رن .

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زاناکا ٿي ره ڪه زي مروف برويان وايه ڪه واره هه له ڪي (اهل) گورد ٿاريه ،
وه هه روه گورد واره ته وه ٿاريش به شي روز هه لائي ره ڪه زي هيند وٽه ورويه.
ٿه م نه ته وه به له پيش ... ٿه پ م . له ناويه ي به راي ته زو پسته ٿه ٿيان وه
خه رنگي به سه حالات به هيو ڪردن پون وه به شي جيڪيان نوريليه مهرستان
به ڪار ٿه هئا . به لام دواي ٿه ناويه به هه رهي وه رويان هه ريه لاي هواروه .
پون به دووبه نه وه . به شيڪيان روي ڪرده هيند ستان وه ٿه وه ٿريان له
شاهه ڪافي گورد ستان واپان داداهه تران .

ٿاريه کان نور ٿه ناويه به ٿيان پيش ته وه ي پين به دووبه نه وه . ميهه کان
وقاره کان - به لام پيش ميا بونه وه يان ٿيمه رويه شي به هه ريان هه بو
وه نور نا هوريه کان ويا بيله ڪانين هه راسان ڪرديو . وه دهوريه ڪه نه وسته
ته پويست به هوي ته وه ي له به ڪه ميا بيله وه وه پين به نه دوه نه ته وه ي
زور له به ڪه ميا وار ٿه يات زعان وره وسته وه .
له دواي سه وه ي هه شته مي پيش ميا داميد به کان هه ريه شي به ربه هويان
داهه تران وه شاري ته ڪيانتان (هه سه دواي ٿيمه) يان ڪرد به ياتيه هته .

گوردانهي نڀسته، به لارم له ندي که سن نوريلی شکی نهه یه هيوکه نهه لین که ناوی
گوردییا به مه لم ناوی کاروونې ناچې . غه ره درېله ملنگی پووه لایع نهه که سانه
ووتوبه یه که وانه له رڼا کاري نهه به یه یه که واده موناویله نهه گورته که واده
زمانی به که میلله ته وه نهه چې پورته وری تره، هېک گومان نهه که واکوزی نیمه
کار روغیه کافي کونن وه نهه م میلله ته تانیستا له هه یخا وولدتا نهه ژین که
واکارو غه کان بیستوسی سه وه نهه و به رتیا ژیا بون .

له لایه کی تره وه زینتون پی نهه نهه به هره دا که تا تر بون له ده سن کارو غه کان
رزگار بان نهه پوه . نایا نهه م کارو غه یه هه رنه و ناوچه یه یه که زینتون باسی
نهه کات له ژبرده ستیان دایره وه یا غور وولدتا که بان که وده تر پوه ؟
زینتون هېک باسی نهه وه ناکات که وولای کارو غه کان هه نهه که وده
پوه له به رنه وه نا ترانین له هومان نهه وه یان که کارو غه کان له رله
شاهه کافي هه کاری دا ژیاوت .

با به یرگی پیر و باوهری غه ره درېک ملنگی بلک من له م با به ته وه .
یه که م ، به ته واده ی نهه زانواوه که وولای کورده کان . کارو غه کان .
له و ناوچه یه زیاترنه پوه که هېروکی زینتون باسی نهه کات . نهه وه هر
باسی نهه ورگیایه نهه کات که له شکره که ی پیا که راوه ته وه . وه ره نهه
وولای کورده کان به وه وده شته کافي لای هوار و تاره سلیمانی ووه وند بوبیت .
هه هه نهه میوزانای یونانی هېک نا کاري له مه نهه پوه .

دوهم ، کافي کورده کان به وه وده شته کان یو لای هوار و لای
سه روو ره نهه وورده وورده روی دایج به هوی که ووه بوی
ژمارم یا نه وه تیکه لار یونیا ن له نهه ل میده کان و نهه سیر به کان .
نهه ده ری نهه نهه که هون میده کان و کارو غه کان وورده بون به
یه له نهه ته وه . که ی کورد که نیستا له وولای کورده کان دانه ژین
که ناوچه یه کی که ووه یه له ناو و نهه لای تا وه راسته دا .

نهه له لایه که وه له لایه کی تره وه نهه م هه نهه پوه باسی ده ری نهه نهه که
کورد نهه ته وه یه کی زور کونه وه له میده وه که کورستان دا و بادن وه شایستا
نیه کی (حضارة) بپیکه و نیان له وي دانه زرا ند وه .

ده له ښارستانه د وروږ وروسته رښتورک (که مه) وه سهر ته نورو موق
(چېست خانه) وه مه وښکې ده ورته کړ او بېک هاتوه وه زور ښان هه توان
دارن، وټاوه سټخانه کانيښان په ټه ده رښتوانا د ورو له م زور وړانه وه .
۲- خانوي داخراو :

بالا وېونه وه ي نه م شپوه په له خانو تا شپه زور
که مه به لکوله ما وږي يا نزه سال زياتر ټي په رښا بېت . نه م شپوه خانو نه
له هوار يان سمې ژورو و هوليک و مو تېک و سه رښتورک بک و ټا وده سټخا
نه په ک بک هاتوه وه په زوري له په رد وگه م، وه په رد وچمه نتو
وه يان نه شته وگه م، وه نه شته وچمه نتو دوست گراوت وه داره
ر راښيان په ناسن يان به کونار ټي شپا وې گراوه .

چاک کردن : په چاک گردني خانوي کور د ستان پيوسته له دوولاهه هلې ول بدري
په کم م - په کارهښاني که ده سته په کي قيام و هه زران . وه لاي دوهم - دانان
وبه کارهښاني شپوه خانوه په کي وه ها که پارنځگاري له شل ساعې وکامه راني
هه موخزانېک بکات . وه بوبه شي په کم پيوسته مه کينه ي به رد رېکخه ر
په يدا بکريت خو ناکه به رد له هه موخو ټي شپا وې به ناساني ده ست
نه که ديت وه په لوري ټکونيز رښه وه بوټه و شونښانه ي که په کار ټه هيزيت ،
هه روه هاگه م وقل له م شپوه به ردا ويا نه دا زوره ټه نه
پيوستې به مه کينه ي که م وقل سوتان دن هه په .

هه روه هالم وچه وچمه نتو نه مرو له هه موخاره کاني کور ستاندا ده ست نه
که ديت له کوي رو ويا به کان ، پيوسته وه رري لي وه رېگريڼ له شونښانه ي
که په په رد وگه م به کارهښيڼ وه په تاي به ټي بوخار ستانښه کان بوټه و
خانوانه ي که واله نهو بک زياتر بښه نه ما ټو شپوه ي خانو ويا به باش
نه زارتيت که براده ده (نه نږه گره کان) مهند سکان کوټونه وويه ک بک بهښيڼ
بوټه ووي چه نږه شنه شپوه په ک دابښي بوديا تر شا رښانه کان وه نه گه ل خاوه
ن ياره کاندا بېر په کڅه ن بودرو ست گردني مه ندکومه له خانو بک وه مو شنه
وي به مانگانه به نه وکه سانه ي که پيوستiane له ديها تو شارد او بوټو وگرځنه ووي
نه م يرو با وړانه که نا تواني نه م ټو په ناساني خاښي مېرواي ټي بکات .

هه لیه ست و بوژێه گانان

و لدار (۱۹۱۷ - ۱۹۴۸)

- ناوی یونس ده ئۆفه له ۲ ههيات ۱۹۱۷ له کۆیه له دایک بوو .
- ماموستا رفیه حاجی له (شعر و ادبیاتی کوردی) دا له بابته دلداه وه ئه ی :
- لاویکی زوژێک و ههینێ که ره ، خاوه ی بیرێکی ژیرانه و بیرانه به گهیا نیا ی
- خاوه ی وهه ستیگی به رزی هه به - - - - -
- ددر مه فتوی کوردستان و دیمه نه شیرینه گانیه ی و ئه ی :

کوردستانی خۆش نیشتمانی ههوان	تۆ قیله گاهی منی بی گومان
هاووم بشکۆ و تۆی شاهه کانت	فهری ژانی باحه کانت
ده ئه ششالی شرا نه کانت	زری و یاتی جهوانه کانت
قامه ی که وانی قه رگوه کانت	خوهره ی ناوه که ی نشوه کانت
ئه مانه هه مو گهریان کردمه وه	هه وینی شعری دلیان گهرمووه

نه و نه مامی بوم له م خاکه در و ام	به خورشه ویتی وولیت داودام
به لی کوردستان تومنت خولقان	تومنت خولقان بیت به نهام ژان
خوشتی ژیاغم ههوشی رینته	ئیشی ژینی من زوژی شهینته
ههونکه کوردستان، نیشتمانی ههوان	تۆ قیله گاهی منی بی گومان

یادی نیشتمان

نالهی به سوز و یادی نیشتمان	ئاشتی - نیشتمانه ره
ئاغم له داخی مه شه که ی که ردون	هالاویان ههنا و غهیمانه گریان
چه نه کوئی آبی بی ئار و ویشک کرد	چه نه یی کردین دلکا و زه یوت
	چه نه مه لی ههوانی به ی شه و تم کرد

- ۱۶ -

له بهر نه مال و آوازي مه لان
 خورده ي آوي ليژ ده گردو گوان
 بي تا کو دلخوش به ره رز له زمانا
 نه ت له نت گردن زبانت لي نيکدان؟
 نه ي به رهو که ردون لا فاوي هاتي
 هه خاخه و ناله و زريکه و زرمه
 ده ستیان نايه بين شاري تازه بون
 هه نرنگول هه لوه ري مه ند به وزي زه رد بوو؟

کوردان له گيت لا فرميکيان ران
 وورزي مويي که رمي ههويان
 پر به سوز ده نمان وه لاريکه ي شير
 "که ي کيرد نه ي که لي آزاد هوشوست
 و اجاري که شي لاري بي ا سروو
 موهر کي که شي داريکي نيشتان
 کول، کول هاته کول دلي به به روش
 پيشي خوارده وه دلته نگو هه نه ت
 کيو و شاخ و داغ زه وي ترمو به زر
 هه مه دان شاري "روژا واي ايران"
 به لام پر مويي که رمي کورد ديتي
 ده روي ده روخي له پرر هاته ده ر
 به بومه له رزه خيروي که ردوني هون
 به فروسه هولو هولوبه ري روخي
 بريني مه رگي دالک کولايه وه
 هه رغه که ي که ردون ديسان بوي هنيان
 به ليم جي لا فاوي جي بومه له زره
 جي کولله ي زور دار مويي سالانه
 (بروانه لا به زره ٢١)
 به روي پر نازيان له قور را وون بوو
 له م هه رغه دونه ي که که ردوني بي دان
 پتراني به رده ي که رووي کتا وازيان
 نايه پاله ده نگي نيشتاني دلير
 هه ي بو نيشتان تاريکي نه ويست
 ده ست دريري کرد له ترووي نه مردوا
 گوريه وه نه نايه ي گياني جي امان
 جهوي هاته وه له به ماوه ري جهوش
 له ده ست زه مانه ي ناله بار و ههوت
 له م نه هاهه تيه هاته هولوله وله زر
 داي پوشي به فروسه هولوي رستان
 جهامون جهان الله داخي گيتي
 هاته هولوله هول کيو و ژور و ده ر
 به ده زار گياني له تله ت کرد و که وت
 جه ندي نهکانو جه ندي هاوي کرد زه ق
 زره هتي زيان داته کايه وه
 ناله د آهواوف فرميك و شريان
 جي باراني خورده ، باريني ته زره
 نايه ندي داي له به تنجانه
 (بروانه لا به زره ٢١)

Q : QENC, QELÎN, QUNSL. (Q = ق)
 R : REWADIZ, RENG. (R = ر)
 S : SÎNEM, SERBEST, SEROK. (S = س)
 Ş : ŞÊR, ŞALOK, ŞERM. (Ş = ش)
 T : TIFENG, TEMO, TERAŞ. (T = ت)
 U : DU, KURD, KULAY. (U = و KURT)
 Û : AGIR Û REŞO. GERMÛ SARD (Û, AND و)
 V : HETAY, VAN, EV. (V = ف)
 W : WERE, WAN, WEKO (W = و : EW)
 X : XEBAT, XATÎN, XELAND. (X = خ)
 Ẍ : BEXDA, DAẌ, EFAXAN. (Ẍ = ع)
 Y : YAR, FREYDON (Y = ی)
 Z : ZEMÎN, ZANÎN. (Z = ز)

GELEK KURD (A) BO (E) DI NIVÎSIN WEKO
 ABDILAZIZ. NIK DILÊ MIN (E) BO (E)
 RAST TIRE, WEKO ERB.
 HER WEKO TU DI BÎNÎ, FÊR BUNA VÊ
 ELFABÊYA ME YA KURDI SANAHÎYE Û
 QOTABIYÊN KURD DIKARIN (ETWANIN),
 YEN KO ELFABÊYA ÎNGLÎZÎ BIZANIN,
 GELEK ZÎ VAN DENG A BO XWENDIN
 Û NIVÎSANDINA KURDI FÊR BÎN.
 OMÊDA MINE KO HEMÎ KURD MÊ
 YÊ ELFABÊYE FÊR BÎBÎN.

SALAHEDÎN SEEDILA
 — ENGLAND.

— \ / —

فیربونی نی لاتینی

BO XWENDINA VÊ, DI VÊ ELFA BÊ KURDÎ BI
ZANIN. EVE GALEK SANAHİYE. ME SIH Û DU
DENG HENE. EVE NE:

A B C Ç D E Ê F G H I Î J K L M
N O P Q R S Ş T U Û V W X Y Z

- A : DAR, PAR, DARA.
B : BAR, BERAN, BELEK.
C : CEMO, CAREK, COTYAR (C = چ)
Ç : ÇENG, ÇEP, ÇAR (Ç = چ)
D : DERD, DENG, DEH, DEST.
E : GELEK, WERE, EREB, HETAV.
Ê : ÊLEK, BÊKES, BÊDEST.
F : FELEK, FERHAD.
G : GERM, GOPAL, GUND (G = گ)
H : HEWAR, HEMO, MEHEMED (H = ه)
I : BIHAR, HILIND, KIGIK. (I = ئه)
Î : PÎR, RONAÎ, TÎR, MÎR.
J : JÎN, JOR, REJO. (J = ج)
K : KOLÎ, KURD, KERWAN. (K = ک)
L : LAW, LING, NALÎN. (L = ل)
M : MERAVÎ, MÊR, MERD. (M = م)
N : NERM, NALÎN, NAN. (N = ن)
O : OSMAN, HÎRO, GOTIN. (O = و drêj)
P : PARE, PÊ, PAYİZ. (P = پ)

له کونگره ی دوهه مدائا ماده پوښت ؟

کونگره ی کومه له که مان له لندن له روژي ۲ و ۳ / ۱ / ۱۹۵۸ .
 ۱۰۰ ضویند کارې کورد ئا ماده پوښت ، نوښه ری له سوسره وه ونوسه ریکشی له نماوه .
 هه ندی له بریاره کاله کونگره :-

۱- حی کمرابو یا می کړو ښي ساماښي نیشتاښي (تراش) نه نه وه ښي ؟
 کومیتي یی لشتي له به ربه ښي که ښو سي پوړوښت نامه ولوقاروښا یان
 و ویرنه وروبان زانانی کورد وه هانیا ن بدات بوښکه وه هینانی " کومه له
 به کی پوړانده وه یی لوبای کوردی " وه هان دانیا ن پوړ ښیستی کورد
 پونه وه به کی پوړ پوړی ووشه بیگانه کان پوړ کوردی ، نه به نه به هوی
 پوړته کوردنو پوړانده وه یی زو بان ته که مان . دیان کومیتي یی لشتي نه به
 که به پوړه ښی له که ل هه موره نکه زانایه کی څو مان یا بیگانه به سیت
 پوړه یی لفته رحون وه کومه له که مان ښاسن وه که ښی کورد ئا کار به ن
 له پوړو ویرنه وه موره نکه روږی زیاښی کومه له به ښی له کی کورد
 وه ښوښت پوړ کوقاره که مان " کوردستان "

۲- " لوقاری کومه له ناوی " کوردستان " وال به رده ستایه میوه یی داوی کور
 نگره به هه به رده نکه ده رکهای تیا نه کړیته وه پوړید پوړی زماښی کوردی ، پو
 " تیر پوړی به کار هیناښی ښی لښیښی " له نویښی کوردیدا ، وه پو " نامه یی
 څو ښیږه واران " نه به به بیگانه له هه موره ووتاریله که یاربده مان
 نه دا پتر نه ته وه و وولا ته که مان ښاسن .

۳- نه و څو ښیږه کارانه یی نامه نه پوښت هه میته له دی کونگره دابون
 له به رته وه بریار دوا که یا تللیله پوړه مو څو ښیږه کار به کی کوردده
 ځیت پوړه ان دانیا ن پوړهاته ناو کومه له وه . یا تللیکی ترده به ښی
 پوړه کی کورد و بیا وایي پوړه څښتی ښاښی کومه له وه پوړیښی
 به هه مو به ښی یار مه ښی له

یا تللیکی که ده ځیت پوړه له څو ښیږه کاره بیگانه کان له نه وروږا
 وه دیان ده څښتی ښاښی څو ښیږه کومه له که مان وه ئاره زوی پوړ

پاشمانه ی زو بانێ کوردی

٦- له کوردە واریدا دوو لهجە ی گە وەرە هەن - سورانێ له ناو کوردستانی ایرانۆی، میان کوردستانی عێراقدا - کرمانجی که ناویە مە که ی سوری کوردستانی عێراق و هه مو کوردستانی ترکیادا. وه بولێ ئەم دووانه دیاره کۆمەڵگە ی گە وەرە یە لای زور که سی، وه زور چار روه ئه دا که سورانی و کرمانجی هه ریه که لهجە ی خۆی لایانته. ئه هه شتیکی سروسنتیه به لایم ئه موه کۆمەڵگە ی بۆ بۆرا ئێنه وه ی زو بانێ وه ئه م دوو لهجە یه ئه توانیت له یه که تریک بکەیت وه ئه گەر هاتو کومه له ی ناو برا و سودیان لی وەرگیریت وه زو بانێ کوردی بوختە کرا و له م دوو لهجە یه وەر بهیریت .

ئە هه به کوردی زو بانێ که مان وه به کوردی که م و کوردی زو بانێ که مان وه ئه و دوو سی دا ههیرا وانه ی سه ره وه بۆ ئه وه ی زو بانێ که مان پیش هه ی .

زو بانێ کوردی زیندوه و نامریت چوونکه زه ئگینه وه کو هه مو زو بانێکی پێشکه وێکی که ، بهیرا ئێنه وه ویش خهتی له سه ر شانی که مو کوردی که به روه ریکه - زو بان یه کێکه له وستانی که که یی ئه ئاسریت ...

إلى اخواننا الطلاب العرب

هذه هي « كورستان » مجلة « الجمعية الثقافية للطلاب الزكراء في أوروبا ». ان صفحاتها مفتوحة امامكم ، وسوف يسر لجنة التحرير ان تنشر كل مقال يتقوه والا هذاف العامة لجمعيةنا .

تاو له رز (مالاريا)

وريا درواندوړي

کلبه ي پزیشک - ثنا

زور که سي واتي نه گا که نه م نه خوشبه له ولاتي ساردار و نادا ما به لام
له به درنه وه ي که له کور د ستانیا زور بللوه جا به بیه واته ي نه وه وه نه
توانين بلين که نه خوشي تاو له رز که روه کو وکه نه که رما نا بللوه له روه ها
له کور ستانیا روو نه دا ، چه نه که نا شرايه که کور د ستان له ولاته سارده کان تر شي
هونه واديا رکوت که پيشکه ي (ميشوله) نه م نه خوشبه ، گيا وچه مه نه و
نه ورا ي ده وري چه که و روو باره کافي شاهه کانمان هه وار که به يتي و
نه تواني تاگو به رزايي « ... م » ي زه مين بشينه . به لام نه وه ي شا
يا تي با سه نه و ميشولانه هه موچه پيشکيان تواناي بلل وکړنه وه ي تاو
له رزيان نه . نه مانه نه ۶۰۰ — ۶۰۰ چه شن نه وه له وچه موو دا ته خها
(۱۸ - ۲۰) چه شن نه وه ي بلل وکړنه وه ي تاو له رز هه روه ها
چه نه خوشبه ي تر شي هه به .

پيشکه ي تاو له رز له بله ي که رمایي « ۱۶ م » وه جو سه ره وه دا نه
ژبت ، ليره دا خونينه وار يي گومان نه برسي که هون له زمنا نا که بله ي
که رما له ولاته سارده کان زور نرم نه بینه وه و نه و پيشکانه نه توان
تن برين ؟ ! . وه ايمه نه که رزانيان که ته فانه ته له « سيبريا » ش
نه خوشي تاو له رز هه به ، نه بي کاکان نه مه لي کولینه وه . وه نه يا ش
لي کولینه وه نه قه لايکي زور ديار که ووت که پيشکه له مالان وله تاو
مه رومال دتا نه ري . وه يا ش نه وه ي که نه م چه کايانه ي تاو رومان
به ده رمایي D.D.T. وه دهرمان تر مال کرده وه ، نسيه ي نه م نه خوشبه
زور که م نوو له پشاني . له وه وه آ شمل هوو که يا ربه ده ري پشانه
له رزيان نه مانه ت : آ و ، که رمایي مال و پيشاي مه رومال دت و نه ر
ي « رطويه » و باران . . . هته .

پيشکه ي نه خوشي تاو له رز « نه نوځيا س — ANOPHELES

تدر که چنانچه به آردا میزاده و نه دات ، میفریوی نه م نه هوشیه نه رزینیه
 : و نه شی . و نه که تا کو می نه سالیك له نه و نه ر وانه زانرا که میفریوی که به نه
 به نه هینه خوی و نه وی دانه مینیه و نه ، به لام به دیار که ون که نه م
 میفریوانه یاشی پیوه دانی بیشکه به رنگه ی هوشیه و نه به ک به ر نه رون بو
 چله ر و نه فانه نه نه (طحال) نه ایقان ، و نه بو ما و نه به ک له وی نه
 مینیه که نه و ما و نه به ش اعتبار له به ره نه شنی میفریوی که نه کات ، له یانما
 له بیان نه نه رینه و نه یو خوی ، نه و ما و نه به ش له :

۱- M. TERTIANA (۱۰-۱۴) روزه .

۲- M. QUARTANA (۴-۵) هفته به .

۳- M. TROPICA (۷-۱۹) روزه .

چا له یاشی به به ره یو و نی نه م ما و نه به این نه هوشی له له شی ماغا
 به دیار نه که و نه به تا و نه رز . و نه نه ش له مور و نریک روزه نا دا .
 له چه شنی به که م روزه نا روزه ، له چه شنی دو و له م دو و روزه نا
 روزه یک . به لام نه م چه شنه (دو و له م) روزه که م روزه نا ، له
 ۱٪ ی نه هوشانی ما لا ریا توشی نه م چه شنه نه بن و نه مالک بو نه و نه
 یان زور زه چه نه به نه وای چو نکه هه نری که یاشی به به ره
 هوشی ۱۰ سال ، هه نریک دیکه یاشی ۲۰ سال له بیان دوباره توشی
 نه م چه شنه تا و نه رزه یو و نه و نه یی نه و یی بیشکه بیان و نه به نه و نه
 له چه شنی سیره م دا ما و نه یی گرتنی و به دانی تا و نه رزه که به نه و نه میم نیم .
 - پیگه له تا و نه زبش هه نری له دیاری دانی (اعراض) دیکه هه به که موه
 هه نه به نه هوشیه که بکات ، له وانه شنی که م خوی ، ماند و و بو ،
 که م خور دن ، لا وازی و نه هه روه هاگه و نه بو تی خا نه نه نه (طحال)
 نه نه رها تو نه هوشی ما و نه ییکی زور یی ده رمان کردن مایه و نه .
 و نه که م خوی نه به به هوشی به یی بو تی زور اعراضی سر .
 ضو یا رستن نه م نه هوشیه به له تا و نری نه هوشیه نه نه به به
 چه له گو میله و چو که و روباره کان و نه چه له مالیدن و نه و و یله
 نه و یله لا و افان ... هه روه ها به به رز کردنی مرسته وای زیان .

ده رمان کردن :

- بوده رمان کردنی نه م نه خوشیه له هه مورشتیک باشن :-
- ۱- RESORCHIN (۱۰ صهپ) . له ماوهی ۴ روزه . روزی ۳ صهپ .
 - ۲- PRIMA QUINE (۱۵ صهپ) له ماوهی ۵ روزه . روزی ۳ صهپ .
 - ۳- بونه ووهی که میفریبی مالاریای له جله راوه .
 - ۴- ایقانای بکورتیت .
 - ۵- وابره وانه کریت که واناوله زری به مه راوهو له به ۱۱ مالاریای له .
 - ۶- واته که نه خوشی پیش نه ووهی به ته وای چاک پیته وه . دوباره بیک .
 - ۷- مالاریای له ووه نه داته وه وته خوشه که توشی تاوله زری نه پیته وه .
 - ۸- خوباراستن له م چه نه نه بی ته خوشی هه تاگو به ته وای چاک به پیته .
 - ۹- هه موچه فته ی هاریک هه بی (PALUDRIN) وه بگریته هه تاگو به ته .
 - ۱۰- مالاریادا نه بیت ، به لام نه وکه سانه ی که له تاوچه ی به مه لاریا توره به .
 - ۱۱- نه نه ره وه ، تاوشی ماوهی پتر له ۲ سال که توشی بلین که واته .
 - ۱۲- نایان گریته وه بی جله له چه شنی M. QUARTANA - هرکده .
 - ۱۳- سوه دان ایتر نابینه وه وه نه خوشه و بانه ی که له شیشا زاره .
 - ۱۴- وه به وده ووه ساله هه موی به ره به ره نه نه ویت .

جه ژنی نه وروز

واجه ژنی ته وروز : به که م روزی به هه ووه سالی تازه کور .
 (۱ / ۴ خاله گیو / ۱۹۵۸ وه روشی . ۱ / ۱ / ۲۵۷۰ کورری
 تریلیک بوه وه . به هه مونه ووه وستی دطان آوان نه شوری
 که جه ژنی که له نه به نه خوشه وسته که مان دجه ژنی هه موه کورد ووه
 بیدکاری له دهره ووهی ولات پیر وژی .
 کومسته ی کار به ری وری موه له ی راشن
 ضرینه کار به ری کورد له نه ووه ویا .

«کوردهستان» و خویند کاران

زور سوپاسی نه و خویند کارانه نه که مین که نامه یان بوناردین .
 بی گومان ، نه م نامه شیرینه ی هزاره وه که سته به مزی که سو خویند کاران
 کوردستان نه دا وه هوارین که خویند کاران کورد نه نه مه ریکا نامه نامه
 پروژة کانیان ده هینه دی بوگه باندی ده تگ و زانستی کوردستان
 بو دانستوانی نه مه ریکا .

بو سکریری گومینه ی ده کردنی گو قاری کوردستان کاک عمر العاصی
 روزتان بامی

مژده ی دانی کومه لی زانستی خویند کاران کورد له نه ورویا له م ماوه به دا
 بهم گه یشت . بی گومان که روه کو مژده به گه زورگه وریه بو که سو کوردیک
 هیم وایه که برای زانستی که ل کات بوگه لی کورد وریگی بیکه و سن
 و سه به سته بو وروناک لکانه وه . وه دلنیا م که دانی نه م کومه نه وه
 ده کردنی گو قاری کوردستان به یارمه بی کوردانی دلسوز نه م اما نه بیک نه هینی .
 خویند کاران کورد له نه مه ریکا له م ماوه ی دوا به دا له به ره سندنان و
 کردنه وه ی لقی که کومه لی نا و برا و لره سو دیک زور باشی اته بیی وه به
 تابه بی له و دلا تیک وه کو نه مه ریکا که به کیه جوریک له کورد و کوردستان
 ا کا دار نه .

بی گومان به کی له و نه رکانه کی که به مه رسانی برا کورده کانه وه به نه مه ریکا
 بدو کردنه وه اما نه کورد وه نه باندی ده تگ کوردستان به دانستوانی نه مه ریکا به
 نو بیک هینی نه م اما نه پیوسته که میته خویند کاران کورد له نه مه ریکا
 ا کا داریان که سته له وه که نگا ویک که نه بین بویشستی زانستی
 کورد تا بتوانی به بی ی توانا ده سته یارمه بی درین بیکه بین و بی به شق
 نه بین له و خرمنه ته پروژة که له مه رسانی که سو کوردیکه نو بیک
 هینی نه م اما نه بی که کومه لی خویند کاران نه وریای نو بیکه کهانه
 نکایه که گو قاری کوردستان بی به عثمان سه کن . و له روه کو

<u>Constitution of Kurdish language.</u>	<u>Proportion %</u>
Scraps of ancient caucasian idioms.....	5%
Medish and other ancient Indo-Iranian dialects of Media..	75%
Acquisitions from modern Persian.....	7.5%
Arabic vocabulary (modern times).....	10%
Turkish vocabulary (modern times).....	2.5%
	<u>100 %</u>

Evidently, these proportions are subject to some variation from one region to another.

This table shows clearly enough that ancient Indo-Iranian mish is the very basis of present Kurdish, or to use other terms, the present Kurdish language is merely the ancient mish after evolution. This means, too, that ancient Kurdish was just mish with relatively rare Japhetic scraps. This is a very important linguistic fact which may be always proved philologically and, besides, we know already that it is corroborated in the historical field, by the major role played by Medes and Media in the Kurdish ethnical genesis.

Indeed, ancient historical Armenians and their authors used to call the idiom spoken by Kurdish tribes "Medes language" and Kurds themselves "Medes" too, but the name of "Kurd" developed progressively out of "Medes". The Armenian word for "Medes" was (and still is I suppose) "Mar" which comes from "Mard" which itself is the archetype of "Mada", so we have the equation.

Mar = Mard = Mad = Mada (Medes) = Kurd. This old "Armenian" equation has been recently verified - Jan. 1957, the Soviet Georgian scientist Abouladze discovered at the Armenian Patriarchal library of Etchmizine (in Soviet Armenia), an old armenian manuscript book in which he found a whole sentence written, as the book says "in the Medes language". The manuscript book in question dates from before the XIVth century. Philologists studied carefully the precious old sentence "written in the Medes language" and the sentence proved to be of pure Kurdish, of the present Kurdish northern dialect!

And here is the sentence in question: (in Kurdish Latin characters) "P'ak'ey xodê, p'ak'ey zahm, p'akey vemark, k'oy hati xacê esk'erm, sehmet-ê-me":

"The pure (that is) also God, the pure (that is) also powerful, the pure (that is) also immortal ("without death"), (thou) that hast come to the cross by (thy) mercy (have) pity of us".

(To be Contd.)

(see article signed (V.M.) Minorsky)
Bulletin in No.10 of "Centre
d'Etudz Kurdes" Paris 1950).

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Les principaux buts de l'A.C.E.K.E. :

- 1 - Unir les étudiants kurdes en Europe et organiser des rencontres périodiques entre eux;
- 2 - Réaliser l'entraide matérielle entre les étudiants kurdes en Europe;
- 3 - S'occuper de la culture nationale kurde et travailler à son développement;
- 4 - Faire connaître au monde la culture du peuple kurde, son pays et sa situation;
- 5 - Se mettre en contact avec d'autres organisations étudiantes nationales ou internationales en vue de coopération, conformément aux buts de l'Association et dans les limites de son intérêt;
- 6 - Publier un bulletin périodique comme un moyen d'exécution.

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- (c) Kurdish has evolved in modern times, especially by borrowing vocabulary from neighbouring languages; from Arabic, which, as says the eminent Kurdisant B. NIKITINE, "the Latin of oriental peoples": from modern Persian too, which was, a long while, considered by Kurds as the literary language par excellence; and from Turkish also, Turks having dominated most of the country, politically and militarily, under the Ottoman empire.

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The Russian philologist and historian N. Marr and his Soviet disciples (some of these are Soviet Kurds) refuse such an expression as "family of languages". They deny the existence of families or groups of "Aryan languages", of "Iranian languages", "Latin languages", "Slavic languages", "German languages", or even "Indo-European languages". They consider each language apart as a linguistic an independent entity having its own ascendance and its own evolution and laws. We recognise, as the reader may have noticed it, that each language has its own "History", ascendance and evolution, but this, we believe could not signify that there are no actual kindred languages. Kindred languages do exist, indeed, such as we have said, French and Italian; Russian and Polish; Kurdish and Persian. Under these conditions, the term of "groups" or "families" of languages would prove to be of great help in classifying languages and in all kinds of comparative studies in this field.

As a matter of fact, there is no such thing as a "pure Aryan blood".

This is a chimera which exists just in the unhealthy imagination of some people. I am far from disparaging such a sincere admirer of Kurds and Kurdistan as Major Soane, but am unfortunately obliged, in spite of all the love, say admiration and respect, I may have toward this courageous and passionate author, to repudiate his assertion that Kurds in their mountain fastness, safeguard "their pure Aryan blood and language". This simplicity is incompatible with the complexity of history. But I should add, to be just, that Soane has the great merit of establishing the intimate historical tie between ancient Medes and the Kurds of today. And this is one of the biggest services rendered to the Kurdish people. The "school Marr" says, with reason, that the tongues of modern peoples cannot be "imported" from somewhere outside, ready made, but are formed during a long historical evolution in the respective homes of each people. This is true for every people, and as far as Kurds are concerned, we have seen that their language, which Marr himself recognises to be "now", "Iranian" or "Aryan", is the result of a long evolution in which the bulk of the Indo-Iranian Medio had assimilated scraps of old Japhetic idioms before acquiring, in modern times, some new forms and some foreign vocabulary. It is now a common idea that languages are not petrified in some forms once for ever, that their evolution is a sign of health, of eternal youth.

Whatever we might think, the part of Medio in the formation of Kurdish remains predominant. The story of Kurdish, should it be expressed in statistics would give probably the following (approximate) table:

Everybody knows that Kurdish - as well as Persian - is divided into several dialects. Philological specialists demonstrate (but we, Kurds, know it already), that:

- (1) differences among Kurdish dialects are so slight and unimportant that philology must conclude that a Kurdish language does exist. This is one more proof, coming from linguistics of the Kurdish people's ethnical unity.
- (2) divergences between Persian and Kurdish exist between every Kurdish dialect, on one hand, and Persian on the other. This means that all Kurdish dialects are independent of Persian.

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What is the origin of the Kurdish language, and what are the general lines of its evolution?

The solution of this problem depends on a large scale, on that of Kurdish origins and historical formation. We have found that the present Kurdish people has issued from a human amalgamation between the Aryan tribes commanded by Medes and the Japhetic autochthonous population, an amalgamation which was accomplished precisely by that process of organisation - say Kurdinisation - of the latter by those tribes - the "Urman Manda" as used Assyria to call them. On this basis, we can easily advance the following conclusions.

- (a) The origin of the present Kurdish language is the ancient Indo-Iranian language, or dialects, spoken by the Aryan tribes that immigrated to Iranian Kurdistan after the Xth century B.C., and to Kurdistan of Turkey and Iraq after Nineva fall in 612 B.C. This means that the linguistic origin we are finding out is just the language spoken by ancient Medes and extracts from other mediaeval dialects, such as those of Kyrtii, Zikurtu, Soythes.
- (b) We have said that the Japhetic (Caucasian) languages disappeared from Kurdistan after the linguistic aryanisation and, the ethnical Kurdinisation of the autochthonous population by the medo-Kurdish tribes. Indeed, but we must suppose that scraps of ancient Japhetic idioms did actually slip into Indo-European Kurdish in formation in Kurdistan. The Japhetic factor in the formation of the Kurdish language, although quite secondary and of little importance, must not be neglected. As far as I know, it has not yet been the object of a serious and thorough study, but just occasionally surveyed by N. Marr. As an example of the presence of this factor in Kurdish, Marr gives the Kurdish word for mother: "dê" or "diya". This word is actually one of the rare bits of Japhetic in Kurdish, because we find it in Georgian which is one of the very rare old Japhetic languages still in use in the world. The Indo-Iranian term of this word is represented just by the English "mother"; or by "Mère" (French), Mutter (German); "mader" (Persian) and so on. But I should add that the Indo-European term of this word does exist in Kurdish and serves to form the feminine of some animal names. For instance:

"Kow"	in Kurdish means	"Pigeon";	<u>mê</u> -kew	=	she-pigeon;
"Ker"	"	"	"ass";	<u>ma</u> -ker	= she-ass;
"hing"	"	"	"bear";	<u>hinga</u> - <u>mê</u>	= she-bear.

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How? Because the fall of Assyria, Hurri and Urartu created a vacuum which the victorious Aryan tribes of Media were just too happy and eager to fill. And, indeed it is perfectly well known that a great number of these tribes moved westwards to the Kurdistan of Iraq and of Turkey where they were happy to choose their home. The ancient autochthonous peoples of Kurdistan could not but be aryanised, linguistically, by the new tribes, through a process of historical amalgamation between the two elements, and that was the mechanism of the ethnical genesis of the present Kurdish people. Old Japhetic language disappeared and a new Indo-European one, Kurdish, was born.

All philological specialists say that Kurdish is an Aryan, i.e. Indo-European language of the "Western group of Iranian languages". That is true, but the term "Iranian" in this expression is not used as a synonym for "Persian". "Iranian", here, on scientific grounds, determines a linguistic whole of which, from west to east, Kurdish, Persian, Pushtu (the Afghan or Pathan language) and Baloutsh are the autonomous or independent parts. We say, for instance, "the family of Iranian languages" exactly as we say "the family of Latin languages" which includes French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese; or "the family of Slavic languages", which includes Russian, Polish, Czech, Serbo and Bulgarian, and so on. On this basis, "Persian" is just a unit of the Iranian languages.

The "western Iranian languages" (because there are, also, "eastern Iranian languages") are divided into two groups, that of the "North-west" of which Kurdish is the most important unit, and that of the "South-west" of which Persian is the most important unit. The two groups are linguistically different. The historical schism of western Iranian languages into these two groups has been scientifically traced by many specialists, namely: A. Goimann, Meillet, O. Mann, Lentz (see V. Minorsky). Indeed, if both Kurdish and Persian belong to the same "Iranian" family, there are between them many essential divergences, and Kurdish proves to be quite an independent and a complete language distinct from Persian, as we are told by so many specialists, such as, among others, V. Minorsky and N. Marr the father of Soviet linguistics. Persian is not the origin of Kurdish, neither Kurdish that of Persian.

The eminent Kurdologist who is professor V. Minorsky tells us that Kurdish distinguishes itself from Persian in the following essential features:

- (1) its specific articulation; for instance, some Persian letters are differently articulated in Kurdish, such as "a" which often becomes "h" in Kurdish or even the Semitic letter of "ح" or "ه" (I must add that this occurs in some Kurdish regions only.)
- (2) divergences in the phonetic treatment of the same "Iranian" materials.
- (3) morphological divergences.
- (4) syntactical divergences.
- (5) lexicological divergences.

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The Kurdish language and its dialects

By: Ismet Chériff
Lausanne, Switzerland.

To treat this subject with sufficient precision, I would have better done to begin with another: the Kurdish people's ethnical genesis and historical formation. But since I am going to deal with this one in another article, we shall just have a glance over the problem of Kurdish origins:

At the dawn of history, i.e. more than thirty centuries before Christ, there were a homogeneous racial and linguistic block of peoples called "Caucasian" or "Japhetic", or "Asiatic" or lastly "Mediterranean" covering all the countries from Spain to India, namely: Spain, Southern France, Italy, Greece, Egean Islands, Turkey, Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Northern India. These peoples were not Aryan, neither Semitic, nor Mongolo-Turcoman, but formed a genuine and independent racial block, spoke more or less kindred languages, (which have not been extinct for centuries, except Georgian and Circassian in the Caucasus, and in the Spanish Pyrenees).

The following were the most autochthonous peoples of these countries.

The Japhetic autochthonous peoples of Kurdistan were the Guti, Hullubi and Kashshu (Kassites) in the Zagros mountains, and the Hurri-Nairi-Urartu in the North and West (Kurdistan of Turkey). But we should notice that the name of "Kurd" and "Kurdistan" was still unknown at that remote time.

In the XXth century before Christ occurred the first Aryan immigration to Kurdistan but it was not sufficiently important to cause any notable aryanisation of the country. As a matter of fact, we should wait until the Xth century before C. to witness the biggest immigration movement of all history: during about three centuries from the tenth to the seventh, wave after wave, the Indo-European tribes literally whirled over northern India, the Iranian Plateau (including Afghanistan and the Zagros of Iranian Kurdistan) and Europe.

The Indo-European tribes or peoples of the Aryan or the Indo-Iranian family who concern almost exclusively Kurds and Kurdish ethnical genesis were, among the most important, the Medes (Madai), Mards (Mardi), Kyrtili (probably Kort), Sagart (Zikurtu), Soythes (Sakka), Cimmerians (Gimiriia) and the Mannans (Mannai). Some historians say that Mannans were not aryan but japhetic. (Between parentheses are the indigenous forms of three names.)

These Aryan tribes of Media (which included Iranian Kurdistan) were all nomad in origin. A huge wall of old States thwarted their westward way: Assyria and Urartu. Finally, the Medes were happy enough to impose their leadership on the other aryan tribes of Media and, together, marched upon Assyria and Urartu, occupied them and destroyed Niniva in 612 B.C. This considerable historical event, crowned with the constitution of the Medio Empire, marks the beginning of Kurdish history; the year of 612 B.C. is the very birthdate of the actual Kurdish people.

(V) A more liberal and realistic attitude towards the position and participation of the fair-sex (half of the society) should result in enormous enrichment of our national culture and music.

Again space does not permit further explanation however, it must be emphasised that without liberation of women and their active partnership in our national cultural revolution we lose half of the potential talent of the nation.

We have a long way to go, and the road that will lead us to our ultimate aims and ambitions is not bedded with flowers! But never mind the thorns, any genuine effort is absolutely worthwhile and great!

May be one day a Kurdish ensemble and dancing company will dazzle and captivate the Londoners and Parisians as well as any existing ensemble and dancing company succeeds to day!

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".....that the peoples of Mesopotamian plains were the pioneers of civilisation, and that they contributed remarkably to the progress of music, must be allowed them. The mere comparison between the advanced structure of Mesopotamian instruments of music, especially in harps and Kitharoes, with what the Greeks had accomplished, at once proclaims the immense superiority of the former....."

The New Oxford History of Music. Vol. 1, p. 228.

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To our english speaking friends!

Here is "Kurdistan", the bulletin of "Kurdish Students' Cultural Society in Europe". You are welcome to write in. The Editor will be happy to publish every article conformable to the general aims of our Society.

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A nos amis de langues française!

Voici "Kurdistan", le bulletin de "l'Association Culturelle des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe". Ses pages vous sont largement ouvertes! Notre Comité de Rédaction se fera un plaisir de publier tout article conforme aux buts généraux de notre Association.

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(1) Formation of societies and groupings by professional and amateur artists and musicians, as a first step forward, with the aim of preservation, standardisation and advancement of Kurdish music.

An extensive research into Kurdish folk music and dances should be given the first priority.

Among other things which such a society or association can fulfill (providing that it is supported and financed by the local authorities and municipalities as well as the educational authorities), and which should be given thought and consideration are the following:

(a) Talented and qualified musicians and teams should be sent to all over Kurdistan to collect and assort the local and provincial lyrics, songs and dances.

(b) Study groups should be sent up for further and broader education of its members, paying due attention to both national and international cultures and music.

(c) Sending a few of its most talented members to higher institutions like the College of Fine Arts and Music in Baghdad or any other similar or better institutions elsewhere - including Europe.

(d) Formation of choral and dancing sub-societies from among the talented amateurs and professionals.

(e) A wide-scale campaign to popularize music among people from all walks of life, particularly among the younger generations.

(f) Particular attention should be paid to musical instrumentation and its development.

(g) Full co-operation with other societies; such as dramatic and literature societies, since music, drama and poetry are all associated together.

(11) Genuine and ceaseless efforts should aim at establishing modern schools and institutions with the object of teaching and advancing Kurdish national musical culture.

(111) Apart from collection and preservation of what we possess, our talented composers should aim at further development and orchestration of those tunes that cry out for orchestral colouration and elaboration.

(1V) New composition and melo-dramatisation of works of the Kurdish poetical and other giants should be the aspiration of our composers and intellectual bodies.

Space does not allow for further elaboration of this important point. It will be enough, however, to remark that Shakespear's "Othello" is already great, it is still greater when it is melo-dramatised by the Italian operatic composer Verdi! Goctes' drama "Faust" is still more poetic when Gounod puts it into an opera and then into a ballet.

Maulawi, Pierre-Merd, Be-Kes, Goran, Herdi, and scores of others are waiting impatiently for some one to make their genius still more appreciated!!

From the emphasis and accentuation already put on music it should be obvious to the readers and colleagues that it is our duty, as the intellectual vanguard of our nation, to give attention, with due responsibility, to this very important part of our national culture.

The Wealth of the Kurdish Musical Culture.

Kurds, are, as is a well known fact to their neighbours, a musical nation. If any one had a tour around Kurdistan, particularly the mountainous villages in central Kurdistan, he will be able to whet his appetite with delightful, enchanting and highly colourful lyrics, folk songs and dances. Kurdish music, like central and eastern European, is more inclined to tune and melody colouration though its nonetheless exciting and captivating.

Kurdistan is a beautiful and mountainous country. With freezing cold weather, and deep snow for several months in the year, the life becomes harsh and testing in most parts. But the beauty with which nature shows itself in the following half of the year, and which it bestows so abundantly to its lovers like a nymph on her wedding day, can only inspire its inhabitants with love, glorification and rapture - from the simplest shepherd and cowboy, peasant and forrester to the poet and philosopher of towns and cultural centres.

Added to this caprice of nature from one extreme to another is the nomadic and unsettled life that continued for hundreds of years, and which still exists to some extent. The engagement of many Kurds in commerce and long distance caravans, due to the unique commercial and geographical situation of Kurdistan. All these had their way in forming and developing the characteristic Kurdish music.

No wonder then that one finds such a wide contrast in Kurdish music. A variation is observed from the lucid and amorous duets and lyrics. Leisurely or light hearted and brisk "Halperkê's" (dances) to long breath, high reach "Quater û Allaweysi's" solo songs and exciting or even tempestuous and blazing rhythms and dances.

So far only the original "Halperkê's", "Hayran û Lawuk" and "Quater û allaweysi" songs and lyrics have been mentioned. All these are original and characteristic Kurdish folk music that have been created throughout hundreds of years by thousands of unknown ordinary folk.

As far as musical culture is concerned, it must be admitted, with unparalleled regret, that we have nothing to offer apart from this very rich national wealth of original folk music.

Instrumentation and orchestration are poor. Oboes, flutes, clarinets, "zurra's", drums, "def's", "dumbuk's", etc., have been known since long ago yet one can claim no one characteristic or typical Kurdish musical instrument.

Due to many reasons, chiefly organisational, Kurdish national culture and music have been hindered from further development. Until very recently schools or institutions of any standard, or genuine groupings and organisations that cared and worked for the development and advancement of Kurdish music did not exist. In addition there is the extreme poverty of Kurdish literature in the publications on music by reputable professional musicians.

The task with which the intellectuals are faced, at least in the field of culture, is therefore quite obvious.

The author considers the following suggestions helpful, and worth considering by the interested parties both in an outside Kurdistan.

AN APPROACH TO KURDISH MUSIC

(By Bakir. A. Ali)
London.

Introduction

Human nature is musical itself. Birds and certain animals, as low down the ladder of evolution as snakes, also recognise and even 'appreciate' systematic, concordant and euphonious sounds. We all know one or more stories woven around the fact that snakes respond to whistling and similar sounds. However, human being, due to his higher degree of mental development, not only simply recognises concordant and euphonious sounds from the non-euphonious ones, in other words musical from non-musical, but he also knows and understands their nature. He appreciates and discriminates between them, pours his emotions and wistful desires and whims into them, expresses his sufferings and triumph through them.

Archaeological excavations in Iraq (Mesopotamia), Egypt and, probably in India, China and elsewhere, prove beyond any doubt that Man, since the early anthropological days, had a recognition and understanding of this 'natural phenomena of music'.

As early as five thousand years ago, music making and instrumentation were well advanced in Mesopotamia*, Egypt and, perhaps, elsewhere.

It is not going beyond the truth to claim that music since the early days was regarded not as a luxury but almost as an every day necessity of human life.

In our age of atomic energy and 'sputniks', CULTURE is as staple as food, clothing and housing for us to lead a happy life. This may not necessarily apply to the lesser educated ordinary people; yet one wonders what purpose atomic-power and 'sputniks' will serve if they do not mean ultimate prosperity and cultural enrichment of ALL! We are no longer satisfied with the mere requirement of a primitive life. We wish to lead a decent and happy life. Cultural enrichment and intellectual satisfaction are essential for the accomplishment of this happiness.

Man, being social by nature, likes to communicate and express his thoughts, feelings and experience to the others. When he experiences misfortunes and hardships, or is faced with difficulties and disaster, he cries out for help of others. The mere thought of their help, or even their sympathy, will relieve his sorrows and will give him consolation and courage. When he is happy or triumphant he wants to celebrate and does so by expressing his mirth and victory!

Among others, fine arts, sports, literature, poetry and music are foremost in giving strength, elaboration and meaning to these feelings. Music, as history proves, has always been, and will continue to be, the most effective, elaborate and, perhaps, the easiest way of self-expression.

Folklores, lyrics and dances all the world over, since thousands of years, are best acoustic and phonetic documents of the history of peoples throughout these years.

Appel aux étudiants kurdes

Chers amis!

"L'Association Culturelle des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe" va de l'avant, fidèle aux principes énoncés dans son statut. Son objectif le plus important est d'unir les étudiants kurdes pour mieux servir la culture nationale du peuple kurde.

Le succès de notre Association dépend de votre coopération avec ses comités, locaux et directeur, de ce que fait et fera chacun de nous, qu'il soit ou non membre de ces comités, pour atteindre ses objectifs. Cela dépend des articles que vous avez été invités à écrire et qui seront publiés dans son bulletin, de la régularité dans le paiement des cotisations, du zèle qu'on mettra à exécuter ses décisions et du contrôle continu et stimulant que vous exercerez sur ses organes en vous montrant activement soucieux de son essor. Elle est votre Association, ce qu'elle vise c'est de vous servir; mettons-nous donc, à notre tour, à son service pour qu'elle s'acquitte de sa mission et puisse vivre et prospérer.

Notre Association n'a pas eu la possibilité jusqu'ici de se mettre en contact avec tous les étudiants kurdes en Europe. Il est du devoir de chacun de nous de faire son possible pour établir ce contact et communiquer aux comités les adresses de tous les étudiants kurdes qui n'ont pu être atteints, quels que soient les passeports qu'ils portent et les pays où ils étudient, afin que s'agrandisse le cercle de nos activités culturelles. Notre union ne s'en trouvera que plus grande et plus apte à durer. Rangeons-nous sous la bannière pacifique de notre chère Association pour mieux servir la culture nationale de notre Peuple, sa langue, sa littérature et son histoire notamment, et pour éclairer scientifiquement les divers aspects de sa vie et les faire connaître au monde.

Notre grand Peuple kurde a besoin de nous, et nous sommes à même d'accomplir notre devoir envers lui, sur le plan culturel, à condition que nous unissions et que nous franchissions le domaine des sentiments passifs par celui de l'action rationnelle et courageuse.

Etudiants kurdes là où vous êtes, unissez-vous pour mieux servir la culture nationale de notre Peuple!

Tel doit être notre principe conducteur, notre slogan de tous les jours.

Le président de l'"Association Culturelle des
Etudiants Kurdes en Europe",

Ismet Cheriff,

Suisse.

Appeal to Kurdish Students

Dear friends:

Our "Kurdish Students' Cultural Society in Europe" is going on steadily, faithful to its principal aims as declared in its statute. Its most important purpose is to unite Kurdish students to better serve Kurdish national culture.

The success of our Society depends on your co-operation with its committees, local and executive, on what each of us, whether or not members of these committees, is doing and will do to realize its purposes. It depends on the articles you have been invited to write and which will be published in its bulletin; on the regularity with which subscriptions will be acquitted; on the zeal you will put in carrying out its resolutions and on the control you will exercise over its organs when you prove to be actively interested in its soaring. It is your Society, its aim is to serve you; let us then, in our turn, serve it so that it might fulfil its task and live long and prosper.

Our Society has not yet been able to attain all Kurdish students in Europe. You will agree that it is of everyone's duty to endeavour to establish this contact and communicate to committees the addresses of these students who have not yet been attained, whatever passport they might have and in whatever country they might study, so that our activities circle would always be larger and our union more important and more bound to last. Let us range ourselves under our cultural Society pacific banner so that we could better serve the national culture of our People, his language, literature and history and study objectively the different aspects of his life and make them known to others.

Our great Kurdish People needs us, and, indeed, we are able to accomplish our duty toward him, in the cultural fields, if we unite and pass over the domain of passive feelings to that of rational and courageous action.

Kurdish students wherever you are, unite yourselves in order to better serve the national culture of our People!

This should be our guiding principle and daily slogan.

President of "Kurdish Students' Cultural Society
in Europe",

Ismet Cheriff,
Switzerland.

KURDISTAN



FRIENDLY MEETING IN BAGHDAD
Abdul-Karim Kassem, Prime Minister of Iraq, greeting
Mustafa Barzani, the Kurdish leader, on his return from
exile.

KURDISH STUDENTS' SOCIETY IN EUROPE

THIRD CONGRESS SPECIAL NUMBER

PRICE TWO SHILLINGS

منتدى إقرأ الثقافي

KURDISTAN

Published by the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe

Editor: SALAH M. SAADALLA

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KOMELEY XWENDIKARNÎ KURD LE EWROPA

Editorial

The third Congress of the 'Kurdish Students' Society in Europe', held in Munich during 4-8 August, 1958, decided to issue a Special Number of *KURDISTAN* devoted to the Congress.

It is now in your hands, and we hope that it will give you a better idea of our Society, its activities and policy. It is also a Number in which we could report on the outcome of the Revolution in Iraq (the last Number just caught up with the news of the Revolution).

The July 14 Revolution, which liberated Southern Kurdistan along with the rest of Iraq, has given birth to a Provisional Republican Constitution which 'regards the Arabs and Kurds as partners' and 'recognises their respective national rights within Iraq'. For the Kurdish people this is a concrete step in the road of complete liberation and will have a profound effect on those parts of the Kurdish nation which are still in the sphere of imperialist influence, i.e. in Turkey and Iran.

In this short period of time much has been achieved. The pillars of the old oppressive regime have been arrested and charges of corruption and anti-Arab conspiracies have been brought against them. An Agrarian Reform Law which limits land holdings and ensures ownership of land by the peasants has been introduced. All political prisoners have been released. The General Union of Iraqi Students is working openly and students unjustly dismissed are free to resume studying. The cost of living has been stabilised and prices of some essential commodities have actually fallen.

An independent foreign policy has been pursued whose basis is peace, friendship, equality in developing mutual interests with other countries, and support of the Arab national movement. Diplomatic relations have been established with the

Socialist countries and trade agreements have been concluded with U.S.S.R. and other states which will help to free the Iraqi economy from the grip of the Sterling area. The Government has facilitated the return of the great Kurdish leader Mustafa Barzani, together with two of his colleagues, Mir Haj and Khoshawi, from exile and this has immensely strengthened the unity of the Iraqi people. It has appointed a commission to investigate the state of education in Iraqi Kurdistan which has raised the hopes that Kurdish will gradually become the language of instruction in the schools in that part of the country.

The Kurdish people — including students — actively supported the Republic and still do so with much pride. It is indeed the Republic of Arabs and Kurds, whose magnificent unity has been one of the basic factors in the swift success of the Revolution and its rapid consolidation. This factor was stressed by the Prime Minister: 'We have become' he said to a delegation of students of Iraqi Kurdistan and the Kurdish people in Syria, 'due to the co-operation of the Arabs and Kurds a mighty force which frightens the enemy.'

* * *

To the Iraqi members of our Society we say 'Work harder! Qualify sooner! Iraq needs you more than ever before. Doctors and Nurses, Engineers, Teachers, Economists, Physicists, Chemists, Officers, Pilots, and all kinds of technicians, train faster and better, and go home to take part in building a new, free and prosperous life for your six and half million people.'

* * *

The next issue of *Kurdistan* will be as usual. Letters, articles and enquiries are very welcome, and so are any suggestions for improvements. Remember, this is YOUR magazine!

The Third Congress

by **Saadi Amin Dizayee** (*Assistant General Secretary*)

Twenty delegates, Kurdish students from European Universities, attended the Third Congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe (K.S.S.E.) which took place in Munich from 4th to 8th August 1958.

Arriving in Munich, we were driven to one of the loveliest hostels I have ever seen. It has been newly built in the suburbs of the city. Its white-washed stone-walls looks on to a beautiful garden

the First Session. The Agenda was adopted after a brief discussion.

It was followed by fraternal greetings to the Congress from the General Union of the Iraqi Students and a representative of Jordanian Students.

The General Secretary then presented his report, and a long discussion followed. The first session ended with the discussion on the Treasurer's report.



SOME DELEGATES AT THE THIRD CONGRESS

Right to left:

Sitting—Shawkat Fawzi, Najib Khaffaf, Salah Al-Atrosli, Wurya Rowandozi, Ismet Cheriff, Widad Omara.

Standing—Rajib Badrawi, Hasan Sulaiman, Dhahir Mahmud Kemal Fasad, Dars Adib, Shawqi Aziz, J. J. Faraj Saadi Amin Dizayee, Omar Al-Qadhi, Osman Gulshin.

with a small circular pool. The hostel is divided into two sections, one of which was reserved entirely for us, our meals being served in the other section, together with students of various nationalities. A very pleasant room was allocated for meetings.

The delegates took their places seated around a long table as the President of the K.S.S.E. opened

The Second Session opened with a report by the Editor of *Kurdistan*. Secretaries of K.S.S.E. branches in Britain, Germany, Austria and Switzerland also presented their reports.

The Aims and Rules of the Society were thoroughly discussed in the Third and Fourth Sessions, and vital changes were made. The Fifth and Sixth Sessions dealt with miscellaneous questions and

resolutions. Also messages and greetings to Congress were read. Finally, the new Executive Committee was elected.

Congress ended with all delegates singing the Kurdish national song 'Kurdistan, Kurdistan.'

Outside the room we could not help congratulating each other on the contributions made towards such a successful Congress.

We have now more confidence in our Society than ever before.

Since the Kurdish Question, generally, is our most important concern and we have no doubts whatsoever that the K.S.S.E. can serve this Question to a great extent, we are therefore determined to serve the Society in every aspect and make *Kurdistan* and the Kurdish people known to the European peoples.

The Munich Congress was the most successful Congress ever held by Kurdish students in Europe.

Students who attended the Congress had a most enjoyable time. Between the meetings they relaxed in the brilliant sunshine, listened to Kurdish music and took part in dancing.

Following the Congress the Warden of the Hostel invited us to a party, attended by all the residents. Kurdish students performed three national dances and the third was joined by all the European students present, boys and girls. Many German students shouted 'Long live Kurdo-German Friendship.'

The Third Congress is over, but we have precious memories which will last a life-time. We are now looking forward to the Fourth Congress to meet once more our Kurdish friends, to reinforce our solidarity and to have a lovely holiday.

The Presidential Address to the Third Congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe

The President of the Society, Mr. Ismet Cheriff, in his opening speech said:

"Dear Brothers,

We open now the Third Congress of the Kurdish Students' Cultural Society in Europe (the name until then) and shall review the Society's activities since the second Congress held in London during 2-4 January 1958, discuss various reports and make proposals for the continuation of work, and also elect the Executive Committee according to the Agenda.

I would like, on behalf of the Congress and E.C., to thank our dear brothers, representatives of Iraqi and Jordanians Students, for attending this opening session and to welcome particularly on behalf of the Executive Committee, those of our Kurdish brothers who are attending the Society's Congress for the first time.

All parts of Kurdistan are equally dear to us, we do not differentiate between the sons of Erbil, Sulaimaniya, Diyarbekir, Sevrak, Wan, Mehabad, Sunna or Kermenshah, but I do wish to greet especially a representative from Turkey's Kurdistan, for the first time, where nearly fifty per cent

of the Kurdish people endure under a reign of oppression and fascism.

Do let us give him a hearty welcome."

The President then addressed the representative, Osman Gulshin, saying, "Osman, our esteemed colleague, we are very glad to have you with us today, to be with your brothers from Iraqi and Iranian Kurdistan. We hope to have more students from Turkey's Kurdistan to work with us for the culture, independence and liberty of our Kurdistan."

In greeting you today we cannot but regret the inability of a great number of our brothers to attend for reasons well known to you; anyway their hearts and thoughts are with us."

When we met in Wiesbaden in August 1956, I declared that our meeting was a historic one and that it would contribute to the growth of the Kurdish Movement and enlightenment, and said that the eyes of the Kurdish people were centred on us. The same applied to the London Congress as the last two years have already proved to us, and as also will the future, for the increasing importance which our Society is attaining. The zeal of our brothers in some cities of Kurdistan to obtain

the few available copies of our magazine is evidence of the deep affection which the Kurdish people holds for our movement; another witness is the many telegrams and letters that have arrived.

Today the eyes of the Kurdish people are centred upon you in Munich. Our movement, though young and with limited means, represents a mighty moral and ideological force and has its effect on the development of the Kurdish Question. It is a hope of the Kurdish people and a symbol of its struggle for its revival, happiness and freedom. It is more than a symbol, it is a link, one of the many links in the National struggle for the freedom and progress of Kurdistan.

Everyone of us, undoubtedly, has thought about the mighty Iraqi Revolution for freedom and democracy against oppression, corruption and Imperialism, the revolution of the Kurdish and Arabic peoples for the proper independence of Iraq and its Welfare. The Cultural Students' Society greets the popular Iraqi Revolution in which the Arabs and Kurds co-operated. It is the third blow in the East's history, after Suez and the Union of Egypt and Syria, to help crush Imperialism, liberate the Middle East and its various peoples including our Kurdish people and its nation Kurdistan."

Dear Brothers;

The Second Congress held in London took certain decisions regarding the activities of the Society and the E.C. met after the Congress to carry out those decisions.

The participants in the Third Congress are invited to discuss the work of the E.C., to pass judgement on it, and to draw up the policy of the Society for the coming year.

During the debate on the policy of the Society I shall propose, when the Agenda permits, that a decision be taken to give the Society a militant character, to allow her to participate in the struggle for the progress of the Kurdish people and the freedom of Kurdistan. As you know, the Society's activities up to now have been confined to the cultural field, to the history, language, and literature of the Kurdish people in addition to students' affairs. However, we cannot continue to isolate ourselves from the fight of our people for their freedom and the solution of their National Question, and so, we cannot remain confined to the cultural field with its narrow limits. The Kurdish Youth is a major revolutionary force, and the

Kurdish students in Europe are the vanguard for the Youth, you and the participants of the Congress are responsible before the Kurdish people, before the history of our Nation and before the future generations of Kurdistan, responsible to work for the happiness and freedom of the Nation. The basic aims of the Society permit us to work in this sphere so let us make the pages of our magazine *Kurdistan* a tribune to serve the Kurdish National Culture in its wider context, and the various fields of struggle in the service of our Kurdish people and the freedom of Kurdistan.

The historic stage through which the countries of the Middle East are now passing, in which the national democratic forces co-operate to destroy imperialism, free the peoples and solve their National Question, confronts us with some basic tasks. These are the study of the conditions, and their understanding, the connection between the interests of the peoples of the East, contacting the Youth of our neighbouring peoples, especially our Arab brothers, to bring home to those still unaware of the importance of the Kurdish Question and the necessity for its solution on the basis of the right of self determination, when International and Regional conditions permit.

The Kurdish Question is by no means confined to the boundaries of the Arab states and Iraqi Kurdistan represents but 1 7th or 1 8th of the total area and population of Kurdistan. The affairs of the peoples are closely inter-connected and this should be understood, hence the importance of contacts and brotherly discussions between the Kurdish Youth and the Youth of other nations especially the Arab Youth which occupies the front ranks in the common struggle against imperialism. The Kurdish Youth has long recognised the importance of this understanding in liberating the Middle East but it has looked sadly though not hopelessly at the popular lack of understanding in neighbouring countries with the exception of the Arab public opinion in Iraq. We note this brotherly attitude of Arab Youth in Iraq which could serve as an example. The Arab Youth is no less Arab and does not lack enthusiasm for Arab affairs but its understanding of the conditions of the Kurdish people was a result of neighbourliness and brotherly co-existence between Kurds and Arabs. This understanding can give it a great importance and a special role as a link to strengthen this tie of friendship between the Arab and Kurdish peoples as a whole and not only within Iraq. Anyway a positive development has taken place recently in

Arab Public opinion in the understanding of the facts regarding the Kurdish Question.

The Kurdish Broadcast from Cairo is a good example. The Kurdish Youth is glad to note this development because Arab-Kurdish co-operation is a right way to defeat imperialism in the Middle East as a whole and not merely in Iraq. The battle against imperialism is one and the same whether in Iraq, Iran or Turkey and the defeat of Imperialism means the Achievement of Freedom, Independence, Kurdish Unity, and liberation of neighbouring peoples, especially the Persian and Turkish peoples from their bad conditions.

We are glad—glad for ourselves and for our friends—for the radical solution of the Kurdish problem in the future is one of the main conditions for a lasting peace and understanding between the peoples and governments of this part of the world.

We all know that the International Press and Broadcasts speak very little—and then only distortingly—of the situation of the Kurdish people and its National Question but we, and all far seeing people, know that the Kurdish people constitutes a main democratic force in the Middle East, whose weight in the world balance will be felt sooner or later. We are a part of the forces of freedom and democracy, and any overall

political solution of the problems of the Middle East which does not recognise the National existence of the Kurdish people in this part of the world, cannot be but a temporary and unbalanced settlement. The Kurdish people has a say in the affairs of this part of the world; it is a word of love and peace for their neighbouring peoples and hatred for the international imperialists and the hired Governments of the East. I am referring to the Kurdish people as a whole; for as there is one Arab people, similarly there is one Kurdish people. They are two peoples, Arab and Kurdish, differing in language but agreeing in the struggle for democracy, freedom and peace for all peoples."

"Dear Brothers,

I conclude by wishing every success to the Third Congress in forming a bright spot in the history of Society, but I cannot end my speech, without thanking our Kurdish student brothers, members of the Society, who have made it possible for us to meet in this beautiful place, hoping that they particularly and in general the Kurdish students in Germany will push forward, in co-operation with their colleagues in other European countries in the coming year, our Student Movement and raise high the name of Kurdistan."



The Report of the General Secretary of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe to the Third Congress in Munich

Mr. D. Mehmed Huseyni, the former General Secretary of the 'Kurdish Students' (or in their Cultural) Society in Europe presented the following report to the Third Congress of the Society in Munich:

"Mr. President:

Dear Brothers,

Once again you have responded to the call of our Society to attend the annual Congress.

I am honoured to report to you the work of the Society since the Second Congress held in London 2/3/1948.

Instructed by the Second Congress, the Executive Committee issued a statement on, together with the Rules and Aims, of the Society, which was distributed to many European countries, whereby many more Kurdish students joined the Society, especially in Britain, Austria, Switzerland and Germany. Particularly in Britain, its branch there has been carrying out the main work. A Branch has been formed for Austria-Switzerland. Unfortunately no branch exists in Germany (during the Congress one was formed—Edirne).

The Executive Committee issued another Statement to the Kurdish newspapers and magazines for publishing the Aims of the Society, calling for moral and material assistance. The result was not very satisfactory.

Letters were also sent to many organisations in Europe. There were many replies from Afro-Asian Committee and affiliated organisations in Europe.

The Iraqi Students' Society and the Arab Students' Union in U.K. These letters introduced our Society to other people. The Pembroke Dock International Friendship Society in England wrote asking for members to attend their general meeting.

The Society has published the periodical *Kurdistan* and bought Society's stamp, printed official papers and membership cards. It celebrated 'Nûroze' in London with a party attended by many Kurds, Arabs, British and Afro-Asian. Kurds, Kurdish songs and dances were presented. There were many fraternal speeches. A tea party followed.

Our duty now is to be united. Unity is the key to our success and the achievement of just demands. The name of our Society, founded to serve our people, must be raised high. We should organise the Kurds everywhere in Europe, closely follow the events at home and work here in the best interests of our people. In Iraq, the Kurds and Arabs led by the gallant Army, revolted against oppression and tyranny destroying the chains of slavery and expelled Imperialism and burying its dirty conspiracies.

We must offer all we have in order to preserve the Iraqi Republic sacrificing ourselves if need be. The Republic of Iraq has opened up new horizons before us to achieve our noble aims.

Our Society has proved that it is perfectly capable to lead the Kurdish Student Movement in Europe in a democratic way. Long live our Society! Long live the friendship of Kurdish and other Students!

Report on 'Kurdistan'

Mr. O. Al-Qadhi, the former Editor of *Nordistan*, said in his report to the Congress that two numbers of the magazine had been issued. The lack of articles prevented more frequent publication. His appeal was for moral and material support.

He proposed that an Editorial Board be formed in one country and urged for short stories and more humorous articles.

He stated that there was no need to publish anything in Kurdish, since the purpose of the magazine, he suggested, was to publicize the cause of the Kurdish people among European nations. If it was not possible to print the magazine in two or more European languages, then it was better to have it printed in one language, such as English. Mr. Al-Qadhi concluded.

Congress hails the Iraqi Revolution

The Third Congress sent the following cable to His Excellency the Prime Minister of Iraq.
 'We bless your glorious popular revolution. Support your measures for the freedom and welfare of Iraq and its Arab and Kurdish peoples.'

Congress Writes to President Nasser

Excellency:

The Executive Committee of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe, instructed by the Third Congress of the Society held in Munich during 4-8 August 1968, is honoured to present to your Excellency, your Government and the great people of United Arab Republic the feelings of deep gratitude for the action of your esteemed Government in opening a Kurdish Broadcast Service in Cairo Radio.

The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe contains the educated section of the Kurdish people abroad and in presenting to your Excellency its thanks it expresses the feelings of the Kurdish people who are very happy with the expressions of friendship and understanding shown by their brother and great neighbour the Arab people in its

various countries under your Excellency's leadership and care.

We know that every victory achieved by the Arab nationalism in its mighty battle against imperialism is a victory for Kurdish Nationalism and each step forward by the great Arab people on the road of independence and unity means a step forward that brings the Kurdish people nearer to the achievement of their aspirations to freedom.

Long live the Arab people free and united, long live our Kurdish people, and long may you live leader of the people, a hope and benefactor to our people and to all the Afro-Asian peoples.

Executive Committee

Kurdish Students' Society in Europe."

Letter to Mr. Hammarskjöld

On the recommendation of the Third Congress, the E.C. sent the following letter:—

Mr. D. Hammarskjöld,
 Secretary General of the United Nations
 New York, U.S.A.

"Excellency,

The General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation meets today in a Special Session to discuss the problems of the Middle East. There is a question about which the international press rarely writes, and then usually negatively, a question no longer discussed by the international circles concerned, since the Sevres Treaty in 1920. All the same it is still an urgent question and important—the Kurdish Question.

According to the recommendations of the Third Congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe held in Munich during 4-8 August 1968, the Executive Committee of the Society is honoured to write you this letter hoping to draw the attention

of the world, and especially of the General Assembly of the U.N.O. to this important question.

We beg you, Excellency, to use your authority according to article 99 of the rules of UNO to place the 'Kurdish File' in the Organisation for discussion anew and put it on the Agenda of the present session of the General Assembly of the U.N.O. If required, the Kurdish Delegation, whose permanent headquarters is in Paris, could participate.

The U.N.O. endeavours to go along a road leading to a lasting peace in the Middle East. Since we believe in the noble mission of the U.N., we beg you to realise that a lasting peace cannot be achieved in this region as long as its main problems remained without a correct solution, particularly as long as the injustice continues against the Kurdish people, the people that was betrayed by the great powers in the Lausanne Treaty in 1923.

The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe contains the educated part of the Kurdish people

abroad and voices the aspirations of the eleven million Kurds inhabiting their native Kurdistan, which is politically divided between Turkey, Iran and Iraq.

The new Republican order in Iraq in recognising the national Kurdish entity and regarding in article III of the new Constitution, the Arabs and Kurds as partners in the Republic with equal national rights, has taken a wide and reasonable step on the road of solving the Kurdish Question. It is our duty to declare our support for the Iraqi Government and state that the Iraqi Government has set an example to both Iran and Turkey in giving a democratic and peaceful solution to the Kurdish Question. This solution cannot affect the permanent right of the Kurdish people as a whole to self-determination.

If the Governments of Turkey and Iran maintain the non-recognition of the Kurdish national entity and follow a policy of national persecution towards the parts of Kurdistan under their rule, they will end up soon by endangering world peace. For these reasons we express our hope that these two governments will recognise the national Kurdish entity and apply a solution to the question inspired by the new Iraqi policy. This will be in the interest of the two countries and also of the peoples of the Middle East.

Please accept, Excellency, our best wishes.

The Executive Committee,

Kurdish Student's Society in Europe.

Letter of the Congress to the Chairman of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Moscow

"Excellency,

The Executive Committee of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe is honoured to present to the Soviet Government the gratitude of the Society's Third Congress held in Munich during 4-8 August 1958, in appreciation of the vast progress which the Kurdish national culture has achieved in the Soviet Union due to the Soviet order.

We also naturally thank the Governments of Armenia, Soviet Azerbaijan, and the many scientists and scientific institutions that have contributed to this progress — such as the Soviet Academy of Sciences and the Oriental Institution in Leningrad.

The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe organises Kurdish students in the various European Universities, in England, Germany, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and France. It aims, in addition to organising the Kurdish Students in Europe, to work for the advancement of the Kurdish national culture and to inform the world about the social, economical, cultural and political conditions of our Kurdish people, its land and history. Our Society was founded in 1956 and held its Third Congress recently in Munich. It is recognised by a great number of organisations and the inter-

national student movements especially the Arab and the Afro-Asian. It also enjoys the active support of the Kurdish people. It publishes a periodical magazine called *Kurdistan* in many languages, including Kurdish.

We know of the cultural and material progress of the small Kurdish minority inhabiting Armenia and Soviet Azerbaijan. It is a rapid progress which we follow with pleasure and is praiseworthy at a time when we cannot but observe sadly the miserable cultural and material conditions in Turkey's Kurdistan with its five million of our people and Iranian Kurdistan with its four millions, under reactionary governments which apply a policy of national persecution in our country. Of all Middle Eastern countries, which incorporate Kurdistan, only the new Republican Iraq recognises fully the national rights of the Kurds and their absolute equality in theory and practice, with their Arab friends and brothers. This heralds great cultural and material progress for Iraqi Kurdistan. This is one of the main reasons of the strong and unhesitating support of the Kurdish people to the new Iraqi Republic and the Arab liberation movement. Other reasons are the Afro-Asian solidarity, the solidarity of all the freedom loving peoples in the struggle against imperialism.

The Kurdish people, with its eleven millions, follows with much interest the continuation of the great construction work which benefits the 100,000 to 150,000 Kurds of Soviet Union. Since the Kurdish cultural centres exist in Iraqi Kurdistan (and to a lesser extent in Syria) and in the Soviet Union and since the last Centre is the most important, for it has published 1,500 books in Kurdish in the Soviet Union during the last thirty years, it is greatly desirable that millions of our people, particularly the youth and students, should be able to take advantage of that. Our Society, which possesses a library, and its members would be happy to obtain copies of the books printed in Kurdish in the Soviet Union.

We ask you to permit us to mention that it would be good to print these books in the Latin Alphabet, so that Soviet Science in the subject of Kurdish studies could be within the reach of our people. The use of this alphabet is gradually spreading especially among the new Kurdish generation and it seems that only those letters will be used in the future and a means of unifying written Kurdish. We were glad to note that the Russian-Kurdish dictionary which appeared in 1957 was printed as far as Kurdish is concerned, in the Latin alphabet so that the Kurds of Middle East can utilise it. This allows us to hope that the future Kurdish publications will be in this alphabet,

at least those which could be used in the Middle East.

The Third Congress also expressed the hope that the Soviet Government will open a daily Kurdish service in Moscow Radio. We permit ourselves to mention that a request on this matter by some Kurdish students was presented to you.

We hope that our Fourth Congress which is likely to be held in Vienna in Summer 1958 will be attended by Observers from Kurdistan and guests representing fraternal students organisations, therefore the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe will be pleased to see among the visitors and observers, Delegates representing the Soviet Student movement and the Soviet Kurdish students for the purpose of cultural co-operation.

In repeating our gratitude to the Government, people and Soviet Science for the encouragement of the Kurdish national culture and the progress of Kurdish studies in your great land, we wish to ask you to accept, your Excellency, our best wishes

Executive Committee,

Kurdish Students' Society in Europe."

Copies of the letter to the Government of Soviet Armenia and Soviet Azerbaijan. Also for information, the final communique together with letter to M. Hammar-skjoeld.



Congress Call to the Kurdish People

The Third Congress of K.S.S.E. issued the following Call to the Kurdish people in the various regions of Kurdistan:—

To our dear brothers the sons of Kurdistan !

To the gallant Kurdish people !

To the sons of Medea, Saladin and Karim Khan-Zend !

To the sons of our immortal poet Ahmedi Khani, the father of the Kurdish National Idea !

To the sons of the revolutions of Sheikh Said, Aghri-Dagh, Sheikh Mehmod and Barzan.

To those who raised high the flag of Kurdistan in Mehabad, Dersim and Sulaimaniya !

To you who have sacrificed the lives of your innocent sons and suffered calamities for the freedom and happiness of your country !

To you, the heirs of the glories of our people and their revolutionary traditions !

Close your ranks, mobilise your forces to continue and consolidate the struggle for the Freedom and Unity of your nation Kurdistan !

The Third Congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe.

Call for a Congress in Southern Kurdistan

The Third Congress of the K.S.S.E. issued the following Call to the people of Southern Kurdistan in the Iraqi Republic.

"The Third Congress of the K.S.S.E. held in Munich, Germany, during 4-8 August 1958, calls upon all parties, organisations, groups, and prominent personalities in Southern Kurdistan, regardless of their political views, to hold a Congress expressing the desire of the people of Southern Kurdistan to support the Iraqi Republic and Arab

Liberation movement in all parts of the Arab nation, emphasising the unity of interests of the Arab and Kurdish nations; to study the conditions in this part of the Kurdish nation; to take decisions to reform and improve them socially, economically, administratively, culturally and nationally; to present them to the Iraqi Republican Government, and to consider the application of these decisions. We further recommend the formation of a permanent Committee elected by the proposed Congress to carry out its resolutions."

Munich and Wiesbaden

The Kurdish students attending the first Congress (Foundation) of the Kurdish Students Cultural Society in Europe, held a meeting in Wiesbaden, independently and outside the scope of the Society. They passed some resolutions which were subsequently adopted by the Third Congress in Munich:

The resolutions of Wiesbaden were as follows:— That this Meeting—

(1) considers that the Kurds constitute one people with a common territory, language, history, economic ties, entity and national culture, i.e. they possess all the conditions necessary scientifically to constitute a nation.

(2) believes that the right of the Kurdish people to self-determination is a natural right and cannot be denied.

(3) considers that present conditions (1956) in the Middle East do not permit the application of the right of self-determination and, therefore, believes that it is necessary to fight to bring about political and social conditions which will allow the application of this right.

(4) considers that imperialist influence and the feudal and reactionary rule generally constitute the main obstacles to the application of the right of self-determination and, therefore, believes that it is necessary to fight to remove these obstacles and for a real democracy.

(5) considers that democracy together with the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and reactionary rule generally is not merely a means to the right of self-determination, but a necessary pre-

condition for the prosperity of the Kurdish people and any other people.

(6) considers that the Kurdish national movement is a liberation movement against imperialism and is connected in this respect with all other national liberation movements. It, therefore, declares its support of this movement and the struggle of all peoples for their liberty and national sovereignty, particularly the peoples of the Middle East.

(7) believes in the necessity of the co-operation of the Kurdish people with all other freedom loving peoples, especially with the Arab, Persian and Turkish peoples, to achieve democracy because of their common interests in defeating imperialism, feudalism and reaction, taking into account specific conditions in each state of the Middle East.

(8) considers that it is the task of every honourable Kurd, particularly the educated, to study the

Kurdish Question, explain it to local and international public opinion, specially to the neighbouring peoples, as a first step towards the co-operation with these peoples. The meeting also considers it necessary to defend this case before all organisations concerned and generally internationally.

(10) believes in the necessity of cultural relationships between the various Kurdish regions.

(11) believes in the necessity of encouraging and developing the Kurdish national culture in all the Kurdish regions and the struggle particularly for making the Kurdish language the official language of these regions and the attainment of all cultural rights. Meanwhile, the meeting considers that it is the duty of every sincere Kurd, particularly the educated, to serve the Kurdish national Culture in his sphere of work, its introduction to others, and to encourage the formation of Societies for Cultural relations with other peoples.

Other Congress Decisions

Congress also decided—

★ To call on Dr. Kamuran Bedir-Khan to write the Grammar of the Kurdish language explained in Turkish for the Kurds of Turkey in Latin alphabet. The society undertakes to have the book printed — Dr. Kamuran has kindly agreed to write the book.

★ To apply for admission to the International Union of Students. It also decided to send a letter to the World Federation of Democratic

Youth to accept the Democratic Youth of Southern Kurdistan as a member.

★ To call upon the Specialists to write a Kurdish-Turkish and Turkish-Kurdish dictionary in the Northern Kurmanji dialect using Latin alphabet.

★ To confer Honorary Membership on Messrs. D. Mehmed Huseyni, B. Ali and O. R. Al-Qadhi, and Life Membership on Arif Kerim, Tahsin Amin, Anwer J. Salim and Fuad Mela Kerim.

The Final Communique of the Third Congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe (K.S.S.E.)

The Third Congress of the K.S.S.E. held in Munich, Germany, during 4-8 August 1958, issued the following communique:—

Congress:

(1) Declares its full support for the young Iraqi Republic. It considers the birth of the Republic a crushing blow against imperialism and its agents in their strongest fortress in the Middle East, a mighty step in liberating the various peoples, including the Kurdish people whose land imperial-

ism and local reaction divided, in this sensitive part of the world and the fulfilment of their aspirations to peace, national independence and democracy.

(2) Strongly protests against the Anglo-American invasion of Lebanon and Jordan, which is in violation of the U.N. charter and unprovoked interference in their internal affairs. It demands the immediate withdrawal of the aggressive forces.

(3) Condemns all aggressive pacts, and especially the Baghdad pact, which seeks to maintain the

imperialist influence in the Middle East, and hinders the liberation of the people of this region including the Kurdish people.

(4) Adopts the principle of the right of self-determination of all the peoples, including our Kurdish people, under the yoke of imperialism and its stooges, particularly in those parts of the Kurdish nation which have been forcibly incorporated in Turkey and Persia.

(5) Adopts the resolutions of the First Congress of the Kurdish students in Europe held in Wiesbaden, Germany during 10-16 August 1956.

(6) To support and participate in the national and international Student movements, considering itself an undivisible part of those movements.

The General Union of Iraqi Students Greets the Congress

"Brother Kurdish Students: Munich, W. Germany. Warm Greetings. The Executive Committee of the General Union of Iraqi Students in the name of the Union and its member the Students' Union of Iraqi Kurdistan, sends you warm greetings and wishes you success. In doing so it expresses the feelings of your brothers the Iraqi Students, Arabs and Kurds, who are struggling today, united around their Union to safeguard the Iraqi Republic as they have fought in the past shoulder to shoulder, and borne many sacrifices to achieve this great victory of our Iraqi people.

We are confident that the unity in the common struggle between the Kurdish and Arab peoples in Iraq which was the cornerstone in our long and

costly struggle, will be stronger and the finest guarantee in the defence of our Iraqi Republic, the fulfilment of the patriotic and national demands and a contribution towards a better future. We are full of hope that your meeting shall strengthen and deepen the power of this unity.

Imperialism shall be destroyed on the rock of Arab-Kurdish unity.

Long live the unity of the Arabs and Kurdish peoples.

Long live our young Iraqi Republic.

Executive Committee of the
General Union of Iraqi Students."

The Executive Committee of the K.S.S.E., sent the following reply:

"To the Executive Committee of the General Union of Iraqi Students,

Dear Colleagues,

Fraternal greetings.

We received with much pleasure your letter in which you greeted our Third Congress. In thanking you for your friendly feelings towards our Society, we pledge to work with you hand in hand, in order to strengthen friendship between our peoples and

unite in the struggle in the interest of the Arab and Kurdish peoples.

Finally, we wish your organisation all progress and prosperity and call upon you to strengthen our fraternal relations more and more.

Forward for ever.

Long live the Arab-Kurdish friendship.

Long live the young Iraqi Republic.

Executive Committee
Kurdish Student's Society in Europe."

Students' Union of Kurdistan

The Executive Committee of the Students Union of Kurdistan sent a letter to the E.C. of the K.S.S.E., which read in part, "We send you our warmest greetings. We value very much our close

relations and consider you the representatives of the Students of Kurdistan. Forward, for the preservation of the Iraqi Republic, the Republic of the Kurds and Arabs."

The President of the Society sent the following reply:

"The Students' Union of Kurdistan, Republic of Iraq.

Dear brothers,

Warm Greetings.

We thank your brotherly feelings in greeting our Congress in the letter of the Iraqi Students' Union, and wish you all progress and success in the service of our nation.

Let us work united to achieve the common aims

of the Arab and Kurdish people and preserve the Republic of Iraq against the imperialist attacks, and for the freedom and independence of Kurdistan.

Long live the Iraqi Students' Union.

Long live the Students' Union of Kurdistan.

Long live the Arab-Kurdish Friendship.

Long live the Iraqi Republic."

Other Greetings to the Congress

Telegram from Egypt:

"We twenty-five Kurdish students in Egyptian Universities strongly back your great Conference. We declare that we uphold your resolutions for the welfare and the advancement of our Kurdish nation."

Kurdish Students in Egypt.

From Iraqi Students' Society in United Kingdom (I.S.S. in U.K.)

"Greet your Conference and wish it every success. Our unity is essential. Forward for greater achievements and better future."

I.S.S. in U.K.

A letter was received from Kurdish Students in Istanbul, congratulating the Congress and referring to obstacles which prevented their attendance.

Letters were also received from Dr. Nureddin Zaza, Honorary Member of the Society, Syria; the Society's representative in Paris; and Mr. Ahmed Zemi in Mainz greeting the Congress, explaining his, and his colleagues' inability to attend due to examinations. A congratulatory telegram was received from Mr. Tahsin Amin in London.

Representatives of the Arab Students' Union and Iraqi students in Munich brought fraternal greetings.

Kurdish Students' Society in Europe

Aims and Rules of the Society

FIRST, that the name of the Society shall be the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe (hereafter K.S.S.E.)

SECOND, Basic Aims;

1. Strengthening relations between the Kurdish Students and organising periodic meetings amongst them.

2. Co-operation between the Kurdish students in Europe.

3. Promotion of the Kurdish national culture and work in the interest of the Kurdish people and its National Question.

4. Introduction of the Kurdish national culture, its country, conditions and National Question to the world.

5. Contacting the student and non-student organisations, national and international, within their common aims and interests.

6. Publishing a periodical as its official organ.

THIRD, Membership:

1. Every Kurdish student shall become a member if he or she:—

(i) agrees to the Aims and Rules of the Society and works for their fulfilment;

(ii) pays an annual subscription of £2 or equivalent in other currencies.

2. Non-student Kurds and non-Kurdish students in Europe who support the Aims of the Society may join as Society members with the

approval of the Executive Committee after paying a nominal subscription.

3. Life membership shall be given to every former member after returning to the Kurdish nation.

Honorary membership shall be conferred on prominent people and former members of the Society who have served the Society with distinction.

FOURTH. Organisation:

Organisation of the Society shall be based on the following:—

- (1) The Congress;
- (2) Executive Committee;
- (3) Branches;
- (4) Branch Committees.

(To be continued)

The Executive Committee

The Third Congress of K.S.S.E. elected the following seven members to the Executive Committee for the current year:—

- (1) *President*: Mr. Ismet Cheriff—Switzerland.
- (2) *Vice-President*: Mr. Wurya Rowandozi—Austria.
- (3) *General Secretary*: Mr. Dara Al-Salih—England.
- (4) *Editor of 'Kurdistan'*: Mr. Salah Saadalla—England.
- (5) *Treasurer and Assistant General Secretary*: Mr. Saadi Amin Dizayec—England.
- (6) *Member*: Mr. Kemal Fuad—Berlin, Germany.
- (7) *Member*: Rajih Bedrawi—Germany.

Letters and enquiries regarding the Society should be sent to the General Secretary:

KURDISH STUDENTS' SOCIETY IN EUROPE,
37 KING STREET,
LONDON, W.C.1.

Letters, articles and enquiries regarding *Kurdistan* should be sent directly to:

THE EDITOR OF *Kurdistan*,
40 WHEATSTONE ROAD,
SOUTHSEA, HANTS.
ENGLAND.



A HAPPY GROUP OF KURDISH STUDENTS AT NUROZ PARTY LONDON, 1958

From left to right D. M. Huseyn, F. Rasha, S. A. D'zayec, O. R. Al-Qadhi, A. Karim, T. Amin, Shafiq, A. N. Al-Saadi, J. J. Fatah, N. J. Sallm, B. Ali, S. M. Saadalla, F. Mela Karim.

A Great Loss

We have received with great sorrow the news of the death of 25 students who were on board the Soviet jet TU-104 which crashed in Russia on October 17, when 65 people were killed.

They included the Treasurer, and Vice-President of the International Union of Students, and delegates from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, British

Guiana, Morocco, German Democratic Republic, Iraq, and the Soviet Union. They also included some Cypriot and Ceylonese students studying in Britain.

These 25 leading students were touring China and North Korea after the Congress. The names of the casualties have not been announced yet.

They Say

"The Kurds are a remarkable and thoroughly lovable people. There are about a million of them in Iraq, perhaps 5 million altogether in Kurdistan, the mountainous area which embraces portions of Iraq, Iran and Turkey. They are shrewd, independent, enormously courageous, and blessed with a sense of humour which makes their very presence stimulating.

Never did we stop to take a picture of a Kurdish family without being asked to remain for a cup of tea. Never did we ask a question which was not answered with a jest. And in Sulaymaniya, known as the capital of Kurdistan, we had an experience which endeared those people to us for ever."

Jean and Franc Shar,
in the *National Geographic Magazine*.

Washington, October, 1958.

"Words of kindness or descriptions of the good life in America are not, it is thought, likely to ensure the devotion of a people (Kurdish) persecuted by governments receiving American aid.

For many years, the Kurds have been the victims of a conspiracy of silence — the fruit, perhaps, of a sense of shame on the part of nations who promised independence for the Kurds in the Treaty of Sevres, but washed their hands of the matter when four years later, Kurdistan was partitioned by creatures of their own (West's) making."

New Statesman and Nation—22nd April, 1950.

Oil and Frontiers.

"A million strong, they are (the Kurds) the inhabitants of the northern part of the Country (Iraq) in the Kirkok and Mosul regions where the main oil fields lie . . . They are as unheeding of frontiers as the Bedouin."

The Daily Telegraph—8/10/58.

"From his youth until the end of the second World War he (Barzani) was an ardent advocate of an autonomous Kurdish republic embracing his one million compatriots in Iraq — representing a one in five minority — and Kurdish tribes just across the Turkish and Persian frontiers. He now returns (from Czechoslovakia) to the mountainous area of northern Iraq where the main oil fields of the predominately British Petroleum Company are situated, employing much Kurdish labour and where his dubious influence leaps the frontiers of two of Britain's Baghdad pact Allies — Turkey and Persia." *The Sunday Times*—21/9/1958.

"The Persian Foreign Minister Mr. Hekmet has expressed in Parliament the bitter resentment of the Government and people at Cairo broadcasts in Kurdish designed to foment unrest among the inhabitants of Kurdistan.

He said that Kurdistan had been an integral part of Persia from time immemorial and he condemned such attempts as interference in Persian internal affairs. Cairo, he suggested, was becoming the stooge of Moscow and vehicle of Communist propaganda, for it was the Russians who tried, without success, to undermine the loyalty of the Kurdish population of Persia with promises of autonomy within the Soviet orbit."

The Times—June 30, 1958.

"A responsible Foreign Ministry official said that a pro-Egyptian Iraq on her borders would . . . raise the Kurdish problem in a new form which was already an important object of Cairo Radio."

The Times Correspondent in Tehran
(July 16, 1958).

"In Iraq, it (Russia) is throwing everything on the side of those who wish to resist union with the U.A.R. Moscow had even revived the old idea of an enlarged autonomous State of Kurdistan.

Since there are Kurds in Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria, the conception would play havoc with four frontiers. The Communists were circulating the idea among Kurds as well as left-wing Arabs, but propaganda abruptly ceased when Colonel Abdul (Salam) Aref, then Iraq's Deputy Premier was painlessly shuffled off to be Iraq's Ambassador in Bonn. Colonel Aref who had been loudly advocating amalgamation with the U.A.R. was the darling of the Baathists, who in Syria and Iraq are the Communists' main enemy. Apparently Moscow showed its pleasure at his removal by leaving the Kurds alone.

All is temporarily at peace on the Kurdish front."

Rawle Knox, *The Observer*, Nov. 2, 1958.

The Last Will?

"The newspaper *Al-Ahram* affirms today that the old strategic plan of the West for the defence of the Near East had as its basis an atomic bombardment of the mountains in Northern Iraq.

Under the title 'a dangerous secret' the independent newspaper writes that the plan, prepared by the Americans and the British, had received the approval of Nuri Al-Said's Government — during

a meeting of the Baghdad Pact. The newspaper adds that the West is now facing a difficult task which consists in revising completely their plans of the Near East defence.

Al-Ahram says that the old plan consisted of blocking the valleys of the mountains separating Iraq and Iran by means of atomic explosions which, by contaminating the region, would stop the advance of the Soviet ground troops.

It assures that the U.S. and British airplanes in the Habbaniya base had a mission of completing the bombardment in the case of a general conflagration starting.

It is said that the secret archives of the Baghdad Pact have fallen into the hands of the new Iraqi leaders. A special commission has been constituted for examining the documents."

Le Monde, Paris, August 12, 1958.

The K.S.S.E. has protested to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations against this murderous plan. We trust that other organisations and individuals will do the same.

The Question.

To be duped or not to be duped

That is the question.

If you are not duped you will live,

If you are duped you will not.

Nazim Hikmet.

The Population of Kurdistan

by a Correspondent

The population of Kurdistan — the territory covering South-East Turkey, North and North-East Iraq and West Iran with an enclave in North-East Syria — is a good academic subject for discussion. There are so many varying estimates, and the range is quite fantastic. The task is further complicated by the fact that Turkey officially classifies the Kurds as 'Mountain Turks'. Also in both Turkey and Iran no general census has ever been carried out.

It is only in Iraq and to a lesser extent in Syria that a reasonable estimate can be made.

The Centre for Kurdish Studies in Paris gave the following estimates in 1950:

State	Kurdish Population		
Turkey	4,000,000
Iran	3,000,000
Iraq	1,200,000

Mr. C. J. Edmonds, former British Adviser to the Minister of Interior in Iraq says in his book 'Kurds, Arabs and Turks' that 'I have heard from an exceptionally well informed source that three or even four million is a reasonable estimate for the Kurdish population in Turkey.' The inaccuracy in the figure for Iran cannot be great.

As for Iraq, the Kurdish population there will soon be known as a result of the general census carried out in 1957, where a definite requirement was to put down as to the language or languages spoken by the person. It will not be far below 1,500,000 but it may reach 1,800,000 (roughly between 23 to 28 per cent of the population of Iraq). To the total must be added 400,000 Kurds in Syria and 100,000 in U.S.S.R., i.e. a reasonable estimate will be 9,000,000. This was the figure given by the Centre for Kurdish Studies in Paris.

Readers are invited to comment on this subject.

Book Review

Kurdistan: Divided Nation of the Middle East

(56pp 4 6)

by S. S. GAVAN (Lawrence and Wishart Ltd.)

This book, just published, gives a short introduction to Kurdistan and the Kurdish people. History, Geography, Economy, Kurdish Language and literature serve as a prelude to the main theme of the book the struggle of the Kurdish people for freedom and unity.

With a foreword by the Kurdish leader, Dr. Kamuran Bedir-Khan, the book, fully documented, contributes to the understanding of the Kurdish Problem and the necessity for its solution on the basis of the legitimate right of the Kurdish people to self-determination. It also refers to the lack of elementary rights of the Kurdish people.

As Dr. Kamuran makes clear in the foreword the Kurds are forbidden to declare themselves Kurds, forbidden to speak their language, forbidden

to have their own school and to publish their own periodicals. In the part of Kurdistan which is in Turkey there is only one hospital bed for two hundred thousand Kurds, and in one locality where the population is forty thousand, one school only is available for one hundred children. Even then they are forced to study in the Turkish and Persian languages.

The July 14th Revolution in Iraq has opened up new vistas before the Kurdish people. Their national rights have been constitutionally recognised, which contrasts sharply with their conditions in Iran and Turkey.

This book is most useful, especially for those who want to have a better grasp of affairs in the Middle East.
Ahmed Al-Saadi.

Iraq — The Facts

by DR. R. M. AJINA

This pamphlet (20 pp. 6d.) was published by the Iraqi Students' Society in U.K. immediately after the July 14th Revolution. It is indeed, as the name signifies, full of facts and figures — mostly statistics from official sources.

In the Section 'Social Background' the author gives horrifying figures on poverty and disease that bring the average expectation of life in Iraq to 28 years. Examining the policy of the former regime he writes that 'only 5.9 per cent of 1953-1954 budget was devoted to the Ministry of Health, 31.8 per cent to Defence, while the percentage to the Police Force was 14 per cent in 1945 and still rising'.

Giving actual figures he writes 'money devoted to health consisted of £3,000,850 and formed 6.38

per cent. £1,550,000 of the sum, over 50 per cent, was spent on salaries, while only half a million pounds was spent on drugs.

In the Section 'Political Background', Dr. Ajina exposes the corrupt and anti-popular nature of the former regime. He traces the history of the relationship between Iraq and Britain, the 1930 Treaty and its imposition on Iraq, to the Portsmouth Treaty of 1948, rejected by the Iraqi people, to the uprising of 1952 and finally the Baghdad Pact.

If you look for facts about Iraq — then read this pamphlet.

Copies of *Iraq — the Facts* are obtainable from:
I.S.S. in U.K., 37 King Street, London, W.C.2.

Nozad M. Tahir.

Freshers

The General Secretary of the K.S.S.E., Mr. Dara Al-Salihi held a Luncheon Party on 25th October in London in honour of the 'Fresher' members of the Society.

In the evening, a joint party by the Arab Students' Union and Iraqi Students' Society was held, also for freshers. Kurdish students presented some national songs.

Letters to the Editor

Self-Determination.

Self-determination is a natural right for all peoples. But this right is denied to the peoples by the imperialist powers.

The Kurds have been deprived of this right. The worst being the partition of Kurdistan by the imperialist states.

As an Iraqi patriot, I support the progressive forces of the world which work for the right of the Kurdish nation to decide its own future.

One point: I would like to ask the Turkish Government, if they believe in the right of self-determination for 80,000 Turks in Cyprus then why do they not believe in the right of 5 million Kurds in Turkey to self-determination?

K. Al-Mallak, Portsmouth.

Cultural Contacts and the Kurdish Question.

I am indeed delighted and interested in having acquainted myself with your Society through your magazine. The Kurdish nation has lain too long under enforced dormancy for economic and political reasons as a divided people and to hear of their gradual re-emergence as a national entity is encouraging news. I join their many friends in wishing them success in the realisation of their hopes of being in the not too distant future, once

again an independent and united people taking their rightful place in the world.

The stand taken by the present Government of Iraq in relation to the Kurdish people, can serve as an example to all their neighbours.

The Kurdish Question remains unresolved, due to the partitioning of Kurdistan for the purpose of exploiting its rich oil deposits by the big Western monopolies. Thus it can only be solved when this barrier has been broken down.

The development and extension of cultural contacts can go a long way towards achieving world-wide recognition as a nation and will acquaint ever wider circles with your problems. The stand taken by your Society and its main organ *Kurdistan* on this subject is gratifying to see.

The decision to adopt the Latin alphabet into the Kurdish language should be very helpful, as wide language differences between peoples does help to maintain their isolation, and this measure will certainly expand spheres of influence by making contacts with other people easier, as well as contributing towards unifying Kurdish dialects.

With best wishes for your success.

Michael Metcalfe,
St. Helier, Jersey,
Channel Islands.

Letter from America

We are sending along with this letter, a statement issued by the 'Kurdish Students' Association in America.' Like all associations, our's requires the support of our students and people. Please bring the statement to the attention of the members of your Society and the readers of your magazine.

We very much favour the exchange of information in the future, on the activities of both our associations in order to co-ordinate our work for

the benefit of our members and the Kurdish people.

Our Association is in its infancy.

It needs greater efforts to make it capable of producing full advantages. We shall endeavour to learn from your past experiences. Please assist our young Association.

For the Kurdish Students' Association in
America. Hikmat T. Fikrat.

The Kurdish Students' Association in America

We announce, with great pleasure, the formation of the Kurdish Students' Association in America. *Kurdistan* has just received a communication to that effect.

Kurdish students held meetings in San Carlos and San Francisco, U.S.A., during September, discussed ways of promoting the co-operation of the Kurdish students and co-ordinating their efforts for the Kurdish nation. They have long felt the necessity for such a step.

These meetings resolved to establish a Society to be called 'The Kurdish Students' Association in America' which would admit for membership, Kurdish students and non-Kurds who support the Aims of the Association.

The Aims of the Association are as follows:—

1. Organising the Kurds in America, to discuss the problems of the Kurdish people for the realisation of a better life.
2. Introducing the Kurdish people to others.
3. Organising the Kurds in America to promote their welfare.

4. Assisting the Kurdish students in America, especially the newcomers, in the academic field.

5. Gathering of information concerning the research on Kurds.

6. Co-operation with all organisations within the Aims of the Association.

7. Carrying out activities in the interests of the Kurdish people generally.

The Association would endeavour to publish a quarterly magazine in English and Kurdish.

We wish our brothers in America and their newly born Association all success in their work for the progress of the Kurdish people.

The General Secretary of our Society has already written to the Association congratulating and pledging full assistance and support.

The address of the Association is 'Kurdish Students Association, P.O. Box 62, San Carlos, California, U.S.A.



AT NUROZ PARTY, LONDON, 1958

A Kurdish dance performed by A. Kurim and S. Amin Dizayee. In the background, clapping and singing, J. Fatah, T. Amin, Fuad Rasha.

Monsieur D. Hammarskjöld, Secrétaire Général de l'O.N.U., Lake Success, New York, E.U.

Excellence,

L'Assemblée Générale de l'Organisation des Nations Unies se réunit aujourd'hui dans une session extraordinaire pour discuter des problèmes du Moyen-Orient.

Il est une question que l'on évoque rarement—et souvent d'une façon inexacte—dans la presse mondiale; une question dont on ne discute plus—depuis le Traité de Sèvres de 1920—dans les instances internationales, et qui n'en est pas moins considérable et actuelle. Nous avons nommé la question kurde.

C'est dans l'espoir d'attirer l'attention du monde, et plus particulièrement de l'Assemblée Générale de l'O.N.U., sur cette question, importante entre toutes, que le Comité directeur de 'l'Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe', sur recommandation du IIIe Congrès général de l'Association, tenu à Munich du 4 au 8 Août 1958, a l'honneur de vous soumettre la présente lettre.

Nous prions votre Excellence d'user de ses attributions énoncées dans l'article 99 de la Charte des Nations Unies pour que le 'dossier kurde' en possession de l'O.N.U. soit réouvert et ladite question portée à l'ordre du jour de la présente Assemblée Générale. La Délégation Kurde, dont le siège permanent se trouve à Paris, pourra, le cas échéant, prendre la défense de notre dossier.

Les Nations Unies se proposent de chercher la voie d'une paix durable pour l'ensemble du Moyen-Orient. C'est parce que nous croyons en la haute mission des Nations Unies que nous vous prions de remarquer qu'aucune paix durable n'est possible dans cette partie du monde tant que ses principales questions n'auront pas été justement résolues et, en l'occurrence, tant que l'injustice commise à l'endroit du peuple kurde et sa cause nationale, trahi par les grandes puissances à la Conférence de Lausanne de 1923, n'aura pas été totalement réparée.

'L'Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe', groupant l'élite intellectuelle du peuple kurde à l'étranger, interprète par sa voix les désirs de dix à douze millions de Kurdes habitant un Kurdistan divisé, politiquement, entre la Turquie, l'Iran et l'Irak.

Le nouveau régime républicain en Irak, en reconnaissant le fait national kurde et en précisant, dans l'article 3 de la nouvelle constitution, que la République est une association à droits nationaux égaux entre les Peuples kurde et arabe de l'Irak, fait un pas considérable, et combien raisonnable, dans la voie de la solution de la question kurde.

Il est de notre devoir de proclamer notre soutien au gouvernement irakien et de déclarer que la République irakienne vient de donner l'exemple, par là, tant à l'Iran qu'à la Turquie, pour une solution immédiate, démocratique et pacifique de la question kurde.

Cette solution ne pourra préjuger du droit imprescriptible du peuple kurde, dans son ensemble, à l'auto-disposition.

En persistant à reconnaître le fait national kurde et en continuant à suivre à l'égard des parties du Kurdistan soumises à leurs juridictions respectives une politique d'oppression nationale, d'obscurantisme et d'assimilation, assimilation vouée d'ailleurs à l'échec, les gouvernements de Turquie et d'Iran finiront tôt par compromettre la paix du monde. Aussi formulons-nous le vœu de voir ces deux gouvernements reconnaître, à leur tour, le fait national kurde et procéder, à cet égard, à une solution immédiate inspirée de la nouvelle politique irakienne, ce qui serait dans l'intérêt même de ces deux pays et de tous les peuples du Moyen-Orient.

Nous vous prions, Excellence, d'agréer l'expression de nos plus hautes considérations.

Comité Exécutif de l' A.E.K.E.
le 13 Août 1958.

Son Excellence, Monsieur le Chef du Gouvernement de l'Union des Républiques Socialistes Soviétiques, Moscou

Excellence,

Par la présente, le Comité directeur de 'l'Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe' a l'honneur de présenter au Gouvernement de l'Union Soviétique les remerciements unanimement exprimés du IIIe Congrès général de ladite Association, tenu à Munich du 4 au 8 Août 1958, en raison de l'essor considérable que la culture nationale kurde a pu réaliser en U.R.S.S., sous le pouvoir des Soviets et grâce à lui.

Nos mêmes remerciements vont aussi, tout naturellement, aux Gouvernements des Républiques de l'Arménie et de l'Azerbaïdjan Soviétiques, ainsi qu'aux nombreux savants et établissements scientifiques intéressés, dont l'Académie Soviétique Oriental de Léninegrad.

'Et l'institut l'Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe groupe les étudiants kurdes des diverses universités européennes, en Angleterre, en Allemagne, en Suisse, en Autriche, en Tchécoslovaquie et en France. Elle a pour principaux buts, outre que d'unir les étudiants kurdes en Europe et de leur assurer des rencontres périodiques, de travailler au développement de la culture nationale kurde et de faire connaître au monde la situation sociale, économique, culturelle et politique de notre peuple kurde, ainsi que son pays et son histoire. Constituée en 1956, à la suite d'un premier congrès des étudiants kurdes en Europe, notre Association vient de tenir son IIIe Congrès général à Munich, se trouve amicalement reconnue par de nombreux mouvements étudiants étrangers, en particulier par les mouvements étudiants arabe et afro-asiatique, et jouit, bien entendu, du soutien effectif du peuple kurde. Elle publie une revue périodique intitulée 'Kurdistan' en plusieurs langues, dont le kurde.

Nous sommes au courant du progrès culturel — et matériel — dont a bénéficié la petite communauté kurde vivant en Arménie et en Azerbaïdjan Soviétiques: progrès considérable que nous sommes heureux de constater et de mettre en évidence, tout en relevant, avec tristesse, les malheureuses conditions culturelles et matérielles du Kurdistan de Turquie et du Kurdistan d'Iran où vivent, respectivement, cinq et quatre millions de nos compatriotes, sous des régimes pratiquant une

politique d'oppression nationale et d'obscurantisme à l'égard de notre pays. De tous les pays du Moyen-Orient se partageant le Kurdistan, seul le nouvel Irak républicain reconnaît la plénitude des droits nationaux des Kurdes de ce pays et leur complète égalité, de droit et de fait, avec leurs amis arabes. Il y a là la promesse d'un grand développement, tant culturel que matériel, du Kurdistan irakien. Et c'est l'une des raisons ayant déterminé le peuple kurde et son mouvement national à soutenir vigoureusement et sans réserve la nouvelle République irakienne et le mouvement de libération nationale arabe partout où il se manifeste. L'autre raison déterminante est la solidarité des peuples afro-asiatiques, la solidarité de tous les peuples du monde épris de liberté, dans leur lutte commune contre l'impérialisme.

Le peuple kurde, avec ses onze millions d'hommes, suivra avec le plus grand intérêt la continuation de la grande œuvre constructive dont bénéficient les cents ou les cent cinquante mille Kurdes de votre grand pays.

Comme les seuls centres culturels kurdes se trouvent actuellement au Kurdistan irakien (et dans une moindre mesure en Syrie) et en U.R.S.S., et comme ce dernier centre est le plus important, étant donné les quelque 1.500 livres qui ont pu être publiés en kurde en Union Soviétique durant les trente dernières années, il sera hautement souhaitable que les millions de notre peuple, et plus particulièrement la jeunesse et les étudiants, puissent en profiter. Plus particulièrement, notre Association, qui possède une bibliothèque kurde, et ses membres seraient très heureux de recevoir des copies des principaux ouvrages publiés en kurde en Union Soviétique.

Pour que la science soviétique en matière d'études kurdes et autre puisse être accessible à notre peuple et sa jeunesse dans une assez grande mesure, permettez-nous d'avancer qu'il sera souhaitable que ces œuvres soient imprimées en caractères latins. L'emploi de ces caractères se trouve de plus en plus généralisé et ils semblent devoir être les caractères de demain et l'un des moyens d'unifier la langue écrite kurde. Nous avons été heureux de constater que la dictionnaire russo-kurde de 1957 est publié, pour le kurde, en

caractères latins, à l'usage des Kurdes du Moyen-Orient, ce qui nous permet d'espérer que les prochaines publications en kurde, tout au moins celles dont bénéficieraient les Kurdes du Moyen-Orient, seront imprimées en ces mêmes caractères.

Le III^e Congrès de notre Association a également formulé le vœu que le Gouvernement Soviétique inaugure une émission journalière en kurde à la radio de Moscou. Nous nous permettons de relever qu'une requête à cet effet, signée par nombre d'étudiants kurdes en Europe, vous avait été soumise il y a quelques mois.

Nous espérons que le IV^e et prochain Congrès de notre Association qui aura lieu au cours de l'été 1959, probablement à Vienne, brillera surtout par la participation, à titre d'observateurs, de nombreux délégués venant du Kurdistan et de représentants de toutes les organisations estudiantines amies. L'Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe serait particulièrement heureuse de

compter parmi les observateurs présents des délégués représentant le mouvement étudiant en U.R.S.S. et des étudiants kurdes soviétiques, dans le but de co-opération culturelle.

En réitérant nos remerciements au Gouvernement au peuple et à la science soviétiques pour l'essor de la culture nationale kurde et des études Kurdes dans votre grand pays, nous vous prions, Excellence, d'agréer l'expression de nos plus hautes considérations.

Comité Exécutif de l'A.E.K.E.

le 4 Septembre 1958.

P.S.—Veuillez trouver, ci-joint, des copies de cette lettre aux Gouvernements des Républiques de l'Arménie et de l'Azerbaïdjan Soviétiques, ainsi que des copies du communiqué final du III^e Congrès de l'A.E.K.E. et d'une lettre que nous avons adressée au Secrétaire Général de l'O.N.U., et ce pour information.

Comite Executif de l'Union Internationale des Etudiants, Vocolova 3, Prague 2

Chers amis !

Par la présente, 'l'Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe' a le plaisir et l'honneur de vous présenter une demande d'adhésion à 'l'Union Internationale des Etudiants', comme membre de plein droit.

Dans une lettre précédente, datée du 26 Mai 1958 et adressée à notre ami Dramaliev, Secrétaire de l'I.U.E., nous avons posé la question de co-opération entre l'Union et 'l'Association Culturelle des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe', en sollicitant à celle-ci un statut consultatif à titre provisoire, étant donné que notre Comité directeur n'était pas habilité à faire adhérer l'Association à une organisation internationale quelconque, comme membre de plein droit, sans consulter au préalable notre Congrès général.

Nous sommes heureux de porter à votre connaissance que le III^e Congrès général de notre Association vient d'avoir lieu à Munich, Allemagne, du 4 au 8 Août 1958. Le Congrès, après avoir modifié quelque peu le statut de l'Association et raté

de son nom le mot 'culterel', dans le but d'élargir le champ de son activité, a voté nombre de résolutions, dont une habilitant le Comité directeur à soumettre une demande d'adhésion pure et simple à l'I.U.E.

Permettez-nous de remarquer que notre Association groupe tous les étudiants kurdes des universités européennes, qu'elle vise, principalement, en plus des buts d'entraide, à faire connaître au monde plus particulièrement au mouvement étudiant international, l'activité et les conditions de vie des étudiants kurdes, ainsi que la culture, le pays et les conditions sociales, économiques et politiques du peuple kurde, le tout dans un esprit de co-opération et d'amitié et pour la cause de la paix entre les peuples. Après deux ans d'existence et un an d'activité effective, 'l'Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe' s'est créé un nom et une réputation d'avant-garde, a assuré la publication de son bulletin périodique intitulé 'Kurdistan', qui paraît en plusieurs langues dont le kurde; s'est faite reconnaître par plusieurs mouvements et organisations étudiants, dont 'l'Union Nationale des Etudiants d'Irak, qui vient de déléguer un observateur à notre III^e Congrès, et, à présent, elle jouit de

l'appui moral du mouvement étudiant arabe et, bien entendu, du soutien effectif du peuple kurde. Notre Association est la seule organisation étudiante kurde à l'étranger et a un caractère largement représentatif. Elle répond donc aux conditions de l'article 4, rubrique des Membres, de la constitution de l'U.I.E.

Nous sommes résolus d'aller de l'avant, mais il nous intéresse au plus haut point de poursuivre notre activité en étroite collaboration avec le mouvement étudiant international et sous l'aile protectrice et amicale de l'U.I.E. C'est la raison pour laquelle nous vous adressons la présente demande d'adhésion.

Avec l'espoir que notre demande sera agréé au plus vite, et en nous rejoignant d'avance de toute l'activité à laquelle il nous sera donné de participer au sien de l'U.I.E., nous vous présentons, chers amis, l'assurance de nos sentiments les plus dévoués.

Comité Exécutif de l'A.E.K.E.
14 Août 1958.

P.S.:— Vous trouverez, ci-joint, un exemplaire de notre statut avant les derniers amendements. Le nouveau statut amendé vous sera adressé dès qu'il sortira de presse. Vous y trouverez aussi le texte français du communiqué final de notre IIIe Congrès, ainsi que la copie d'une lettre que nous venons d'adresser au Secrétaire Général de l'O.N.U.: vous êtes instamment priés de bien vouloir les publier, tout au moins le communiqué, dans votre organe 'Etudiants du Monde'. Nous vous adressons également un exemplaire de notre revue 'Kurdistan' No. 2, sous pli séparé. Le troisième numéro de Kurdistan, qui sera consacré aux travaux du IIIe Congrès, vous sera envoyé aussi. D'autre part, nous recevrons, avec infiniment de satisfaction, des exemplaires de vos publications.

U.I.E. Reponds a nous Lettre

M. Ismet Cheriff
(Association Des Etudiants
Kurdes en Europe)

Cher Ami,

Nous avons bien reçu votre lettre qui nous disait votre désir de coopérer l'U.I.E.; nous avons également reçu le communiqué sur le résultat de votre dernier congrès. Tout d'abord nous regrettons beaucoup d'avoir tardé à vous répondre. La préparation du Vème congrès de l'U.I.E. et ensuite le congrès lui-même qui a duré jusqu'au début d'Octobre nous ont empêché de faire plus vite.

Nous allons publier le communiqué sur le résultat de votre congrès dans le prochain numéro de notre Bulletin d'information et nous allons vous envoyer régulièrement des publications de l'U.I.E. comme 'ETUDIANT DU MONDE' et le 'BULLE

TIN D'INFORMATION'. Prochainement vous recevrez la Brochure sur le résultat de notre congrès ainsi que le programme d'activités de l'U.I.E. pour l'année scolaire en cours. Vous pouvez nous renseigner sur les activités qui vous intéressent en particulier.

Nous espérons recevoir plus régulièrement vos publications et souhaitons que vous nous mettiez au courant de votre activité afin que nous puissions informer l'opinion des Etudiants sur les divers problèmes et activités de votre Association.

En espérant vous lire bientôt, veuillez accepter nos salutations amicales.

S. Babak
Chef Du Bureau Des
Etudiants Anti-Colonialistes
U.I.E. (Prahá).

Communiqué

Le IIIe Congrès général de 'l'Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe', tenu à Munich, Allemagne, du 4 au 8 Août 1958, déclare dans son communiqué final ce qui suit:

1—Il appuie totalement la nouvelle République irakienne et voit dans son avènement un coup décisif à l'impérialisme et ses valets dans sa forteresse du Moyen-Orient la mieux gardée jusqu'ici. Il considère cet événement comme un pas considérable dans la voie de la libération de tous les peuples de cette importante partie du monde et la réalisation de leurs aspirations nationales relatives à l'indépendance, à la paix, y compris les aspirations de notre peuple kurde que l'impérialisme et la réaction locale ont privé de tout droit national et divisé son pays;

2—Il flétrit l'agression anglo-américaine contre le Liban et la Jordanie comme constituant une violation flagrante des principes de la Charte des Nations Unies et une intervention brutale dans les affaires internes de ces pays. Le IIIe Congrès

demande le retrait immédiat des forces de l'agression;

3—Il condamne les alliances agressives, et en particulier le Pacte de Bagdad qui vise à maintenir l'influence impérialiste au Moyen-Orient et à retarder la libération nationale des peuples de ces régions, dont notre peuple kurde;

4—Il adopte le principe du droit à l'auto-disposition de tous les peuples se trouvant encore sous le joug de l'impérialisme et ses valets, dont notre peuple kurde, notamment dans les parties du Kurdistan que la Turquie et l'Iran continuent à occuper par la force;

5—Il adhère aux onze résolutions de principe élaborées par le Premier Congrès général des étudiants kurdes en Europe, tenu à Wiesbaden, Allemagne, du 10 au 16 Août 1956;

6—Il soutient et participe au mouvement étudiant mondial et considère le nôtre comme faisant partie intégrante de ce mouvement.

L'onze Résolutions de Principe Elaborées à Wiesbaden

(En la Communiqué, Articles)

1—Le reunion est convaincu que tous Les Kurdes constituent un seul peuple ayant son sol, sa langue, sa constitution historique propre, sa communauté économique, psychologique et sa culture nationale, un peuple qui réunit toutes les conditions scientifiquement nécessaires pour la formation d'une nation;

2—L'article premier se rapporte uniquement au Kurdistan naturel, c.à.d. aux régions du Moyen-Orient habitées par une majorité kurde et constituant une unité géographique;

3—Le reunion est convaincu que le droit du peuple kurde à disposer de lui-même est un droit naturel que l'on ne saurait nier;

4—Estimant que les circonstances actuelles dans les pays du Moyen-Orient ne permettent pas de faire usage du droit de libre disposition, le reunion met en évidence la nécessité de lutter en

vue de réaliser les conditions politiques et sociales devant permettre de faire valoir ledit droit;

5—Le reunion estime que l'influence impérialiste avec le pouvoir féodal, ou réactionnaire en général constituent les obstacles majeurs à l'usage du droit de libre disposition; d'où la nécessité de supprimer ces obstacles et de réaliser une vraie démocratie dans les pays du Moyen-Orient;

6—Le reunion considère que la démocratie—et la lutte pour y arriver—n'est pas seulement un moyen de faire valoir le droit à l'auto-disposition, mais aussi une fin en soi-même une condition essentielle pour assurer le bonheur du peuple kurde et de tout autre peuple;

7—Le reunion estime que le mouvement national kurde est un mouvement de libération nationale dirigé contre l'impérialisme, et se trouve par là étroitement lié aux autres mouvements de

libération nationale. Le reunion lui accorde son plein appui ainsi qu'à tous les peuples luttant pour leur liberté et leur souveraineté nationale en particulier aux peuples du Moyen-Orient;

8—Le reunion met en évidence la nécessité de collaboration entre le peuple kurde et tous les peuples épris de liberté, les peuples arabe, persan et turc en particulier, en raison de leurs intérêts communs à battre l'impérialisme, la féodalité et la réaction, et à réaliser la démocratie. Ce travail de collaboration doit se faire en tenant compte des conditions différentes propres à chacun des Etats du Moyen-Orient;

9—Le reunion estime qu'il du devoir de tout Kurde fidèle à son peuple, les intellectuels notamment, d'étudier la question kurde et de l'expliquer à l'opinion publique locale et mondiale, à celle des peuples voisins en particulier, et ce comme un premier pas pour réaliser la collaboration souhaitée

entre eux. Le reunion relève en outre la nécessité de défendre cette question au sein des organisations et dans les milieux internationaux;

10—Le reunion met en évidence la nécessité de consolider les liens moraux, intellectuels et culturels entre les diverses régions kurdes;

11—Le reunion est d'avis qu'il est nécessaire de développer la culture nationale kurde dans toutes les régions kurdes, et de lutter en particulier pour que la langue kurde soit reconnue comme la langue officielle de ces régions, ainsi que pour la reconnaissance de la plénitude des droits culturels kurdes. En attendant d'atteindre à ce but, le reunion estime qu'il est du devoir de tout Kurde fidèle à son peuple, les intellectuels en particulier, de servir personnellement la culture nationale kurde et de la faire connaître aux étrangers. Le reunion encourage la constitution de sociétés d'échanges culturels entre les Kurdes et les autres peuples.



Kongrenin Kürt halkına Çağrısı

Avrupadaki Kürt Talebeleri Cemiyeti, Kürdistanın muhtelif yerlerinde yaşayan Kürt halkı için şu çağrını neşretmiştir:

Sevgili Kardeşlerimiz Kürdistan çocuklarına !

Cesur Kürt halkına !

Midyanın, Salahettinin ve Kerim Han Zengin çocuklarına !

Ölmez Şairimiz ve Kürt milliyetçiliğinin babası Ahmet Hani'nin çocuklarına !

Şeyh Sait, Ağır Dağ, Şeyh Mahmut ve Barzan ihtilallerinin çocuklarına !

Mehabatta, Dersimde, Süleymaniyede Kürt bayrağını Yükseltenlere !

Memleketinizin hürriyeti ve saadeti için azap çeken ve kan döken sizlere !

Halkımız zaferlerinin ve onların ihtilâl ananelerinin varisleri sizlere !

Sınıf farklarınızı unutunuz, kuvvetlerinizi seferber ediniz ve Kürdistan milletinin hürriyeti ve birliği için mücadelenize devam ediniz !

Avrupadaki Kürt
Talebeleri Cemiyetinin Üçüncü Kongresi.

Bangêk bo Geli Kurd

Kongrey Sêhemi Komeley Xwêndikarani Kurd le Ewropa ke be strale Myonix—Elmaniya le 4-8 Ab, 1958, em bange pêşkêş be hemo geli Kurdistan ekat:—

Brayani xoşewîst, rolekani Kurdistan !

Ey geli Kurdî nebez !

Ey rolekani Midya û Selahedîn û Kerîm Xanî Zengin !

Ey rolekani bawêji nemir man Ehmedî Xanê !

Ey rolekani şoreşî Şêx Seîd û Agî Dax û Şêx Mehmodû Barzan !

Êwe ke alay Kurdîstanan ke Mehabad û Dersim
Sulêmanî berz kirdewe !

Êwe ke qorbanîtan da be giyani role nebeze
kantan û hezarî ha derd û suzatan çêşt le
pinawî serbestî û bextiyarî niştîmaneketana !

Êwe ke mirat girî rewçetî şoreşî girî gelekemanî !

Yêk bigrin û hiztan kobkenewe bo her dewam
bonî têkoşan û be hîzkirdinî le pinawî serbestî
û Yekîtî niştîmanî xoşewîstman Kurdistan !

Kongrey Sêhemi
Komeley Xwêndikarani Kurd le Ewropa.

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 Iran: Kurdish Publications are forbidden.
 Turkey — Kurdish Publications are forbidden.

کردستان



عبدالله
١٤٨٨

کمبرد پتيمان

مجلة جمعية الطلبة الاكبراد في امــــــــــــا
مكتوب التحرير - صلاح الدين محمد سعد الله .

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سكرتير التحرير بالمعنوان التالي -

S. S. Saadalla,
40, Wheatstone Rd.,
Southsea, Hants.,
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السلطات العراقية تكتب لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اورها

ارسل صحت شريف رئيس جمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اورها رسالة الى المحرر العظيم هداكهم قاسم رئيس الوزراء ، يشكر الجمهورية العراقية بمناسبة عودة القائد الكري صطفى بارزاني - مع زهله ميرحاج واسعد خوشوى - من المنفى احارارا . وقد فضل مكريير الشؤون الصحافية في رئاسة الوزراء فارسل بالجواب التالي ، ونقله هنا -

الجمهورية العراقية

رئاسة الوزراء

بغداد

١٩٥٨/١٠/٦

خبرة الاخ صحت شريف رئيس اللجنة الا داية العامة لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اورها ،

اطلع سيادة الزهم الركن هداكهم قاسم رئيس الوزراء على رسالتك الفياضة بالشعور الوطني نحو الجمهورية العراقية الفتية ، ولا يسمني هنا الا ان انتقل لك حرفها ما قاله سيادة زهمنا البطل النخل في كلمته التي ارتجلها في وفد طلبة كردستان العراق الذي زلوه في طوله الرسمي بوزارة الدفاع يوم ١٩٥٨/٩/١٨ .

ليس هناك شك من ان اخواننا الاكراد قد عاشوا معنا منذ آلاف السنين واختلطت دماؤنا بدمائهم على هذه الارض الطاهرة نتيجة للقتال جنباً الى جنب ضد الاجنبي ملاوة على النهجات المعديدة بين الاكراد والعرب فاختلط اهل الجبال باهل السهول واصبحوا كتلة واحدة .

وختاماً تهلوا اطيب التحيات .

التوقيع -

القدم
نعمان ماهر الكنعاني
مكريير شؤون الصحافة

وكانت مع الرسالة هدية ثمينة ومهيزة جدا ، هي صورة وقعة للمحرر العظيم وزهم العراق الاوحد هداكهم قاسم (صورة الغلاف) .

انعقد المؤتمر الثالث لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اوربا من ٤ الى ١٠ آب ١٩٥٨ في مدينة ميونخ في ألمانيا الغربية وكان ضمن قراراته اصدار عدد خاص من " كردستان " من المؤتمر لبيان اعماله بصورة تفصيلية ولشرح سياسة الجمعية الحالية . انه بين يدك الآن .

لقد كان المؤتمر الثالث لجمعيتنا خطوة هامة اخرى في سبيل تثبيت وتوسيع ورفع مستوى نشاط الجمعية . فقد كانت من بين قرارات المؤتمر الاجماعية : حذف كلمة " الثقافية " من اسم الجمعية وتقديم طلب للانضمام الى اتحاد الطلبة العالمي واضافة مادة جديدة الى اهداف الجمعية تسمح بالعمل من اجل القضية الوطنية الكردية مما يحاد على خلق مجال واسع للنشاط الطلابي .

ان هذه القرارات - وجطة من القرارات الاخرى - انعكاس للحريات الناتجة من ثورة ١٤ توز المجيدة التي حررت العراق من المستعمرين وحلفائهم .

اننا نود ان نسجل بعض الانجازات الهامة - خلال فترة قصيرة - التي حققتها الثورة ، فقد اثنى الشعب الثالث الاجرامي ، وحاكم اقطاب الحكم البائد ، واطلقت السلطات الجمهورية سراح جميع السجناء السياسيين ولاول مرة في تاريخ العراق يسود جو من الحرية والامن للمواطنين وعودة الحياة الديمقراطية الاتحادية - احزاب سياسية ، انتخابات وصحافة حرة - متوقعة بعد استتباب الحالة وتجنب عودة الحكم البائد . وطهر جهاز الدولة جزئيا ورجع النشاط النقابي والطلابي . واحدثت الحكومة قانون الاصلاح الزراعي الذي يقضي بتحديد الملكية الزراعية وتأمين حصل الفلاح العراقي على ملكية الارض . اما في الحقل الخارجي فهدأ ايزنهاور وحلف بغداد قد اصيبا بضربة كبيرة . وتثال السياسة المستقلة للجمهورية طفا وتأيدا شعبيا اجماعيا .

ان عدد اتفاقيات اقتصادية مع الجمهورية العربية المتحدة والاتطار الاشتراكية ستساعد على تحرير الاقتصاد العراقي من خناق منطقة الاسترليني .

ان تحرير كردستان العراق واعتبار العرب والاكراد شركاء في الوطن العراقي وقرار الدستور الجمهوري لحقوقهم القومية ضمن الوحدة العراقية حسب المادة الثالثة والسماح للقائد الكردي مصطفى بارزاني مع زعيمه ميرحاج واسعد خوشوى ، بالرجوع الى الوطن اثر عميق في نفوس الشعب الكردي وجد تعبيرا طبيعيا في التفاف الاكراد العراقيين حول الحكم الجمهوري الجديد بصورة اجماعية وتوطيد التضامن العربي / الكردي وتوحيد الصفوف الوطنية وراء حكومة الجمهورية والجيش الهاسل ما سهل تحقيق الانجازات العظيمة . وقد اشار المحرر العظيم عبد الكريم قاسم الى اهمية التعاون بين العرب

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والاكرد في حديثه مع وفد طلبة كردستان العراق و وفد الشعب الكردي في سوريا في ١٨ ايلول
 حيث قال " لقد اصبحنا بفضل التعاون بين العرب والاكرد قوة جبارة متعاونة تهرب العدو " .
 ان آمال المستعمرين انهارت على صخرة الصداقة العربية / الكردية . لقد كتبت جريدة الديلي تلغراف
 اللندنية المحافظة في ١٩٥٨/١٠/٨ ما يلي " هنالك شك كبير حول نهات الاكرد . وقد رجع قائد هم
 بارزاني الذي ترك البلاد في ١٩٤٤ بعد ثورة غير ناجحة ورجع الى بغداد من القاهرة حيث استقبل
 استقبالا حافلا . ويعتقد الآن بان الخطر الكبير للزعم قاسم يمكن في احتمال نشوب ثورة منظمة في
 القسم الشمالي من البلاد . ويظهر ان الجبهة لم تسمع بقول البارزاني لعبد الكريم بان يعتبره جنديا
 في خدمة الجمهورية !

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ان وضع الشعب الكردي في ايران وتركيا لا زال سيئا . فالحكومتان لايوانية والتركيا لا تعترف
 باية حقوق قومية للشعب الكردي . وتحرض الحكومة الايرانية - خلال اذاعاتها الكردية - بوقاحة اكرد
 العراق ضد اشقائهم العرب . اما الحكومة التركية فماضية في سياسة التعتقل والبعث عن الدولارات
 الامنيكية للصرف على جيشها (حوالي ٥٠ ٪ من نفوس تركيا جنود) وتصر على تقسيم قبرص بحجة وجود
 (٩٠.٠٠٠) تركي مختلطين مع (٤٠٠.٠٠٠) يوناني وتتناهى وجود اربعة ملايين كردي منفصلين عن
 الاترك . نالا كان التقسيم - تسمية الحكومة التركية حتى تهرب الحير - صحيحا في قبرص اليس هو
 اصح في تركيا ؟

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لقد كشفت جريدة الاهرام المصرية عن خطة استعمارية اجرامية بضرب شمال العراق بالقنابل
 الذرية لمنع زحف الجيش السوفيتي في حالة نشوب حرب عالمية ثالثة . ان ظلية المجرمين هي ان
 لم يتمكنوا من الاستفادة من موقع كردستان الاستراتيجي لمؤامراتهم الدنيئة فمن الاحسن افنائهم .
 " والحقيقة ان الاستعماريين حاولوا منذ الحرب العالمية الثانية استخدام كردستان لاغراضهم العسكرية .
 فسيول " الاركيولوجيين " الامهيكيين اصبحت ترتاد لا جبل جودي باحثة عن بقايا سفينة نوح فحسب
 بل اصبح جبل آرات - هركول - غرب الحدود التركية / السوفيتية محلا لطفلا لحفرياتهم .

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فأمل من اعضاء العراقيين اكمال تدريبهم بمعرفة وبهرة احسن لحاجة العراق الى المهندسين ،
 المدرسين ، اطباء ، فيزيائيين ، كيميائيين ، اقتصاديين ، فنيين زراعيين ، وحتى صحافيين ! ولأن على جهود هؤلاء
 يتوقف بناء عراق متقدم ليعيش فيه ستة ملايين ونصف عربي وكردى برقاء وحيمة . نرجو ان يحظى العدد
 الخاص بالمؤتمر الثالث برؤاؤكم . ان العدد الرابع سيكون كالعمدة . ونحن نرحب كثيرا بمقالاتكم ورسائلكم
 ونقدكم واقتراحاتكم لتحسين المجلة . انها مجلتكم وتحتاج الى مساعدتكم الدائمة .

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المؤتمر الثالث

بقلم - سعدى امين دزى

عقد المؤتمر الثالث في ميونيخ ألمانيا من ٤-٨ آب ١٩٥٨ ، وحضره عشرين مندوباً - للبة أفراد من مختلف الجامعات الاربعة -

بعد وصولنا نظلنا الى ضيف جديد جميل ، في ضواحي المدينة ، تحيط حيطانه على حديقة بديمة التي حوت على بركة دائرية في وسطها . كان الضيف مقسماً الى قسمين ، خصص الالى للمؤتمرين والثاني لبقية الضيوف من مختلف الاقوام .

خصصت غرفة مريحة لجلسات المؤتمر . وما ان جلس المندوبون على مقاعدهم حتى فتح الرئيس المؤتمر . وتبع تبني جدول اعمال المؤتمر ، قراءة رسالة اتحاد الطلبة العراقي العام وللمسة زعل اردني . ثم قدم السكرتير العام تقريره الذي دار حول نقاش طويل . وانتهت الجلسة الاولى بعد تقديم تقرير المحاسبة . وفي الجلسة الثانية قدم تقرير سكرتارية " كردستان " ثم تقارير الفروع في بريطانيا ، ألمانيا ، سويسرا - نسا .

ثم ناقش المؤتمر منهاج ونظام الجمعية وأجرى تغييرات مهمة . واخيراً انتخب المؤتمر اللجنة الادارية الجديدة . وختم المؤتمر بالنشيد الوطني الكردي " كردستان ، كردستان " .

خارج قاعة تبادلنا التهاني للجهود المشتركة لنجاح المؤتمر ولنا ثقة كبيرة الآن بالجمعية . ان القضية الكردية لكونها اهم مشاغلنا ولاننا لا نشك بغيرة الجمعية على خدمة هذه القضية ، لهذا نحن مصممين على خدمة الجمعية من كل الوجهات

البقية في الصفحة التالية

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التمتع الكردى جزء لا يتجزء وان الحدود التي تفصله اصطناعية

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مصطفى بارزاني في تصريح لمراسل

جريدة نيوز كرونكل في ٢٤/١١/٥٨

مؤتمر ميونيخ كان انجح مؤتمر عقد ، الطلبة الاكراد في اوربا . ان جميع المشتركين تمتعوا بوقت جميل . بين الاجتماعات كان المؤتمرين يقضون الوقت في الراحة والتشميس . في الاصفا الى الموسيقى الكردية او الرقص .

وبعد المؤتمر اقام مدير الخيف حفلة دعى اليها كل الزوار . وقدم الاكراد ثلاثة رقصات وقد اشترك الجميع - رجالا ونساء - في الرقصة الثالثة وهتف كثير من الطلبة الالمان بحياة الصداقة الكردية /الالمانية لقد انتهى المؤتمر الثالث ولكن لنا ذكريات غالية . نحن ننظر الآن الى المؤتمر الرابع لقلابة الاصدقاء ثانية ، لتقوية التضامن ولقضاء عطلة جميلة .

كلمة الرئيس الافتتاحية للمؤتمر الثالث لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اوربا - ميونيخ

بقلم - صحت شريف

اخواني الاعزاء ،

بعد وافر التحية ، نفتتح الان المؤتمر الثالث للجمعية الثقافية للطلاب الاكراد في اوربا . وسوف نستعرض به نشاط الجمعية بشكل عام وفي مختلف الفروع منذ المؤتمر الثاني الذي عقد في لندن بتاريخ ٤/٢ كانون ثاني ١٩٥٨ لغاية الآن ، وناقش مختلف التقارير المتعلقة بذلك ، ونقدم كافة الاقتراحات من نظامة وعملية لاستمرار النشاط في المستقبل ونهادته ، وسوف يختتم المؤتمر بانتخاب لجنة جديدة كما هو موضح في جدول الاعمال الذي اخذتم طما به .

وباسم المؤتمر الثالث للجمعية واللجنة الادارية يسرني ان اشكر اخواننا الاعزاء من طلي الطلبة العراقيين والاردنيين لتشفهم ايماننا بحضور هذه الجلسة الافتتاحية .

وباسم اللجنة الادارية اود ان ارحب بالاخوان الاكراد الذين يحضرون لأول مرة مؤتمرات الجمعية ، راجيا ان تعيد الجمعية من نشاطهم وفعاليتهم ولا سيما انها بحاجة الى موازنة كل فرد منا موازنة ابن جميع اجزاء كردستان هي منيزة علينا بصورة متساوية ولا فرق لدينا بين ابنه اربيل والسليمانية ، اود ياربكر اوسيفراك أو وان او مهاباد أو سنة أو كرماشاء ، ولكنني اود ان احبي بصورة خاصة حضور مثل من كردستان تركيا لأول مرة بصورة رسمية ومباشرة ، كردستان تركيا حيث يعيش ما يقرب من ٥٠ ٪ من مجموع الشعب الكردي في شروط قاسية من الظلم والضغط والفاشية . ولنعتبر جميعا من سرورنا بذلك

بان نصفق لمثل شبيهة وطلبة كردستان تركيا الاخ العزيز عثمان كلشين الذي يدرس في برلين . واذا كنا نحبي وجود الاخوان الذين حضروا لأول مرة فلا بد لنا ان نأسف لعدم تكن عدد اخر كبير من الحضور لاسباب قاعرة تعلمونها . وقد اخرت حوادث الشرق الاوسط الاخيرة وصول النقود لهم او عرقلت سفرهم ، وهذا هو السبب الرئيسي في عدم كثرتنا في هذا المؤتمر الثالث ، ولكن قلوب الغائبين وانكارهم معنا .

ويجب الا يغفل على بعضنا بان هنالك بعض الاخوان الاخوين لم يحضروا ولعله كان باكانهم الحضور لو قاموا بشيء من التضحية ، وقد اكون مخطئا في هذا التقدير وهو ما آله ، ومهما يكن فاذا كان ثمة شيء من هذا فاننا نوجه الى هؤلاء قلوبنا اخوها ونترك لهم الباب مفتوحا للنشاط والعمل المباشر في خدمة الجمعية واهدائها .

عندما اجتمعنا في فيسبادن لأول مرة في شهر آب من عام ١٩٥٦ كنت ذكرت للاخوان الحاضرين بان اجتماعنا هو اجتماع تاريخي ستكون له اهميته في نمو الحركة الكردية والوعي الصحيح ، وذكرت بان عيون الشعب الكردي وقلوبه كانت تتجه نحونا ، وكذلك كان الامر في مؤتمر لندن ، وقد اثبتت السنتان الماضيتان وسوف يثبت المستقبل اكثر فلكثر بان ما قلناه كان صحيحا نظرا للاهمية المتزايدة التي تلقاها الجمعية في الوطن وخارج الوطن ، وما تنافس اخواننا الامراء في مدن كردستان على الحصول على نسخ من الاعداد القليلة التي وصلتهم من مجلتنا الا مثال على الحب الذي يكنه الشعب الكردي لحركتنا ، وما عشرات الرسائل والبرقيات التي تردنا منهم الا مثال آخر . وكما كانت عيون الشعب الكردي وقلوبه شاخصة نحونا في فيسبادن وفي لندن فانها تتجه اليكم الآن في ميونيخ ، وان حركتنا على حدائق منها وقلة وسائلها لتمثل قوة معنوية وفكرية جبارة لها شأنها في سير المسألة الكردية ، انها أمل للشعب الكردي ورمز لنضاله في سبيل نهضته وسعادته وحرية بلاده . انها اكثر من رمز ، انها حلقة من حلقات النضال الوطني العام في سبيل حرية وتعالى وترقي كردستان .

لقد المحت الآن الى حوادث الشرق الاوسط الاخيرة ، وكل واحد منا قد فكر ولا شك بالثورة العراقية الشعبية الجبارة ، ثورة الحرية والديمقراطية على الظلم والفساد والاستعمار ، ثورة الشعبين الكردي والعربي في العراق من اجل استقلال العراق الصحيح وسعادته . ان الجمعية الثقافية للطلاب الاكراد في اوربا تحيي الثورة العراقية الشعبية التي تعاون العرب والاكراد على تحقيقها . انها الضربة الثالثة ، بعد حرب السويس ووحدة مصر وسوريا ، من ضربات التاريخ الشرقي لسحق الاستعمار وتحرير الشرق الاوسط بمختلف شعوبه ، ومنها الشعب الكردي المناضل ووطنه كردستان .

اخواني الاعزاء ،

كان المؤتمر الثاني في لندن قد اتخذ بعض القرارات فيما يتعلق بنشاط الجمعية ، وكانت اللجنة الادارية قد اجتمعت مباشرة بعد المؤتمر وبحثت الوسائل لتحقيقها والقها بكل نشاط آخر ممكن ولقد قامت اللجنة الادارية بذلك وسوف يخبركم من هذا النشاط الاخ المكرير العام في تقريره وكذلك الاخوان سكرير التحرير والمحاسب العام . ان المسؤولين من اور الجمعية قد قاموا بواجباتهم بشكل يترك الحكم فيه الى اعضاء المؤتمر الثالث في مونيخ ، والمؤتمر كما تعلمون هو اطل سلطة للجمعية . وعلى هذا فان المشتركين في المؤتمر الثالث مدعوون لممارسة صلاحياتهم في محاسبة اللجنة الادارية العامة على اعمالها وفي الحكم على هذه الاعمال وفي رسم سياسة الجمعية خلال السنة القادمة . وفي معرض الكلام من سياسة الجمعية ساقترح على المؤتمر عندما يسمح جدول اعمالنا بذلك ان يتخذ قرارا باعطاء الجمعية صفة نغالية تسمح لها بالاشتراك في الكفاح وبكافة الوسائل الطلابية الممكنة من اجل سعادة الشعب الكردي وحرية كرد تعلمون بان نشاط الجمعية لغاية الآن كان يحدث في المجال الثقافي بمعناه الضيق ويقتصر على الدراسات العلمية المضرة في احوال الكرد وكردستان من تاريخ ولغة وآداب وغير ذلك الى جانب السائل الطلابية . ولكننا لا نستطيع ان نستمر في عزل انفسنا من نضال شعبنا من اجل حريته وحل مسأله اور ، لا نستطيع ان نستمر في البقاء ضمن توقعة الثقافة بمعناها الضيق بل يجب ان نساهم في النشاط في المادين الاخرى بقدر ما تسمح به ظروفنا الطلابية . ان الشبيبة الكردية هي القوة الثورية الاساسية الصاعدة في كيان الشعب الكردي ، والطلاب الاكراد في اوربا هم من طليعة الشبيبة الكردية ، الطليعة التي يفترض ان تكون اكثر العناصر ومها وتصبها على العمل وعلى هذا فانكم انتم يا اعضاء المؤتمر الثالث للطلاب الاكراد في اوربا ، انكم مسؤولون امام شعبنا ، مسؤولون امام تاريخنا واما اجمال كردستان القادمة ، مسؤولون من اجل العمل لسعادة هذا الشعب وحرية هذا الوطن . بل ان اهداف الجمعية الاساسية كما وردت في النظام الحالي تسمح لنا وتتطلب منا ان نعمل في هذا الضمار . فلنعمل من مجلتنا الدورية "كوردستان" منبرا موضوعيا رفيعا لخدمة الثقافة الوطنية الكردية بمعناها الاوسع ، ولنعمل من مختلف مادين شاطنا مادين نضال لخدمة الشعب الكردي وحرية بلادنا كردستان

والمرحلة التاريخية التي تجتازها بلاد الشرق الاوسط في الوقت الحاضر والتي تتكاثف فيها القوى الوطنية الديمقراطية لتحطيم الاستعمار وتحرير الشعوب وحل مسائلها الوطنية ، ان هذه المرحلة تضع امامنا بعض المهام الاساسية ، اولها دراسة هذه الاوضاع وفهمها واظهار ارتباط هالح الشعوب الشرقية والاتصال بشبيبة الشعوب المجاورة ولا سيما باخواننا واصدقائنا وجيراننا العرب لانهم الذين لم يستطيعوا

ملاحظة ذلك لنفاية الآن أهمية المسألة الكردية وضرورة حلها حلاً صحيحاً تتفق وهذا حق الشعوب
 في تقرير مصيرها بنفسها ، وذلك عندما تسمح الظروف الإقليمية والدولية بذلك .

ان المسألة الكردية تتمدد لحد بعيد نطاق الدول العربية وكردستان العراقي يمثل نحو $\frac{1}{7}$ أو $\frac{1}{8}$
 من مجموع كردستان من حيث المساحة والسكان ، ولكن قضايا الشعوب مرتبطة بعضها ببعض ومن الضروري
 ان يقتنع الجميع بذلك . ومن هنا تبدو أهمية الاتصال والمناقشة الاخوية بين الشبيبة الكردية وشبيبة
 الشعوب المجاورة ولا سيما الشبيبة العربية التي تحتل حالياً الدغف الاعامية في المعركة المشتركة ضد
 الاستعمار ، والشبيبة الكردية كانت منذ امد بعيد وما زالت تدرك أهمية هذا الظاهر في تحرير الشرق
 الاوسط وتتحدى به ، ولكنها كانت تنظر بشيء من الاسف وهدون ان تغدو الامل لعدم تفهم الرأي العام
 لدى الشعوب المجاورة في السابق لحقيقة المسألة الكردية ، ما هذا الرأي العام العربي في العراق .

ونحن نسجل هذا الموقف الاخوي الصحيح للشبيبة العربية في العراق التي يمكنها ان تعطي السبل
 في ذلك لشبيبة الاقطار العربية الاخرى . والشبيبة العراقية العربية ليست اقل مروية واخلاصاً وحساساً
 للقضايا العربية ولا فرق بين عربي وآخر في الوطنية ولكن تفهمها لأوضاع الشعب الكردي كان ناتجاً
 من المجاورة والتعايش الاخوي بين الكرد والعرب ، ومن شأن هذا ان يعطيها أهمية كبيرة ودوراً خاصاً
 كحلقة وصل لتوحيد اواصر الصداقة والتعاون بين الشعبين العربي والكردي بمجموعتهما وليس فقط ضمن
 النطاق العراقي . وسبها يمكن فقد حدث مؤخراً تطور ايجابي كبير الشأن في تفهم الرأي العام العربي
 لحقيقة المسألة الوطنية الكردية ، وما اذاعة راديو القاهرة بالكردية الا مثال طموس لطيف على ذلك .

والشبيبة الكردية سعيدة جداً بهذا التطور لأن التعاون العربي / الكردي يعني سلوك الطريق الصحيح
 لتحرير الاستعمار في الشرق الاوسط كله وليس فقط في العراق ، والمعركة ضد الاستعمار هي واحدة
 سواء في العراق او ايران او تركيا وقبر الاستعمار يعني تحقيق وضمان الوحدة العربية ، يعني تحقيق
 الحرية والاستقلال والوحدة الكردية وتحرير الشعوب المجاورة ولا سيما الفارسي والتركي من اوضاعها الفاسدة
 اننا سعداء بذلك ، سعداء لانفسنا ولأصدقائنا لان حل المسألة الكردية العامة حلاً جذرياً صحيحاً
 في المستقبل هو احدى الشروط الاساسية لاجاد سلم دائم وحب مقم بين شعوب وحكومات هذا الجزء
 الهام من العالم . كلنا يعلم بان وسائل الاذاعة والصحافة المألمة تتكلم ظهلاً وبشكل خاطئ مشوه من
 الشعب الكردي ومسائلته الوطنية ، ولكننا نعلم ايضاً يعلم كل شخص بعيد النظر وطالم بحقيقة الاوضاع
 بان الشعب الكردي هو قوة اساسية من قوى الديمقراطية في الشرق الاوسط ، قوة سيكون لها وزنها
 الصحيح في الميزان الدولي عاجلاً ام آجلاً ، بل عاجلاً ، اننا قوة من قوى الحرية والديمقراطية وكل حل

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ساحي شامل لمشاكل الشرق الاوسط لا يعترف بواقع الكرد وكردستان وجود المسألة الكردية لا يمكن الا ان يكون حلاً مؤقتاً مشوهاً ، والاشتب الكردى في شؤون هذا الجزء من العالم كلمة سوف يقطبها ، انها كلمة حب وسلام للشعوب المجاورة ومنذ وكرة للاستعمار العالمي والحكومات الشرقية المأجورة .
وعندما اقول الشعب الكردى اقصد بمجموعه ، وكما هنالك شعب عربي واحد هنالك شعب كردى واحد ، انهما شعبان ، العربي والكردى ، يختلفان في اللغة ويتفقان في النضال من اجل الديمقراطية والحرية والسلام لكافة الشعوب .
ايها الاخوان الاعزاء ،

اختتم كلمتي راجيا للمؤتمر الثالث نجاحا تاما وان يشكل مرحلة جديدة لامعة في تاريخ الجمعية . ولن انهي هذه الكلمة بدون ان اشكر اخواننا الطلاب الاكراد اعضاء الجمعية في ميونخ لقائهم باللائم في ايجاد هذا المكان الجميل لاجتماعاتنا ، آتلا لهم بشكل خاص لطلاب المانيا الاكراد بشكل عام ان يتمكنوا خلال السنة القادمة ، بالتعاون الوثيق مع زملائهم في بقية البلدان الاربعة ، ان يدفعوا بحركتنا الى الامام وان يرفعوا عاليا اسم الكرد وكردستان .

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تقرير السكرتير العام لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اوربا الى المؤتمر الثالث

قدم السيد د.امر محمود حسين السكرتير العام السابق لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اوربا التقرير السنوى التالي الى المؤتمر الثالث في ميونخ -

حاضرة الرئيس -

اخواني الاكراد المحترمين - اعزائي الحاضرين

مرة اخرى لبيتم دعوة جمعيتنا العزيزة لمقد المؤتمر السنوى ولتعزيز علاقاتنا بالجمعية والعمل على تحقيق اهدافها الهامة

الخص لكم الاعمال التي قادت بها الجمعية منذ المؤتمر الثاني الذي عقد في لندن بتاريخ

١٥٨/١/٣، ٢ -

تنفيذا لقرار المؤتمر الثاني بوجوب اصدار بيان من قبل اللجنة الادارية العامة الى جميع طلبة الاكراد في اوربا وتدعو فيه انضمامهم الى الجمعية للعمل في سبيل تحقيق اهدافها فقد اصدرت اللجنة

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الادارية تقريرا عن المؤتمر الثاني ووزع مع النشام الداخلي . ففي كثير من البلدان تقرب الطلبة الاكراد من الجمعية ومدوا يد المساعدة لها فازدادت العضوية خلال مدة قصيرة . والبلدان الجديدة بالذكر هي برطانيا فنسا - سويسرا ثم المانيا بالاضافة الى اقطار اخرى . . . ففي برطانيا توسعت الجمعية بدرجة تدعو الى الفخر وانها وضعت اهم الاعمال على عاتقها . وشكل فرع موحد لنمسا - سويسرا وسبقه مندوب هذا الفرع تقريرا عن اصالحهم . ومن الوصف حقا بانه لم يشكل فرع لالمانيا الى الآن رغم وجود عدد كبير من اخواننا الاكراد في هذا البلد . لذلك زار رئيس الجمعية مدينتي برلين ومونخ وتم فرع لكل منهما كخطوة لتكوين فرع لجميع المانيا وهذا مع الأسف لم يحدث ونأمل من اللجنة الادارية القادمة العمل لتحقيق ذلك . (يسرنا ان نعلم خبر تشكيل فرع للجمعية في المانيا اثنا المؤتمر - المحرر) .

اصدرت اللجنة الادارية بياناً الى جميع الجرائد والمجلات الكردية وبينت بصورة مختصرة اهداف الجمعية واهميتها ودعت الى مساعدة الجمعية ماديا ومعنويا من قبل الشخصيات الكردية . مع الأسف لم تكن النتيجة طيبة كثيرا .

وارسلت رسائل الى جميع المنظمات الخالوية في ارميا (اكثر من ثلاثين رسالة) وقد ردت منظمات كثيرة على رسالتنا واهمها اللجنة الانهيقية / الاسيوية في برطانيا وكثير من المنظمات العائدة لها ، بالاضافة الى جمعية الطلبة العراقيين في المطكة المتحدة وكذلك رابطة الطلاب العرب في المطكة المتحدة . ان هذه الرسائل ادت الى تعريف جهات مختلفة على جمعيتنا فقد استلمنا مثلا رسالة من " جمعية الصداقة العالمية - ممبروك دوك " في انكلترا وفيها يطلبون منا ارسال بعض اعضائنا الى اجتماعهم العام . اصدرت مجلة الجمعية " كردستان " واشترت طمعة للجمعية وطبعت اوراق ورسائل رسمية .

وقد اقامت الجمعية حفلة بمناسبة " نرووز " في لندن حضرها طلاب كثيرون اكرادا ورميا وانكليزا وانهيقيين الخ . . . وكانت حفلة ناجحة قدمت فيها اغاني ورقصات وكلمات ومهددا اقيمت حفلة شاي . ويرجع الفضل لنجاح الحفلة الى فرع انكلترا .

ان اللجنة الادارية العامة رغم عدم انكارها للافلاط والنواقص في العمل فانها تتفخر بالامال التي انجزتها ونحن الآن ايها الاخوان مستعدون بكل رحابة صدر لقبول انتقاداتكم ونصائحكم وكذلك نجارب على استلتمكم بقدر الاسكان .

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ان اهم واجباتنا هو ضرورة الوحدة ، فاذا اتحدنا سيكون لنا الرجود فاذا وجدنا ينصت لنا . فاذا
انصت اليها يعطى مطلبنا العادلة . فاتحدوا فانه اهم سلاح لتحقيق الاهداف ومن هذا الاتحاد
سننقطف ثمار اعمالنا . يجب الاستفادة من الاختفاء النائية وعدم تكرارها . فلينا ان نرفع اسم الجمعية
علما لان هذه الجمعية وجدت لخدمة شعبنا التي كنا نفتخر بها .
يجب ان نضم الاكراد انما وجدوا في اربها الى الجمعية . فلينا دائما ان نكون طي ف بالاحداث
التي تدور في وطننا ونعمل هنا طينا صالح شعبنا .
في العراق ثار الاكراد والصرب بقيادة الجيش الباسل ، طي الخلام والطفهان نحطوا تيريد المبودية
وطردوا الاستعمار ودفعوا مشاريعه الدنيئة . فلينا تقديم كل ما لدينا من غال ونفيس في اجل صيانة
للجمهورية العراقية والتضحية بارواحنا اذا لزم الامر . ان الجمهورية العراقية فسحت الآن امامنا مجالا
اكبر للعمل في تحقيق اهدافنا الغالية .
خطا ارحب بكم - باسم اللجنة الادارية العامة - ثانية اجل ترحيب . ان ضميركم دليل طي
تحسكم واخلاصكم لقضيتنا العادلة .
ان جمعيتنا برهنت طي قدرتها لتبادة الحركة الطلابية للاكراد في اربها بشكل ديمقراطي صحيح .
لتعش جمعيتنا المصنزة
لتعش اخوتنا .
ولتعش الصداقة بين الطلبة الاكراد والارباب

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طخص تحرير سكرتارية تحرير كردستان

اشار السيد هـر القاضي سكرتير تحرير " كردستان " السابق في تحرير المؤتمر الثالث الى صدور عدد من
من المجلة خلال اشهر قليلة ، وقد اعمدة ذلك في وجود بعض النواقص . واضاف بان السبب الرئيسي في
عدم اصدار اكثر من عدد من هو طلة القالات وانحصارها بجماعة معينة من الكتاب ورجى الاهتمام بالمجلة
بارسال القالات والاقتراحات والاخبارات والتمني القصيرة .
واقترح ان تكون للمجلة لجنة تحرير وكسهم في بلد واحد لتسهيل العمل ، وفتح باب للنقص
والتلمية والنكات .

وتدرك من الى الغاية من اصدار المجلة نقال انه يعتقد ان الدعاية للشعب الكردي بين الشعوب العالمية بالاهتمام الاوروبية ولهذا اقترح ان تصدر المجلة باللغات الاوروبية فقط وعدم وجود ضرورة لكتابة المقالات باللغة الكردية لان الغاية ، حسب رأيه ، هو الدعاية . اذا استطعنا اصدار المجلة بلغتين او ثلاثة اوروبية فهذا يفخر له وهذا يعتقد بالدرجة الاولى على تعاون جميع الفروع . . . واذا تعذر ذلك فالاحسن اصدار المجلة بلغة واحدة كالانكليزية مثلا .

وختم الاخ ميركلامه بالدعوة الى مساعدة مجلة " كردستان " ماديا ومعنويا بضمان تأمين نشر وتوزيع واسع وذلك لكي تصبح " كردستان " طريقا صحيحا لخدمة الشعب الكردي وتعريف العالم طيه .

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المؤتمر الثالث ببارك الثورة العراقية

وجه المؤتمر الثالث لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اوربا البرقية التالية الى الزعيم العراقي الممثل
مدالكهم قاسم -

" نبارك ثورتكم الشعبية الجديدة ، ونؤيد خطواتكم من اجل حرية وسعادة العراق بشعبه
العربي والكردي " .

المؤتمر يشكو الرئيس عبد الناصر بمناسبة فتح الاذاعة الكردية في القاهرة

سيادة الرئيس المحترم ،

تشرف اللجنة الادارية لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اوربا بناء على قرار اتخذته المؤتمر الثالث للجمعية الذي قد في ميثاق من ٤ الى ٨ آب ١٩٥٨ بان ترفع لسهادتكم ولحكومتكم ولشعب الجمهورية العربية المتحدة الكبير مشاعر الشكر النافق لقيام حكومتكم الموقرة بفتح اذاعة باللغة الكردية في راديو القاهرة . ان جمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اوربا تضم نخبة الشعب الكردي المثقفة في الخارج ، وهي ان ترفع لسهادتكم هذا الشكر انما تعبر عن مشاعر الشعب الكردي بمجموعه ، وان شعبنا السعيد بظواهر الصداقة والتفهم التي يظهرها نحو شقيقه وجاره الكبير الشعب العربي في شتى اقطاره تحت قيادة ورواية سهادتكم العليا .

اننا نعلم بان كل ظفر تحرزه القومية العربية في معركتها الجبارة ضد الاستعمار انما هو ظفر للقومية الكردية ، وان كل خطوة يخطوها الشعب العربي الكبير في طريق الاستقلال التام والوحدة

اننا تمنى خطوة الى الامام تقرب الشعب الكردى في تحقيق آتاه في الحرية .
عاش الشعب العربي حرا عزيزا موحدا ، وعاش شعبنا الكردى ، ودمتم قائدا للشعب واملا ومونا لشعبنا
ولكافة الشعوب الاسيوية - الافريقية .
ونرجو من سيادتكم قبول اسمى مواطني الاحترام "

اللجنة الادارية العامة

لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اوروبا

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" جمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اوروبا "

السيد هرشولد

سكرتير عام منظمة الأمم المتحدة

نيويورك

يا صاحب السعادة ،

تجتمع اليوم الهيئة العامة لمنظمة الأمم المتحدة في دمرة استثنائية لبحث مشاكل الشرق الاوسط .
هنالك مسألة لا تكتب عنها الصحافة العالمية الا نادرا ، وعادة بشكل غير صحيح ، مسألة لم تعد تناقشها
الاصاط الدولية المختصة منذ معاهدة سيفر عام ١٩٢٠ ، وهي مع ذلك مسألة آتية وفي غاية الالهمية .
انها المسألة الكردية .

وحسب توصيات المؤتمر الثالث لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اوروبا ، الذي قد في ميونخ من
٤ الى ٨ آب ١٩٥٨ ، تشرف اللجنة الادارية العامة لهذه الجمعية بكتابة هذه الرسالة الى سيادتكم
آلة من ذلك لغت انظار العالم لهذه المسألة المهمة ، وبصورة خاصة انظار الهيئة العامة لمنظمة
الامم المتحدة .

ونرجو من سيادتكم ان تستعملوا صلاحياتكم التي يمنى عليها البند ١٩ من شرة منظمة الأمم
المتحدة لوضع " الاضارة الكردية " الموجودة في حوزة المنظمة على بساط البحث من جديد ولكي
تتخلوا بتسجيل هذه المسألة في جدول اعمال الدورة الحالية للهيئة العامة لمنظمة الأمم المتحدة .
وهذا اللزوم ، يستطيع الوفد الكردى الذى مركزه الدائم في باريس الدفاع عن هذه المسألة امام الهيئة العامة

ان منظمة الامم المتحدة تسعى جهدها لسلوك الطريق المؤدية لسلام دائم في الشرق الاوسط .
 وما اننا نؤمن برسالة الامم المتحدة السامية فاننا نرجوكم ان تلاحظوا بان السلام الدائم لا يمكن ان
 يتحقق في هذه المنطقة من العالم طوال ما بقيت مسائلها الرئيسية بدون حل صحيح ، وصورة خاصة
 طوال ما يستمر الظلم الذي حل بالشعب الكردي وسألته الوطنية ، هذا الشعب الذي خاض (اضحية)
 الدبل الكبرى في مؤتمر لوزان عام ١٩٢٣ .

ان "جمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اوربا " تضم النخبة المثقفة من الشعب الكردي في الخارج ، وتعتبر
 بصوتها من روائب الملايين المشر او الاثنى عشر من الاكراد الذين يقطنون وطنهم كردستان ، المجزأ
 سياسيا بين تركيا وايران والعراق .

ان النظام الجمهوري الجديد في العراق باعترافه بالواقع القومي الكردي يقوضه في الهند الثالث
 من الدستور الجديد بان الاكراد والعرب هم شركاء في الجمهورية مع سترق قومية متساوية قد قام بخطوة
 واسعة ومعقولة في طريق حل المسألة الكردية . ومن واجبا ان نعلن تأييدنا للحكومة العراقية وان نرفع
 بان الجمهورية العراقية قد اعطت المثال بذلك الى كل من ايران وتركيا من اجل اعطاء المسألة الكردية
 حلا آتيا ديمقراطيا وسليما .

ان هذا الحل لا يمكن ان يؤثر على الحق الدائم للشعب الكردي بمجوده في تقرير مصيره بنفسه
 واذنا ما استمرت حكومتا تركيا وايران في عدم الاعتراف بالواقع القومي الكردي وفي اتباع سياسة
 الاضطهاد القومي والاجهاال والتشويش القومي - تشيخ ماله الفشل - تجاه اجزاء كردستان الواقعة تحت
 حكمها ، سوف تتجهان عاجلاً بوضع سلام السالم في خطر . ولهذا الاسباب نعرب عن اطمنا في لو ان
 تقوم هاتان الحكومتان بالاعتراف بالواقع القومي الكردي بدورهما وبالشرع في تطويق حل لهذه المسألة
 مستوحى من السياسة العراقية الجديدة ، وسوف يكون ذلك في صالح هذين البلدين وصالح كافة شعوب
 الشرق الاوسط .

هذا وتفضلوا يا صاحب السعادة بقبول اسمي ومواطننا .

- اللجنة الادارية لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اوربا -

ملاحظة - استلمت الجمعية رسالة من سكرتارية الامم المتحدة تقول بان رسالة
 الجمعية تسترعى الانتباه اللازم من السلطات المختصة هناك .

"جمعية الطلبة الاكراد في ارميا"

لسعادة رئيس حكومة

اتحاد الجمهوريات الاشتراكية السوفياتية

موسكو

يا صاحب السعادة ،

في هذه الرسالة تشرف اللجنة الادارية " لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في ارميا " بان تقدم للحكومة السوفياتية شكر مؤتمر الجمعية الثالث لها الذي سيجري عنه بالاجماع اثناء انعقاده في ميونيخ من ٤ الى ٨ آب ١٩٥٨ ، وذلك نظرا للتقدم الكبير الذي حصلت عليه الثقافة الوطنية الكردية في الاتحاد السوفياتي تحت حكم السوفييات وهنئله .

واننا نوجه شكرنا ايضا بصورة طيبة الى حكومات ارمينيا واذربايجان السوفياتية والى العلماء والعديد من المؤسسات العلمية التي ساعدت على ذلك ، ومنها الاكاديمية السوفياتية " والسيد الشرقي " في ليننغراد .

ان " جمعية الطلبة الاكراد في ارميا " تجمع تحت لوائها الطلاب الاكراد في مختلف الجامعات الاربوية في انكلترا والمانيا وسويسرا والنمسا وتشيكوسلوفاكيا وفرنسا . وهي تهدف ،بالاضافة الى جمع شمل الطلاب الاكراد في ارميا وتحقيق الملائقة الدورية لهم ، الى العمل من اجل تقدم الثقافة الوطنية الكردية والى تعريف العالم على اوضاع شعبنا الكردي الاجتماعية والاقتصادية والثقافية والسياسية وفي بلاده وتاريخه . وقد تأسست جمعيتنا على اثر المؤتمر الاول للطلاب الاكراد في ارميا عام ١٩٥٦ ، وقامت مؤخرا بعقد مؤتمره الثالث في ميونيخ ، وهي معترف بها من قبل عدد كبير من المنظمات والحركات الطلابية الاجنبية (الصديقة) بصورة خاصة من قبل الحركات الطلابية العربية والاسيوية - الافريقية ، كما انها تتمتع بتأييد الشعب الكردي الفعال . والجمعية تصدر مجلة دورية اسمها " كردستان " بمعدة لسانت ومنها الكردية اننا على علم بالتقدم الثقافي - والمادي - الذي حصلت عليه المجموعة الكردية الصغيرة التي تعيش في ارمينيا واذربايجان السوفياتية . . انه تقدم كبير يسعدنا ان نلاحظه وان نشير اليه بالبنار في الوقت الذي ننظر فيه بأس الى الشروط الثقافية والمادية البائسة التي يزرع تحتها كل من كردستان تركيا حيث يعيش خمسة ملايين من ابنا شعبنا ، وكردستان ايران ، حيث يعيش اربعة ملايين منهم وذلك تحت حكومات رجعية تطبق سياسة الاضطهاد القومي والاجهاال في بلادنا . ومن كافة بلاد الشدة

الاصط التي تقتسم كردستان ، ليس هنالك الا العراق الجمهورى الجديد الذى يعترف بكامل حقوق
الاكرد القومية ومساواتهم المطلقة ، نذرها وطها ، مع اخوانهم واصدقائهم العرب . وهذا ما يشر بهتدم
ثقافى وادى كبير لكردستان العراق . ونذا يشكل احدى الاسباب الرئيسية التي حطت الشعب الكردى
وحركته الوطنية على تأييد الجمهورية العراقية الجديدة والحركة التحررية العربية حثما كانت ، تأييدا قها
هدون تحفظ . اما الاسباب الرئيسية الاخرى التي حطت الشعب الكردى على ذلك فتتلخص في تضامن
الشعوب الاسيوية - الانريقية في التضامن الموجود بين كافة شعوب العالم المحبة للحرية ،
في نضالها المشترك ضد الاستعمار .

ان الشعب الكردى يملئونه الأحد مشر سيتبع بانتهاء زائد استمرار العمل الانشائي العظيم الذى
يستفيد منه ال ١٠٠ ألف أو ال ١٥٠ ألف من اكرد الاتحاد السوفياتي .

هما ان المراكز الثقافية الكردية كما هي حاليا موجودة في كردستان العراق (والى حد قليل في
سوريا) وفي الاتحاد السوفياتي ، وما ان هذا المركز الاخير هو اهمها نظرا لأنه قد طبع نحو ١٥٠٠
كتاب باللغة الكردية في الاتحاد السوفياتي خلال الثلاثين سنة الاخيرة ، فانه من المستحب كثيرا ان
يمكن ملايين الافراد من شعبنا ولا سيما شبيته وطلبه من الاستفادة من ذلك . وصورة خاصة ان
جمعيتها - التي تملك مكتبة كردية - واعضاءها سيكونون سعداء اذا تمكنوا عن الحصول على نسخ من
اهم الكتب التي تطبع بالكردية في الاتحاد السوفياتي .

ولكي يصح العلم السوفياتي في موضوع الدراسات الكردية وفيرها على متناول (قهوما من) شعبنا
وشبيته بدرجة كافية ، نرجو ان تسمحوا لنا بان نذكر بان من المستحسن ان تطبع هذه الكتب بالاحرف
اللاتينية . ان استعمال هذه الاحرف بدأ يتعمد تدريجيا ولا سيما بين الجيل الكردى الجديد ، ويبدو
ن هذه الاحرف ستكون احرف المستقبل وحدى الوسائل لتوحيد اللغة الكردية المكتوبة . لقد ابهجننا ان
نلاحظ بان القاموس الروسى /الكردى الذى ظهر عام ١٩٥٧ قد طبع ، فيما يتعلق بالكردية بالاحرف اللاتينية ،
وذلك لكي يتمكن اكرد الشرق الاصط من استعماله ، وهذا يصح لنا بان نأمل بان الخطوات الكردية
القادمة مقتدر بهذه الاحرف ، او على الاقل الخطوات التي سيتمكن اكرد الشرق الاصط من الاستفادة منها .
قد ارب المؤتمر الثالث لجمعيةنا كذلك من رجائه في ان تفتح الحكومة السوفياتية اذاعة كردية
يومية في راديو موسكو . ونسح لانفسنا بان نذكر بان طلبا بهذا العدد قد قدم لكم قبل عدة اشهر ،
وقد وقع عدد من الطلاب الاكرد في اوروبا .

- ١٩ -

اننا نأمل ان يكون مؤتمر جمعيتنا الرابع القادم - الذي سيحدث في صيف عام ١٩٥٦ ، طس الاكر
 ني مدينة نهبنا - من المع المومترات التي حدثت ولا سيما بانسفراف مراقبين يأتون من كردستان
 ومدهين يعطون المنظمات الطلابية الصديقة . ولهذا فان جمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اورها سيرها كثيرا
 ان ترى بين العراقيين والزوار الذين سيجنرون هذا المؤتمر مندوبين يعطون الحركة الطلابية السوفياتية
 والطلبة الاكراد السوفيات ، وذلك بمنية التعاون الثقافي .
 واذ نكرر شكرنا للحكومة والشعب والعلم السوفياتي لنهضة الثقافة الوطنية الكردية وتقدم الدراسات
 الكردية في بلادكم العظيمة ، نرجو من سعادتكم ان تفضلوا بقبول اسمى مواطننا .

- اللجنة الادارية لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اورها -

طحق - نرسل لكم طيه نسختين اثنايتين في هذه الرسالة الى حكومتي الجمهورية الارمنية
 والجمهورية الاندرايجانية السوفياتية ، كما نرسل طس سبيل الاعلام نسخة من بلاغ المؤتمر
 الختامي ومن رسالة ارسلناها للسكترير العام لمنظمة الامم المتحدة .

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نداء الى الشعب الكردي

ان المؤتمر الثالث لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اورها المضمد في ميونخ ، ألمانيا من ٤ الـ ١٠ آب يتوجه
 الى الشعب الكردي في مختلف انحاء كردستان بنداثة التالي -
 ايها الشعب الكردي الابي ،

يا ابناء مهديا وصلاح الدين وكهم خان زند

يا ابناء شاعرنا الخالد احمدي خاني ، اب للفكرة الحظنية الكردية

يا ابناء ثورات شمع سميد واكر داغ وشيخ محمود وهارزان

يا من رفعتكم طم كردستان طليا في مهاباد ، درسم والطيمانية

يا من ضحيتكم بارواح ابنائكم البيرة وكابدتم الاهوال من اجل حريتكم وسعادة بلادكم

انتم يا ورثة امجاد شمعنا وتقاليده الشهيرة

وحذوا صفوفكم ومثوا قواكم لتابعة النضال وتمنيزه من اجل حرية ووحدة وطنكم الطدي كردستان .

- المؤتمر الثالث لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اورها - ميونخ .

نص البلاغ الختامي للمؤتمر الثالث
 " لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اوربا "

ان المؤتمر الثالث لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اوربا " الضعقد في ميونخ من ٤ الى ٨ آب ١٩٥٨ ،
 يعلن في بلاغه الختامي ما يلي -

- ١- تأييد التام للجمهورية العراقية الفتية ، ويري في ميلادها ضربة قاصمة للاستعمار واذنابه في اقوى
 قلاع في الشرق الاوسط وخطوة جبارة لتحرير مختلف شعوب هذا الجزء الحساس من العالم وتحقيق
 امنها في السلم والاستقلال الوطني والديمقراطية ، ومنها شعبنا الكردي الذي جزا
 الاستعمار والرجعية المظلمة بلاد وحرره من كافة حقوقه القومية .
- ٢- استنكاره الشديد للعدوان الانكليزى - اميركي على لبنان والاردن الذي يعتبر خرقا صريحا لمبادئ
 هيئة الامم المتحدة بـدخله نكلا في الشؤون الداخلية لهذه البلدان ، وبالتالي المؤتمر بانسحاب
 القوات العسكرية منها .
- ٣- شجبه للاحلاف العدوانية ولا سيما حلف بغداد الذي يهدف الى ابقاء النفوذ الاستعماري في
 الشرق الاوسط واطاعة تحرير شعوب هذه المنطقة ومنها شعبنا الكردي .
- ٤- اعتناقه لمبدأ حق تقرير المصير لكافة الشعوب النازحة تحت نير الاستعمار واذنابه ، ومنها شعبنا
 الكردي ولا سيما في اجزاء وطنه المحقة تسرا بتركيا وايران
- ٥- تنهيه لمقررات المؤتمر الاول للطلبة الاكراد في اوربا ، الذي عقد في " فيسبادن - ألمانيا ،
 بتاريخ ١٠-١٦ آب ١٩٥٦ .
- ٦- تأييد ومشاركته للحركات بالمطالبة الوطنية والعالمية ، ويعتبر ان حركتنا الطلابية هي جزء
 لا يتجزأ منها .

المؤتمر الثالث لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اوربا

آب - ١٩٥٨

قرارات اجتماع الطلبة الاكراد في فينهادن - آب ١٩٥٦
تناها المؤتمر بالاجماع

- ١ - يؤمن الاجتماع بان الاكراد جميعا يؤلفون شعبا واحدا له ارضه ولغته وتكوينه التاريخي الخاص وروابطه الاقتصادية ونفسية المشتركة وثقافته الوطنية ، اى انه يتمتع بجميع الحقوق اللازمة طمعا لتكوين الأمة .
- ٢ - يتعلق الهند الاول بكردستان الطبيعية فقط ، اى بمناطق الشرق الاوسط التي تسكنها اكرية كردية وتشكل كتلة جغرافية واحدة .
- ٣ - ان حق الشعب الكردي في تقرير مصيره بنفسه هو حق طبيعي لا يجوز انكاره .
- ٤ - ان الظروف الحالية (١٩٥٦) في بلاد الشرق الاوسط لا تسمح باستعمال هذا الحق .
- ٥ - ان النفوذ الاستعماري والحكم الاقطاعي او الرجعي بصورة عامة تشكل الموانع الاساسية في استعمال حق تقرير المصير ، ولذلك يعتقد بوجود النضال من اجل ازالة هذه الموانع وتحقيق ديمقراطية صحيحة في بلاد الشرق الاوسط .
- ٦ - يرى بان الديمقراطية ، وما يترتب عليها من نضال ضد الاستعمار والحكم الاقطاعي او الرجعي بصورة عامة ، ليست وسيلة فقط للوصول الى حق تقرير المصير ، بل يؤمن بان الديمقراطية الصحيحة هي شرط اساسي لتحقيق سعادة الشعب الكردي او اى شعب آخر .
- ٧ - ان الحركة الوطنية الكردية هي حركة تحررية ضد الاستعمار وترتبط في هذا مع جميع الحركات الوطنية التحررية الاخرى ، ولذا فانه يعلن تأييده التام لها ولنضال جميع الشعوب من اجل حريتها وسيادتها الوطنية ولا سيما شعوب الشرق الاوسط .
- ٨ - وجوب تعاون الشعب الكردي مع جميع الشعوب المحبة للحرية وخاصة مع الشعوب العربية والفارسية والتركية من اجل تحقيق الديمقراطية وذلك نظرا لسلحتها المشتركة في قهر الاستعمار والاقطاعية والرجعية . ان العمل من اجل تحقيق هذا التعاون يجب ان تراعى فيه الظروف المختلفة الخاصة لكل دولة من دول الشرق الاوسط .
- ٩ - ان من واجب كل كردي مخلص ، ولا سيما المثقفين منهم ، دراسة القضية الكردية وتوضيحها للرأي العام المحلي والعالمي وخصوصا للشعوب المجاورة وكذلك كخطوة اولى لتحقيق التعاون المرجو بين كافة هذه الشعوب . وكذلك يرى الاجتماع وجوب الدفاع عن هذه القضية امام المؤسسات وفي المجالات الدولية .

- ٢٢ -

- ١٠ - وجوب توطيد الروابط المعنوية والفكرية والثقافية بين مختلف المناطق الكردية .
- ١١ - ضرورة نشر وتنمية الثقافة الوطنية الكردية في جميع المناطق الكردية والنضال بصورة خاصة من اجل جعل اللغة الكردية اللغة الرسمية لهذه المناطق والحصول على كافة الحقوق الثقافية .
- وانتظار تحقيق ذلك يرى الاجتماع بان من واجب كل كودي مخلص ، ولا سيما المتقنين منهم ، ان يقوم بخدمة الثقافة الوطنية الكردية في نطاق عمله وتعريفها للآخرين وشجع تأسيس جمعيات مشتركة للتبادل الثقافي مع الشعوب الاخرى .

x x x x x x x

الى الاخوان الطلبة الاكراد المجتمعون في ميونخ - ألمانيا الغربية

تحية نضالية حارة ،

تتقدم اللجنة العليا لاتحاد الطلبة العراقي العام باسم الاتحاد ومنظماته اعضاءه اتحاد طلبة كردستان العراق بالتحية الحارة لاجتماعكم راجية له النجاح وهي بذلك تعبر عن شعور اخوانكم الطلبة العراقيين بها واكرادا الذين يناضلون اليوم طغيتين حول اتحادهم في سبيل صيانة الجمهورية العراقية والدفاع عنها كما ناضلوا يدا بيد في السابق وقدموا التضحيات الجسام لتحقيق هذا النصر العظيم لشعبنا العراقي .

اننا على ثقة بان وحدة الكفاح المشترك بين الشمين الكردي والعربي بالعراق التي كانت الحجر الاساسي في نضال شعبنا الدامي الطويل ستكون اقوى وخير ضمانا في سبيل الدفاع عن جمهوريتنا العراقية وتحقيق المطالب الوطنية والقومية ونحو مستقبل افضل . ان لنا كل الامل بان اجتماعكم هذا سيعمل على تعزيز وترسيخ بأس وحدة هذه الوحدة .

على صخرة الاتحاد العربي الكردي يتحطم الاستعمار

فاشت الوحدة بين الشمين العربي والكردي

فاشت جمهوريتنا العراقية الفتية .

من اللجنة العليا لاتحاد الطلبة العراقي العام .

- ٢٢ -

الى اللجنة العليا لاتحاد الطلبة العراقيين العام

ايها الزملاء الاعزاء

تحيات اخيه ،

تلقينا ببالح السرور رسالتكم التي حثتكم فيها مؤتمرنا الثالث ، اننا في الوقت الذي نشكركم
على مواطنكم الودية تجاه جمعيتنا نعاهدكم السير معكم يدا بيد من اجل تهيئة الصداقة بين شعبينا
ومن اجل توحيد الفضال لصالح الشعبين العربي والكردى .
وفي الختام نرجو كل ازدهار وتقدم لمنظمتكم المجاهدة وتدعوكم من جانبنا لتقوية الصلات الاخوية
بيننا اكر فأكبر . والى الأمام دوما .
ماشت الصداقة الصريحة الكردية
ماشت الجمهورية العراقية الفتية .

عن اللجنة الادارية العامة لجمعية

الطلبة الاكراد في اربا . (الرئيس)

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تحية اتحاد طلبة كردستان

اسلمت اللجنة الادارية لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد رسالة من اتحاد طلبة كردستان بمناسبة انعقاد
المؤتمر جاء ضمنها - " نقدم لجمعيتكم المناظرة احر تحياتنا ونعتز كثيرا بصلاتنا الوثيقة معكم .
فانتم سطي طلبة كردستان في العالم والى الامام من اجل الحفاظ على جمهورية العرب والاكراد .
كذلك اسلمت اللجنة الادارية لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اربا رسالة مؤرخة في ١٠/٢٥ / ١٩٥٨
من لجنة اتحاد الطلبة العراقيين العام في السليمانية وقد جاء ضمن رسالة اللجنة -
" اننا نحذ تبادل الرسائل حول الوضع او لغاية الاطلاع على نشاطاتنا وخاصة ما يتعلق بها
بخصوص الطلبة الاكراد وآلهم الثقافية والتربية

- ٢٤ -

وقد ارسل رئيس الجمعية الجواب الآتي -

اتحاد طلبة كردستان - الجمهورية العراقية

اخواني الاعزاء ،

تحية حارة ، نشكر شعوركم الاخوي بمناسبة ارسالكم التحيات والتنهان الى مؤتمرنا
ضمن رسالة اتحاد الطلبة العراقيين ونتمنى من صميم قلوبنا لكم اطراد التوفيق في سبيل خدمة وطننا العزيز
اخواني الاعزاء - لنعمل جميعا يدا واحدة في سبيل تحقيق الاهداف المباركة للشعبين
المصري والكردى وصيانة جمهورية العراق من مدي المادى المستعمرين اليها ، وفي سبيل حرية واستقلال
كردستان الحبيبة .

هذا والى الامام .

يمش اتحاد طلبة العراق

يمش اتحاد طلبة كردستان

تمش الصداقة العربية الكردية

تمش الجمهورية العراقية

وستكتب اللجنة الادارية ايضا للجنة اتحاد الطلبة العراقي الامام في السلمانية .

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الطلبة الاكراد في استامبول يحيدون المؤتمر الثالث

جه الطلبة الاكراد في استامبول - تركيا رسالة الى المؤتمر جاء فيها -

" نبارك مؤتمرهم ونهنئكم ونتمنى لكم التوفيق والنجاح . نظرا للحصايب التي لاقيناها لم نستطع
ان نتشرف بالحضور وسوف نعمل لانجاح ما يقرره المؤتمر . والى الامام نحن معكم . "

الطلبة الاكراد في استامبول

اسلم المؤتمر كذلك رسالة من الاستاذ محسن نزه بي هنا فيها المؤتمرين باسم المحامين الاكراد

في كردستان الجنوبي حين رفعتهم في سادة الجمعية ماديا ومعنويا .

تحية مندوب عراقي

اخواننا الافراء ،

باسم اخوانكم الطلبة العراقيين في ميونخ ، واسم انبعاث جمهوريتنا التي هي وليدة اتحادنا وهراضا المشترك ضد قوى الاستعمار ، واسم مادنا الساعية النبهة التي تؤكد تأخي للشعب وجها للسلام ، نعانقكم ايها الاخوان ونرحب بكم اجمل ترحيب .

وانها لفرصة عظيمة ، ان نحفل وايامكم بموتكم الثالث ، في الوقت الذي يحتفل فيه عراقنا الحبيب ، شماله وجنحه ، مره واكراده ، بمعهد جمهوريته الفتية ، والذي هو في الواقع عهد كل شعب محب للسلا وللمبادئ والقيم الانسانية ، وشمسك بحقه وحق بقية الشعوب في الحياة الحرة الكريمة ، وعهد لكل حر يرى في انبعاث جمهوريتنا ، دليل ساطع نير على اقتراب النظم الاستعمارية الطفيلية من نهايتها المحتومة ، ودعاة جديدة يستند عليها شعبنا بمره واكراده ، في نضاله من اجل تحرير بقية اجزاء الوطن ، الذي جزئه واقصبه المستعمرون ، والتي لا يشك احد في ان مسألة تحريرها تعتبر مساهمة فعالة في استمرار السلام في العالم واستتبابه .

ان للعراق تاريخ ثوري مشهود ، تلاحمت فيه القومية الكردية مع العربية في نضال دام مشترك ، ضد حكم الفساد وسيطرة الاجنبي الدخيل ، وكان هذا التلاحم قويا رائعا متينا ، لانه كان منبعثا من صميم مصالحنا القومية والوطنية والانسانية المشتركة ، فكانت حركاتنا الوطنية بمقاديرها المخلصون ، مسترشدة دائما ولهدا بدليمة هذا التلاحم وهذا النضال المشترك . وكان نضال حركتنا الوطنية من اجل تهيئة جبهة الاتحاد الوطني ، هو بنفس الوقت نضال عن اجل تثبيت وتوضيح وتحقيق اهداف النضال المشترك ، واعتراف صريح بالاكراذ كقومية لها تاريخها وحقوقها ومستقبلها . وكان نضال اخواننا في كردستان العراق ضمن الحركة الوطنية العراقية وبالتالي في حركة التحرر العربي وتحقيق استقلالنا الوطني في العراق هو سبيل القومية الكردية لضمان مستقبلها الزاهر وتحقيق اهدافها ومطامحها القومية .

لقد آمن شعبنا العراقي بان اتحادنا اكرادا ومرها هو سبيلنا الاوحد نحو الحرية والاستقلال وان نضالنا المشترك هو سلاحنا للفعال في تحطيم الاستعمار والقضاء على اموانه ودك حصونه .
واليوم بعد تحررنا ازاد ايمان شعبنا العراقي ، بضرورة استمرار هذا الاتحاد ودم هذا التضامن والنضال المشترك وجبهة الاتحاد الوطني ، ليكون بمثابة زادنا وسلاحنا ومرشدنا في طريقنا المشترك نحو تحقيق اهدافنا ومن اجل مستقبل افضل .

لقد اراد الاستعمار وحكوماته الفاسدة ان يجعلوا من عراقنا الحبيب سجنًا لحرار العراق
 الصادقين المستعبيين في سبيل الدفاع عن حقوق شعبنا العادلة .
 وسيجعل احرار العراق المنتصرون من عراقنا الحبيب منبرا للحرار من اخواننا الاكراد المناضلين
 وقادة لامة الكردية تعينها في نضالها المقدس المشترك مع الشعوب العربية والايرانية والتركية ضد
 الاستعمار وعلاقه وموافراته واحلافه ، ومن اجل مستقبل نير لامة الكردية المجزة . وثقوا ايها
 الاخوان الاعزاء بانكم ستجدون لكم اصدقاء ابناء في شعبنا العربي يدافعون عنكم ويهدفون الى ما فيه
 خير امتكم وتحقيق مطالبكم القومية .

وانتهز هذه الفرصة لاولك لكم باننا هنا ، في ألمانيا الاتحادية بصورة عامة وفي ميونيخ بصورة
 خاصة حيث مركز اتحاد الطلبة العرب ، قد بذلنا كافة الجهود من اجل توضيح المسألة الكردية وخاصة
 بين الطلبة العرب ، وقد عبرنا في كافة المناسبات عن وجهة نظرنا واعترافنا بالاكراد كقومية لها كل
 ما للقوميات الاخرى من عناصر ومميزات ومطامح واهداف انسانية . واننا نعتقد بان القضية الكردية
 بدأت تكسب طابعها جديدا وتأييدا شاملا اوسع ولا سيما بعد تفهم قادة القومية العربية لهذه
 المسألة الحساسة . وبعد ان وقفت حكومة جمهوريتنا موقفا سليما صريحا ازاء القومية الكردية في العراق .
 وان اهلنا لكبير بانكم بمباحثاتكم واجتماعاتكم ستهدفون دوما الى كل ما فيه تقوية لأواصر وحدتنا
 وتضامنا النضالي ، الذي يشكل الحجر الاساسي في صيانة استقلال وتطهير جمهوريتنا ، وانكم ستجدون
 منا ومن جميع احرار العروبة كل تأييد وموافرة .

ونتمنى لكم اخيرا ايها الاخوان وفي مؤتمركم الثالث هذا كل النجاح والتوفيق .

ماشت الجمهورية العراقية

ماشت الوحدة في النضال بين الشعبين الكردي والعربي من اجل الاستقلال والحرية والسلام

ماشت وحدتنا الطلابية

والسلام

(صباح الدرة)

- ٢٧ -

جمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اربلا

النظام الداخلي

لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اربلا

اولا

الاسم - جمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اربلا .

ثانيا

الاهداف الاساسية

- (١) توطيد الصلات بين الطلاب الاكراد وتنظيم الالتقاءات الدورية بينهم .
- (٢) تحقيق التعاون العادي المتبادل بين الطلبة الاكراد في اربلا .
- (٣) تنمية الثقافة الوطنية الكردية والعمل لصالح الشعب الكردي ورسالته الوطنية .
- (٤) تعريف العالم على ثقافة الشعب الكردي هلاذ، وارضاه ورسالته الوطنية .
- (٥) الاتصال بالمنظمات الطلابية وغير الطلابية من وطنية وطلعية والتعاون معها ضمن نطاق اهدافها ومعالجتها المشتركة .
- (٦) تصدر الجمعية نشرة دورية تكون لسان حالها .

ثالثا

العضوية

- (١) يصبح عضوا في الجمعية كل طالب كردي يدرس في اربلا ، اذا كان -
 أ- موافقا على اهداف ونظام الجمعية وسامها لتحقيق اهدافها .
 ب- قدّم اشتراكا منها باوئان انكليزيان او ما يعادلها .
 - (٢) يمكن للاكراد غير الطلاب وكذلك لغير الاكراد في اربلا ممن يحذون اهداف الجمعية الدخول فيها كاعضاء مؤنزين بموافقة اللجنة الادارية العامة من ان يدلفوا اشتراكا رضيا .
 - (٣) تمنح عضوية مدى الحياة الى كل عضو سابق في الجمعية بعد رجوعه الى الوطن الكردي .
- تمنح عضوية الشرف الى الاشخاص اللاتين والاضاء السابقين في الجمعية الذين قدموا خدمات ممتازة للجمعية

رابعاًتنظيم الجمعية

يقوم تنظيم الجمعية على الاساس التالي -

- (١) المؤتمر العام (٢) للجنة الادارية العامة (٣) الفروع (٤) لجان الفروع .

(١) المؤتمر العام

- أ - يتألف المؤتمر العام من جميع الاعضاء الذين يحضرونه .
 ب - ان المؤتمر اولى سلطة في الجمعية له صلاحية تعديل اهدافها باكثريه الحاضرين المطلقة ، وفي حالة تعادل الاصوات تكون الكفة التي فيها للرئيس هي الراجحة حيث للرئيس حق التصويت في جميع الحالات .
 ج - يعقد المؤتمر مرة واحدة في كل عام وتحضر اللجنة الادارية العامة جدول الاعمال وتبلغه الى الاعضاء قبل الانعقاد بأسبوعين على الاقل .
 د - يمكن للاعضاء الموازيين وسطي الجمعيات الصديقة المدعوة حضور المؤتمر كمرافقين دون ان يكون لهم حق التصويت او الانتخاب .

(٢) اللجنة الادارية العامة

- (١) ان اللجنة الادارية العامة هي اولى سلطة للجمعية في فترة ما بين المؤتمرات ولكنها لا تستطيع تعديل دستورها ، انما لها الحق في ان تدعو الى مؤتمر استثنائي عند الضرورة .
 (٢) تتألف اللجنة الادارية من ٥ - ٧ أعضاء ينتخبهم المؤتمر .
 (٣) ينتخب المؤتمر الرئيس اولا والسكترير ثانيا ثم المحاسب العام وسكترير التحير ثم بقية الاعضاء باكثريه الاصوات .
 (٤) تجتمع للجنة الادارية قبل عهد المؤتمر .
 (٥) في فترة ما بين اجتماعين تجري مراسلات اللجنة الادارية عن طريق السكترير .
 (٦) الرئيس يمثل الجمعية ويتكلم باسمها على ان يستشير الهيئة الادارية في الشؤون المهمة وكل ما من شأنه التأثير على توجيه الجمعية .

- (٧) تعطى للسكرتير صلاحية تصريف الامور الدارجة والمستحقة وذات الاعمية الثانية وذلك على مسؤوليته اما في الشؤون المهمة وكل ما من شأنه ان تأثير على توجيه الجمعية فمن واجب السكرتير ان يسير حسب رأى اكثرية اعضاء اللجنة الادارية العامة .
- (٨) للرئيس السكرتير العام الحق في دعوة اللجنة الادارية العامة لاجتماعات استثنائية .

(٣) الفرع

- (١) هو اعلى سلطة محلية يجتمع مرة كل ستة اشهر على الاقل بناء على دعوة لجنة الفرع .
- (٢) ينتخب الفرع في اجتماعه السنوي العام الاول اعضاء لجنة الفرع .

(٤) لجنة الفرع

- (١) تتألف لجنة الفرع من (٣-٧) اعضاء .
- (٢) تقوم لجنة الفرع بالامور الادارية للفرع ولها دور كبير في تحقيق اهداف الجمعية وتنفيذ قراراتها كاقامة الحفلات والقاء المحاضرات وذلك حسب اهداف الجمعية الاساسية .
- (٣) الاعضاء المنتمون في اى قطر من الاقطار يتصتون مباشرة بالسكرتير العام او بسكرتير اقرب فرع

(٥) الصندوق

- (١) يتألف صندوق الجمعية من -
- أ - الاشتراكات الدورية
- ب - تبرعات الاعضاء والاعضاء المولزين وغيرهم
- ج - ربح فمالهاات الجمعية .
- (٢) توزع اموال الجمعية بين صناديق الفروع وصندوق اللجنة الادارية وذلك على الوجه التالي -
- تقدم صناديق الفروع كل ستة اشهر ٥٠ ٪ على الاقل من الموجود في صندوقها الى المحاسب العام او ما ينمضي من حاجياتها والمقابل تستطيع صناديق الفروع ان تطلب من الصندوق العام ما تحتاج اليه عند اللزوم .

(٦) الفاء الجمعية

- لا يمكن الفاء الجمعية الا بقرار من المؤتمر العام باكثرية ثلثي الحاضرين المصوتين .

اللجنة الادارية العامة الجديدة

انتخب المؤتمر الثالث لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اورها السادة للتالية اسمائهم لعضوية اللجنة الادارية العامة للجمعية -

- (١) الرئيس - عصمت شريف ، سويسرا
- (٢) نائب الرئيس - هربا راوندوزي ، نمسا
- (٣) السكرتير العام - دارا توفيق الصالحي ، انكلترا
- (٤) سكرتير تحرير " كردستان " - صلاح الدين محمد سعد الله ، انكلترا
- (٥) محاسب ومساعد سكرتير عام - سمدي امين دزه بي ، انكلترا
- (٦) عضو ، كمال فؤاد - ألمانيا
- (٧) راجح بدر اوى - ألمانيا

توجه جميع الرسائل والاستفسارات من الجمعية الى السكرتير العام بالمنوان التالي -
السكرتير العام ،

جمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اورها ،

37, KING STREET,

LONDON, W.C. 2.
بعض مقررات المؤتمر الثالث باختصار

xx قرر المؤتمر الثالث تكليف اللجنة الادارية الجديدة بتقديم طلب رسمي باسم الجمعية للدخول في اتحاد الطلاب العالمي . وقد كتب رئيس الجمعية رسالة الى الاتحاد في ١٤ آب ١٩٥٨ من اجل الانضمام للاتحاد وارفق مع رسالته الوثائق التالية -

- (١) نسخة من نظام الجمعية .
- (٢) نسخة من رسالة الجمعية للسيد هامر شولد .
- (٣) نسخة من بلاغ المؤتمر الختامي .
- (٤) نسخة من العدد الثاني من " كردستان "

xx اصدر المؤتمر قرارا بارسال رسالة باسم الجمعية الى اتحاد الشبيبة الديمقراطية العالمي من اجل ضرورة قبول " الشبيبة الديمقراطية لكردستان الجنوبي " كمضوءة في الاتحاد المذكور .

- ٣٥ -

xx قرر المؤتمران تجمع الجمعية الثورات لاحد اعضاءها في انكثرا لمساعدته في دراسته .
xx قرر المؤتمر تكليف اللجنة الادارية بتوجيه دعوات الى كردستان لارسال مراقبين وزوار/حضور
المؤتمر الرابع .

xx قرر المؤتمر توجيه نداه الى الاخضائين الذين يهمهم الامر لكثابة قاموس كوردى تركي - وتركي كوردى
باللهجة التركمانية والاخرى اللاتينية لاکراد تركيا .
xx اصدر المؤتمر نداه للدكتور کامران بدرخان لكثابة فواحد اللغة الكردية وشرحها بالتركية في كتاب
خامر، من اجل اکراد تركيا وذلك بالاحرف اللاتينية وتتبع الجمعية القيام بطبعه على نفقتها
في حالة كثابته . وقد تغفل الدكتور کامران بقبول كثابة الكتاب المطلوب .

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

المـوـر

- ١ - المعمر العظيم وقائد الشعب العراقي الاوحد الزعيم الركن عبد الكريم قاسم يرحب بالقائد الكوردى
مصطفى بارزاني عند عودته من المنفى .
- ٢ - صورة لطيفة ناطقة بالتضامن العربي والكردى بنوروز ١٩٥٥ حضره اكثر من ١٦٠ شخص من
مختلف القوميات . المتكلم صلاح سعد الله ومعه ضيف الشرف حارث فائق .
- ٣ - بعض اعضاء المؤتمر الثالث في ميونيخ وهم من اليمين الى اليسار .
الجالسون - شوكت فوزى فحبيب خفاف ، صلاح الاتروشي ، وريا راوندوزى ، عصمت شريف شوقي
عزيز ، جميل فقام ، سعدى امين ، عمر قاضي ، عثمان كاشين .
- ٤ - صورة سعيدة لجمعية من الطلاب الاكراد في حفلة النوروز - لندن ١٩٥٨ .
وهم من اليسار الى اليمين - ظاهر محمود ، فؤاد درشه ، سعدى امين ، عمر قاضي ، عارف كريم ،
تحسين امين ، شفيق درويش ، احمد السعدى ، جميل فقام ، فؤاد سليم ، بكر طلى ، صلاح سعد الله ، فؤاد
كريم ، قاسم اسعد .
- ٥ - في حفلة النوروز نفسها - رقصة كردية يقدمها عارف كريم وسعدى امين - في المؤخرة تحسين
امين وفؤاد درشه .

- ٣٦ -

الجمعية وواجباتها

يقدم دارا توفيق

" السكوتير العام لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اوربا "

لقد امتازت الفترة الاخيرة من حياة جمعيتنا في ازدياد قوتها ، وزيادة عضويتها ، وانتشار سمعتها في كردستان .. وكل هذا شئ نفتخر به جميعا ، ولم يكن هذا ممكن لولا جهود كل عضو من اعضاء الجمعية ، هم اختلفت المسؤوليات والانجازات التي حققوها ، وأرد بهذا الخصوص ان اشكر تحمس جميع اخواننا في السير بجمعيتنا نحو الامام ، وخاصة الطلاب الجدد الذين انضموا الى جمعيتنا حديثا .. حقا ان هذا شئ نفتخر به جميعا . لان هذا هو الضمان الاساسي لاستمرارية نشاط جمعيتنا ، ما دام هناك طلاب اكراد في اوربا يشعرون ما تمناه كردستان من ظلم واضطهاد .. ومن ناحية اخرى تشجع اللجنة الادارية على القيام باعمالها بنشاط .. ويكون هذا حافزا لهم في السير بالجمعية خطوات اخرى الى الامام ..

ولكن رغم الانجازات التي يجب ان نفخر بها جميعا ، فهناك الكثير والكثير من النقائص في اعمالنا ، وهناك الكثير من الواجبات التي علينا تحقيقها .. فوجب ان لا تسكرنا النجاحات التي حققناها وتعمينا من النقائص التي نعانى .. وان اللجنة الادارية سائرة بصورة جيدة في هذا السبيل ولكني ارد ان اتحدث عن واجب كل عضو في هذا السبيل ، واني اعتبر هذا اهم بكثير مما تستطيع اللجنة الادارية القيام به . لان قوة اللجنة الادارية هي عندما يكون كل الاعضاء نشيطين في تحقيق اهداف جمعيتنا . لقد ازدادت ضوئية جمعيتنا ازديادا لا بأس به في السنة الاخيرة .. ولكن رغم ضم جمعيتنا لأكثرية للطلبة الاكراد .. فلا زال هناك للكثيرون ليسوا اعضاء في جمعيتنا .. ولا ارى اى سبب في عدم انضمام هؤلاء الى الجمعية اذا اتصلنا بهم هينا لهم اهداف جمعيتنا التي يتفق لميها الجميع .. وأريد ان اؤكد هنا ان نسبة الاعضاء من كردستان ايران وكردستان تركيا وكردستان سوريا قليلة جدا فعلمنا البحث عن هؤلاء والاهتمام بهم اهتماما خاصا ، ولنفهم جميعا بان هؤلاء يشكلون اكثرية الاكراد واهمية نشر مبادئ جمعيتنا ونشر اهدافها وتبادل الآراء معهم يأخذ اهمية خاصة نظرا للظروف التي يعيشون فيها .

هذا وأرد ان اؤكد على نقص آخر نعانى وهو عدم تسديد بعض الاعضاء اشتراكاتهم بصورة منظمه وفي الوقت المحدد ، ان هذا يترك كثيرا افعال جمعيتنا ، ويؤثر على العالمة ، ويعقد ضبط عدد الاعضاء ..

هناك نقص آخر الا وهو تهاوننا في جلب الاعضاء المؤازرين ، واد ان اذكر ان احد اعضا فرع انكرا قد اقترح طبع كارتات ضوية خاصة لهؤلاء ، وموف نقوم بتنفيذ هذا الاقتراح المعقول ، هذا حول العضوية ..

اما حول واجبات الاعضاء الشخصية ، فكما تعلمون ان لجمعيتنا واجبين اساسيين -

١ - تعريف العالم على قضيته والدفاع عنها

٢ - التعارف بين الاكراد فيما بينهم ومساعدة بعضهم البعض .

فما الذي يستطيع كل واحد منا القيام به لخدمة القضية الكردية ؟

١ - محاولة الكتابة في الصحف الارمنية مهما كانت اهميتها واتجاهها ، وكتابة الرسائل والتعليقات لهم

علاوة على تنظيم محاضرات للجانب لتعريف العالم على كردستان ..

هذا وان مسألة الاتصال وتعريف الطلاب العرب العراقيين والسوريين والأتراك والاييرانيين على المسألة

الكردية وشرح اهدافها بكونها حركة تحررية وكون الاكراد ايضا ضحايا الاستعمار .. والقيام باعمال مشتركة بينهم وبين جمعيتنا .. ان العمل في جمعيتنا يجب ان لا يعزلنا بل يشجعنا على العمل في هذه المنظمات القطرية السورية والعراقية والتركية والفارسية الشريفة .. لانه علاوة على واجباتنا حول المسألة الكردية طينا واجبات اخرى على النطاق .. فضالنا واحد ومشارك ضد الاستعمار ..

وهذا تحرر هذه الشعوب نصف تفاهم فيما بينها بحرية ، ولا يأكل احدهم حق الآخر .. ان نقطة الابتداء في بناء جبهة موحدة معهم في منازعة الاستعمار وتفهم قنيتنا وتفهمنا لقنيتهم هو التفاهم بين الطلاب والعمل من القادة .. والعمل في منظمات مشتركة لان كثير من هؤلاء لا يعرفون ماهية المسألة الكردية وهذا شيء طبيعي فليس من مصلحة الاستعمار ان يعرف هؤلاء شيئا ما من المسألة الكردية ، وهذا ينطبق طينا ايضا في تفهمنا لقضايا الشعب الاخرى .. وعلى هذا ففي المرحلة الحاضرة فان اقبام هؤلاء لقنيتنا والعمل معهم يأخذ اهمية استثنائية .. وليس هناك مثال اوضح مما اقول من تجربة الثورة العراقية والنضال الطويل المشترك بين الشعب العربي والشعب الكردي في العراق .

هذا وهناك جمعيات اخرى طينا الاتصال بها ، وواجب اخذ دور في تكوينها وتشجيعها ، اذكر على سبيل المثال .. منظمة الطلبة الانريقيين الآسيين في انكرا ، وهناك جمعيات طلبة قطرية او جمعيات طلابية في الجامعات ، طينا الاتصال بها والكتابة في صحفها الطلابية .. كما وان كثير من المنظمات طلابية وغير طلابية تقدم " حفلات عالمية " فعلى اخذ دور فيها حسب الامكان ..

٢ - الاهتمام الكافي بمجلتنا .. "مجلة كردستان" فهذا الامر اهمية كبيرة .. فهي الشاشة التي يرى
 فيه الاجانب جمعيتنا ، فيجب ان تكون ذات مستوى عال ، ونحتاجا لجهود كل طالب كردى في اوربا ،
 وهناك سبيلين لتشجيع المجلة ..

آ - فواجب كل عضو هو الكتابة في المجلة ، وتشجيع اخوانه على الكتابة به ، وخاصة الطلبة
 الذين يقومون ببحوث وكتابة الرسائل الى المجلة ، ونقد ما تحويه وتوجيهه .
 ب - العمل على انتشار المجلة بصورة واسعة بين الاجانب والاخوان الاكراد في الوطن ، فلا فائدة
 في صرف كل هذه الجهود على مجلة يقرأها الاكراد فقط في اوربا ، ومن المستحيل تحقيق
 هذا من قبل سكرتير التحرير وحده . من دون مساعدة جميع اعضاء الجمعية .. فاذا اخذ كل
 واحد منا على نفسه واجب بيع نسختين من المجلة بين الافراد الاوربيين ، وارسال اربعة نسخ
 منها الى اصدقائه في كردستان ، طلاوة على تشجيع الاشتراكات السنوية يكون بذلك قد
 امن توزيع المجلة ، وان هذا بالتالي يعني تفادى الخسارة المالية في طبع المجلة وهذا ما
 تتحطه الجمعية ، وتحسين مستواها لجعلها لا تفتقر بجمعية غرضها النبيل الدفاع عن قضية
 شعب مظلوم . كما وطننا اصدار مجلات خاصة بالفروع اذا كان ذلك في الاعمال ، على شرط
 ان لا يؤثر هذا على كتابة المقالات في مجلتنا الرئيسية "كردستان"

٣ - وعلى كل عضو ان يشعر بان اعمال الجمعية مسؤولة عنه بصورة شخصية فاليه الكتابة الى اللجنة
 الادارية ولجنة الفرع ملحا اعضاء اللجنة الادارية ، او مقترحا او موجهنا لاعمالها ، وهدم الانتظار لحين
 انعقاد مؤتمر او اجتماع فرع ..

٤ - الواجب الآخر على كل كردى في هذا البلد هو دراسة الصلالة الكردية وفهمها ، ومحاولة تلهم
 سياسة الغرب حول الاكراد ، وكيفية استعباده لنا ، واود ان اذكر بهذا الخصوص ان كثيرين من اخواننا
 يعرفون تاريخ ام اخرى ما هذا امهم ، ان القضاة على هذا النقص بسيط فمئات الكتب من الكتب من
 الاكراد في المكتبات الغربية ، ان المرء لا يشعر باهمية هذا الا حين رجوعه الى الوطن ، كما وطننا
 ان نقدم بعض الكتب من كردستان هبة لغربنا ولتكوين مكتبات تحوى كتب من كردستان والاستفادة منها
 من قبل جميع الاخوان وتشجيع الاخوان من كردستان في ارسال الكتب لهذه المكتبات ..

٥ - الواجب المهم الآخر هو التفاهم فيما بيننا ، وفهم الحالة التي يعيش بها الاكراد في مختلف مناطق كردستان ، وتبادل الآراء بين اعضاءنا في هذه المناطق ، وكما يكون مفيدا مثلا لو ان احد الاكراد من تركيا يقدم محاضرة عن حالة الاكراد هناك وكيفية معيشتهم وطبيعة نضالهم ، كم وطننا جميعا قراءة الصحف والمجلات الكردية .

٦ - هناك الكثيرين من الاخوان الاكراد معترزين بقوميتهم ولغتهم ولكن هذا للأسف نتيجة الاضطهاد العنصري لا يستطيع التكلم بلغته بطلاقة او يعاني ضعفا فيه ، ان واجب الاخوان العارفين باللغة تعلم هو "لا" وحشهم على التعلم ، واعطائهم شرح كتب عن اسم اللغة الكردية وقواعد ، اننا جئنا الى هذه البلدان وكل منا يتعلم لغة اجنبية على الاقل ، او ليس واجبنا تعلم لغتنا قبل كل شيء " . . .
بهذا الخصوص انقل لكم ما يقوله السيد نهرو . . .

" كلما اكتشفت بأنني اجد اللغة الانكليزية اكثر من لغة الأم تفروق مناهى بالدموع " وهذا ينطبق على الكثيرين منا .

٧ - الواجب الآخر هو الاحتفال بالمناسبات الوطنية الكردية بيننا او بالاشتراك مع غير الاكراد والكتابة فيها في مجلتنا او في صحف اخرى ، واذكر على سبيل المثال ثورة درسيم الثورة البارزاني ، اعدام ناصي محمد ، قيام الحكومة الديمقراطية في كردستان ايران .

٨ - وهذا واجب اساسي وهو النجاح في دراساتنا الاكاديمية ، والذي هو واجبنا الاول فقد جئنا الى هذه البلاد لطلب العلم ، وفي حصولنا على شهادات عالية نستطيع تقديم اخدمات لشعبنا ،

هذه ملاحظات وددت ان اذكرها ، ان بعض اخواننا قد قاموا بتطبيق هذه الامور قبل مدة طيلة ، ولكني اقول بثقة بان كل عضو اذا قام بدوره في هذه الامور حسب الامكانيات ، فان هذا يعني سير جمعيتنا مشراة الخطوات الى الامام ، وفي نفس الوقت فاني اقدر ان تطبق كل هذا معتد على عدد الطلاب في الفرع ومن امكانية كل منهم ، ولكني وددت التركيز عليه وخاصة وان هناك عدد لا بأس به من الطلاب الجدد قد انضموا الى جمعيتنا في المدة الاخيرة . . . اننا في الوقت الذي نرحب بهؤلاء ونقدر جدا حماسهم في العمل في جمعيتنا . . . نود ان نشعرهم بكونهم هم صان الحركة الطلابية الكردية في اهلها ، لاننا راجعون للوطن قريبا وهم الباقين هنا مدة اطول . . .

ان تحقيق كل هذه الاعمال بصورة جيدة يعتمد على شيئين اساسيين يجب ان نشعرهما نصب
اهننا دائما ..

(١) العمل بصورة اجماعية من قبل الجميع .

(٢) واجب كل طالب منا مهما كان اتجاهه السياسي (ولكل واحد منا الحق المطلق في ان يؤمن
بما يريد) في ابعاد الجمعية من الاتجاهات السياسية والتطاحنات الحزبية ، ففوة جمعيتنا هو
عدم تأثرها باتجاه حزب معين ولا جماعة معينة ، ففي نطاق الجمعية كنا مفتقون على اهداف
يتفق طية الطالب الكردي مهما كان اتجاهه السياسي الخاص ، فطينا عدم الخروج من هذه
الاهداف ، لان العمل ضمنها يقوى الجمعية ويفيد الجميع ، والخروج عنها ، يعني نهاية
جمعيتنا او جعلها هزيلة ضعيفة .

هذا وأرد ايضاً ان احدث اخواني الاكراد المنعزلين في الاماكن التي لا توجد فروع

لجمعيتنا بالاتصال بجمعيتنا لكي لا تحرم جمعيتنا من جهودهم وقابلياتهم .

كما وأرد ان اوجه نداءً خاصاً الى اخواني الطلاب الانراد في الوطن طالباً منهم تشجيع جمعيتنا
ومساعدتها في القيام بواجبها المتواضع الدلق على عاتقها ، ومحاربة توجيهنا ومساعدتنا في نشر المجلة ،
وموافاتنا بالاخبار عن كردستان والكتابة في مجلتنا واغنائها بقلانهم لانهم على اتصال بالادور ..
والكتابة اليها وأرد ايضاً ان اشكر الجرائد الكردية وخاصة جريدة زين وهوا في نشر اخبار وسائل
جمعيتنا ، فلو على الجرائد العربية الاخرى في العراق ..

وختاماً انني في الوقت الذي اقدر ككرة الشاكال التي تعانها جمعيتنا منذ قننا باعمال

متواضعة لا بأس بها ومتفائل جداً بمستقبل جمعيتنا الغير .. اقول بان انجازاتنا الحالية يجب ان
تكون لا شيء بالنسبة لانجازاتنا في المستقبل ، فطينا ان نسير الى الامام دائماً ، فواجباتنا مقدسة
مظلمة ، وشعبنا مستبعد مظلوم ، فليفتهم كل واحد منا واجبه ، ولنحاول تنفيذ ما يمكننا تنفيذه ،
فندفد نكون مرتاحي الضمير ، والنجاح رائدنا دائماً ما دنا جميعاً نعمل يدا واحدة لتحقيق اهداف
جمعيتنا .

- ٤١ -

رسالة جمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اوربا

الى لجنة حقوق الانسان في منظمة الامم المتحدة ،
نيويورك ،

حضرات السادة ،

تشرف اللجنة الادارية العامة " لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اوربا " في هذه المذكرة بان ترفع الانتظار " لجنة حقوق الانسان " نص البرقية التالية ، التي نشرتها جريدة " لسترد " الفرنسية في عددها الصادر بتاريخ ١٢ آب ١٩٥٨ تحت عنوان " قذف الجبال المراقبة بالقنابل الذرية كان مقررا في خطة دفاع غربية ؟ " .
 " القاهرة في ١١ آب ١٩٥٨ (١٠ ف . ٠ ب .) - تؤكد جريدة " الاحرام " اليوم بان الخطط الاستراتيجية الاقليمية للدول الغربية من اجل الدفاع عن الشرق الادنى كانت قائمة على اساس قذف جبال شمال العراق بالقنابل الذرية .

" وتحت عنوان " سر خطير " تقول هذه الجريدة المستقلة بان هذه الخطة التي رسمها الاميركان والبريطانيون كانت قد نالت موافقة حكومة نوري السعيد خلال اجتماع قده حلف بغداد ، وتضيف الصحيفة بان الغربيين اصبحوا الآن امام مهمة شاقة وهي اعادة النظر وتعديل خططهم الدفاعية للشرق الادنى .
 " وتوضح " الاحرام " بان الشروع الاقليمي يقوم على غلق الطرق الجبلية في السلاسل الفاصلة بين العراق وايران وذلك بتفجير القنابل الذرية التي يكون عن شأنها نشر الاشعاعات الذرية في المنطقة وضع القوات البرية السوفياتية من اجتيازها .

وتؤكد الصحيفة بان الطائرات البريطانية والاميركية المشتركة في قاعدة الجبانية كانت مكلفة بالتقيام بهذا القذف في حالة اندلاع حرب عامة " .

(وتضيف جريدة " لموند " على ما ذكرته " الاحرام " قاطلة " ومن المعلوم ان وثائق حلف بغداد السرية قد وقعت في ايدي الحكام المراقبين الاخيرين ، وقد الفت لجنة خاصة لفحص هذه الوثائق

+ + + + +

اسمحوا لنا ان نوضح قبل كل شئ بان الجبال المذكورة في هذه البرقية انما هي موجودة في

كودستان ، بلاد الاكراد الموجودة بدورها في دول تركيا وايران والعراق .

ان جمعيتها تنضم الطلاب الاكراد في مختلف الجامعات الاربية ومن اهدافها تعريف العالم على اوضاع الشعب الكردي الاجتماعية والاقتصادية والسياسية وعلى ثقافته وتاريخه ومقومات مصلته الوطنية .
ان هذا الخبر ، الذي ما زال بحاجة الى التحقيق ، على غاية قدر من الخطورة وقد اثار مخاوفنا ،
وما اننا نريد ان يسلم شعبنا الكردي وكل شعوب العالم من فتنات الحروب الذرية ، وما اننا نؤمن
برسالة الامم المتحدة الهامة وصورة خاصة برسالة " لجنة حقوق الانسان " الانسانية السامية ، فلا بد لنا
من ان نتوجه اليكم بالنداء المستمجد والظق التالي -

- ١ - ان تتفعلوا بالقيام بكل سرعة بتحقيق دولي بشأن ما ورد في هذه البرقية ، وذلك تحت رعاية
لجنة حقوق الانسان او رعاية اية مؤسسة دولية مختصة اخرى .
 - ٢ - ان تتفعلوا باعلان مذكرتنا هذه الذروع اللازم لتبنيه الرأي العام العالمي للاخطار الذرية
ولاحباط مشاريع الملوك الذين قد يقومون برسم هذه الخطط .
 - ٣ - ان تعلنوا بصراحة عن رأيكم في استنكار انتاج القنابل الذرية - الهيدروجينية وتجاربها وان تدعوا
لتحويل ما جمع من هذه القنابل صاعيا لاستخدام قدرتها في اهداف سلمية .
- هذا وان نشكركم لفا لكل ما قد يمكنكم القيام به ، وان نتمنى لو ان تتمكن قريبا منظمة
الامم المتحدة المسؤولة معنينا عن صير الانسان ، من تحريم السلاح الذري الهيدروجيني تحريما قانونيا
بالاتفاق مع الدول الكبرى التي يهمها الامر ، فاننا نرجوكم يا حضرات الافاضل بتبجيل اسمى عواطف الاعتبار .

اللجنة الادارية العامة

لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اورشليم

ملاحظة -

تسلمت الجمعية جوابا من لجنة حقوق الانسان يشير الى تحويل رسالة الجمعية الى
لجنة نزع السلاح في منظمة الامم المتحدة لبحثها .
اننا نأمل ان تحتج المنظمات الاخرى على هذا المشروع الاجرامي .

عودة البطل

- رفعت عبد الله الشهباني -

ارسل القائد الكردي الكبير مصطفى بارزاني كتابا الى رئيس مجلس السيادة ، بعد انتصار الثورة مباشرة ، لتحية الشعب وقادته " بثورة الشعب المجيدة التي حررت الوطن العزيز من الاستعمار المشؤم والظلمة الفاسدة " .

واضاف البطل " واننا كمواطنين مراقبين ساهمنا في هذا النضال الشعبي ضد الاستعمار واذنابه في الوطن حتى اضطررنا بالاخير الى ترك الوطن العزيز والالتجاء الى الدول الاشتراكية لاستمرار النضال . يعلم الشعب العراقي النبيل بان البارزانيين ضحوا كثيرا في النضال الشعبي ضد الاستعمار والملكية الظالمة من ايام الثورة المشهورة في ١٩٢٠ الى ١٩٤٧ واننا لنأمل من الشعب العراقي النجيب ، وقد اخذ زمام الامر بيده ان لا يدخر جهدا في مساعدة اخوانه المشردين ظالما وهدانا من قبل المستعمرين واذنابه ، اننا نرجو ونأمل ان تساعدونا في العودة الى الوطن لخدمة شعبنا وجمهوريتنا مع ابنا العراق الصالحين " وانهي بارزاني كتابه بقوله " لتحس الاخوة العربية الكردية في الجمهورية العراقية الى الابد " . وقد تفضل سيادة رئيس مجلس السيادة ، محمد نجيب الريحاني وارسل البرقية الآتية " تسلمنا رسالتكم بكل سرور ونحن نرحب بعودتكم جميعا الى وطنكم العزيز ، وفقنا الله وايامكم لخدمة هذه البلاد وتحقيق اهداف ابنا الجمهورية العراقية العرب والاكراد " .

وارسل سيادة الزعيم الركن عبد الكريم قاسم البرقية التالية الى المواطن مصطفى البارزاني في جيكلوفاكيا رد على برقيته . هذا هو نص برقية الزعيم -

مصطفى البارزاني - ليديس - جيكلوفاكيا .

" استلمنا برقيتكم ورسالتكم بكل سرور واننا نرحب بعودتكم جميعا الى الوطن العزيز وقد اتخذنا جميع التدابير لاصدار المفو وتسهيل سفركم انتم وميرحاج احد واسعد خوشوى ومن معكم من مواطنينا . راجعوا سفارة الجمهورية العربية المتحدة في براغ جيكلوفاكيا لتأمين عودتكم .

الزعيم الركن عبد الكريم قاسم

رئيس وزراء الجمهورية العراقية

وكان المواطن الملا مصطفى البارزاني قد ارسل البرقية التالية الى الزعيم الركن عبد الكريم قاسم -

رئيس وزراء الجمهورية العراقية

اننا مواطنوا الجمهورية العراقية في الجمهورية الشعبية الرومانية مصطفى البارزاني ومير حاج احمد
واسعد خوشوى نحى ونبارك ثورتكم المباركة ونؤيد حكومة الجمهورية العراقية راجين ان تساعدونا وتعيدوا
لنا سبيل العودة الى الوطن لخدمة جمهوريتنا .

وطقت جريدة الفتوة طى قرار السلطات للجمهورية بالسماح للبارزاني واخوانه للعودة فقالت -
" خطوة مباركة من الخطوات الجيدة التي خطتها ثورتنا حتى الآن " وحيث بالنسبة للمجاهدين
البارزانيين الاشداء ومبرت عن شاعر الشوق والانتظار لذلك اليوم الذي يعودون فيه الى احضان شعبهم
العراقي العزيز ، واضافت الجريدة " ليس ما يعمل طى تقوية التآخي الكردى - العربي السكوت
المطبق طى المسألة الكردية " .

وصل مصطفى بارزاني - مع المناضلين مير حاج واسعد خوشوى - الى مطار بغداد واستقبلته
الف من الجماهير التي رددت يا بارزاني اهلا بهك شعب العراق يحييك
وفي اللقاء التاريخي بين المحرر العظيم هدى الكريم قاسم ومصطفى بارزاني ، اثن البطل الكردى
استعداده لخدمة الجمهورية كجندى للشوة . ان " كودستان " سعيدة جدا بعودة البطل بارزاني
وزملائه الاحرار وتهنئ قادة الشوة - شعب العراق طامة والشعب الكردى خاصة بهذا الحدث العظيم .
هذا وقد ارسلت للجنة الادارية لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اوربا رسالة تحية الى البطل مصطفى
بارزاني بمناسبة عودته الى الوطن حرا .

× × × × × × × ×

جمعية الطلبة الاكراد في امريكا

- نعلم بسرور خبر تشكيل " جمعية الطلبة الاكراد في امريكا " طى اثرا اجتماعين عقدتهما لفيف من
الطلبة الاكراد في سان كارلوس وسان فرانسيسكو . وقد جاء هذا نتيجة لشعورهم " بضرورة بذل المساعي
لما فيه الخير لامتهم باية طريقة ممكنة " . وان اهداف الجمعية هي (الترجمة من الكردية)
- أ - جمع الاكراد في امريكا للتباحث في مشاكل الشعب الكردى وتحقيق حياة اسعد .
 - ب - تعريف الاجانب طى الشعب الكردى من كل الجهات .
 - ج - تنظيم الاكراد في امريكا لحل مشاكلهم .
 - د - مساعدة الطلاب الاكراد ، وخاصة الجدد ، في امريكا ومساعدتهم في الحقل الدراسي .

- ٤٥ -

- و - التعاون مع جميع المنظمات ضمن اعدادات الجمعية .
- ز - القيام بفعاليات تهدف لخير الشعب الكردي بصورة عامة .
- وقد قررت الجمعية مبدئياً اصدار مجلة دورية بالانكليزية والكردية مرة كل اربعة اشهر .
- اننا نتمنى لاخواننا الطلبة الاكراد وجمعيتهم في امريكا النجاح التام في مساعيهم النبيل . هنا
- وقد كتب السكرتير العام لجمعيتنا لاخواننا مهنتاً وواحد كل المساعدة والتأييد . ان عنوان الجمعية
- في امريكا هو -

Kurdish Students Association
P.O. Box 62
San Carlos,
California, U.S.A.

(اقرأ رسالة من امريكا)

× × × × × × × × × ×

رفع المستوى الثقافي للمواطنين الاكراد

ننشر فيما يلي لمخص الاقتراحات التي قدمها - جماعة من المثقفين الاكراد - الى وزير المعارف السابق حول رفع المستوى الثقافي للمواطنين الاكراد في الجمهورية العراقية -

باللغة الكردية

- أ - جعل اللغة الكردية لغة التعليم في كافة المناطق الكردية .
- ب - تدريس اللغة الكردية وآدابها في جميع السراجل الدراسية الابتدائية والثانوية والمالية ، اسوة باللغة العربية .
- ج - جعل اللغة الكردية لغة اجبارية في دار المعلمين والمعلمات .
- د - تخصيص كومي للغة الكردية وآدابها في كلية الآداب بجامعة بغداد للنوى تأسيسها في المستقبل .
- هـ - فتح مدارس باللغة الكردية في المناطق العربية التي تقطن فيها جاليات كردية وكذلك في المناطق الكردية الواقعة في جنوب العراق ونخص منها الاكراد الفيليين في بغداد والحانية وركز لواء الموصل وجماهير الاكراد في لوائي الكوت والعمارة - بدرة وجصان وزنها طية وطي العربي

اللغة العربية

- أ - وضع كتب جديدة باللغة العربية تحت اشراف لجنة من المربين ولما النفس باللغتين تراعى فيها الاساليب التربوية والاستدراج ويواى فيها التقارب بين اللغة الفصحى والمصطلحات العامة .
- ب - ان تدريس اللغات الاخرى بجانب لغة الام في السنوات الاولى من الدراسة الابتدائية تحدث الارتباك عند الطالب وبالتالي عدم الحصول على الفائدة المستوخاة من الدراسة في هذه المرحلة .
- لذا نقترح تدريس اللغتين العربية والانكليزية في الصفوف الاولى من للدراسة الابتدائية والاختصار على تدريس اللغة الاولى اعتبارا من الصف الخامس واللغة الثانية ابتداء من الصف السادس .
- ج - فتح دورات خاصة للمعلمين الذين ينامط بهم تدريس هاتين اللغتين .

التاريخ

- أ - دراسة تاريخ الامة الكردية دراسة تفصيلية في كافة مدارس كردستان .
- ب - دراسة مجمل عن تاريخ الاكراد في مدارس المتوسطة والثانوية من قبل الطلاب العرب .
- ج - جعل التاريخ الكردى مادة اجبارية في دور المعلمين والمعاهد والكليات التي تعني بمادة التاريخ .
- د - ترك الاساليب القديمة في دراسة عام التاريخ ووضع مناهج جديدة له تحت اشراف اختصاصيين من طناء التاريخ .

جغرافية كردستان

- أ - دراسة جغرافية كردستان بصورة تفصيلية في المدارس الكردية بوجه عام والاهتمام بجغرافية كردستان العراقية بوجه خاص .
- ب - دراسة موجزة لجغرافية كردستان في المدارس العربية كحشم متم لجغرافية العراق والاقطار المجاورة .
- ج - جعل جغرافية كردستان مادة اجبارية في دور المعلمين والمعاهد والكليات التي تعن بالمادة .

البعثات

- أ - ان تكون البعثات حسب نفوس الالوية . اى يجب ان لا تقل نسبة طلبة الاكراد من نصف مجموع البعثين الى الخارج .
- ب - ان ترسل البعثات الى جميع اقطار العالم دون الارتباط ببلاد معينة .

ج - ان تكون البعثات حسب حاجة الشعب للمراقبي من الخبراء والاختصاصيين وان تعني غاية خاصة بالنواحي الصناعية والتكهنية .

د - ان تراعى في قبول الطالب للبعثة درجات دروس الاختصاص والدروس العمومية للبعثة فقط .

هـ - ان يطبق نفس الشروط المذكورة اعلاه على طلاب البعثات من خريجي الكليات والمعاهد .

توزيع الكليات والمعاهد

نقترح توزيع بعض الكليات على بقية الالهة ، مثلا انشاء كلية كادار المعلمين العالية او كلية الهندسة في كركوك تسهل الدراسة لطلاب الهيئة كركوك - موصل والسليمانية واربيل - كما نقترح انشاء كلية كلية الطب او الصيدلة في البصرة تسهل مشاكل الدراسة للهيئة الجنوبية .

شروط القبول والكليات والمعاهد العالية

ان تراعى في قبول الطلاب في الكليات والمعاهد العالية المراقبة ما يلي -

- ١ - نسبة نفوس الالهة .
- ٢ - دروس الاختصاص لا المعدل العام
- ٣ - عدم الالتفات الى سنة التخرج
- ٤ - عدم الالتفات الى عمر الطالب .

فتح المدارس

فتح المدارس المغلقة في المهد البائد مثل ثانيتي طجة وكويسنجق . وفتح المدارس لبعض المنقطعين عن الدراسة بسبب الفقر وخاصة مدارس البنات . هنالك اقتراحات اخرى حول الاقسام الداخلية واكمال نواتج المدارس وتطهير جهاز المعارف وقضية التنقلات ومراعاة حقوق الاسرة التعليمية . وحول التطبيق قدمت اقتراحات -

- ١ - بتنظيم شؤون المعارف في منطقة كردستان وهي الهيئة السليمانية واربيل وكركوك وخانقين واقضية الموصل الكردية - تحت اشراف دائرة واحدة تدمى مديرية كردستان يرأسها مدير يدمى - مدير معارف منطقة كردستان - يكون مسؤولا امام وزير المعارف مباشرة .
- ٢ - ان يكون مقر هذه المديرية لواء كركوك لكونه وسطا بين جميع الالهة والمناطق الكردية .
- ٣ - ان يكون لهذا المدير معاونون في مراكز الالهة الاخرى مسؤولين امامه مباشرة .

- ٤ - تعيين السيد رفيق حلمي لمنصب مدير معارف منطقة كردستان لكونه مربيا قديرا وخيرا في شؤون الثقافة الكردية .
 - ٥ - تأليف لجان من المدرسين والادباء والمؤرخين الاكراد تقوم كل لجنة حسب اختصاصهم بتأليف وترجمة الكتب العلمية والادبية الى اللغة الكردية ، تحت اشراف وزارة المعارف .
 - ٦ - اليعاز الى مدرّس المتوسّطات والثانويات باستعمال اللغة الكردية في الصف اثناء شرح الدروس ابتداءً من هذه السنة والاستماعة بالكتب القديمة كمصادر ربما يتم اعداد الكتب المقررة باللغة الكردية .
 - ٧ - اعادة المشردين والمشتتين من المعلمين والمدرسين الى مناطقهم للاستفادة منهم في التدريس باللغة الكردية .
 - ٨ - فتح مكافآت مادية ومعنوية للمشتغلين بقضايا التأليف والنشر والترجمة وتشجيعهم على القيام بالبحوث العلمية والادبية .
 - ٩ - فتح دورات خاصة للمعلمين والمدرسين الاكراد الذين لا يتقنون اللغة الكردية قراءة وكتابة لكي يتمكنوا من القيام بواجباتهم على الوجه الاكمل .
- ان سكرتارية تحرير " كردستان " لا تشك بان السلطات الجمهورية ستنظر بعين العطف الى هذه الاقتراحات الثقافية الاساسية لرفع المستوى الثقافي للشعب الكردي في العراق حسب نص المادة الثالثة من الدستور الجمهوري الموقت .

== == == == == == == ==

برقيات الى المؤتمر

" من جمعية الطلبة العراقيين في المنطقة المتحدة : نحني مؤتمركم متيناً له كل نجاح . وحدتنا ضرورة الى الاعام لانجازات اعظم ومستقبل احسن "

من الطلبة الاكراد في الجامعات المصرية

" نحن خصة وعشرون طُلباً كردياً في الجامعات المصرية - نويد بقوة قرارات مؤتمركم العظيم . نعلن تيسكاً بهذه القرارات لرفاة و تقدم الأمة الكردية "

البقية على صفحة (٥٣)

- ٤٩ -

نقد الكتب

بقلم - احمد السعدى
 كردستان = الوطن الصغرى في الشرق الاوسط
 (بالانكليزية)

بظم - ص. ص. ٠٠ كافان
 نشر لورنس وويشارت ، لندن
 ٥٦ صفحة ، اربعة ثلثات وستة بنسات

صدر هذا الكتاب الصغير بعد الثورة العراقية ولو انه كتب قبل ١٤ تموز . انه يذكر باختصار من تاريخ كردستان ، اقتصاده ، اللغة الكردية والادب الكردى كمقدمة لبحث الحركة الوطنية الكردية بعد الحرب العالمية الاولى والثانية ، من ظروف الشعب الكردى في تركيا ، ايران والعراق ، وكيفية تقسيم كردستان من قبل الاستعمار ومقاومة الشعب الكردى للتقسيم ، من الثورة البارزانية ، من جمهوية مهاباد الكردية وعن واجبات ومشاكل الحركة الوطنية الكردية . انه كتاب مفيد لجميع المهتمين بشؤون الشرق الاوسط اذ ان القضية الكردية التي خلقها الاستعمار جزء لا يتجزأ من مشاكل تلك المنطقة ولا يمكن لحل دائم عادل لازمة الشرق الاوسط دون ان يأخذ بنظر الاعتبار مطالب الشعب الكردى لحق تقرير المصير . يؤكد الكاتب على اهمية الصلحة المشتركة في الكفاح والتضامن بين الاكراد والشعوب المجاورة لحل المشاكل المشتركة ومحاوية العدو المشترك . الاستعمار . وقد طرأ نقد النقاد في جريدة انكليزية بان " الكاتب قد قدم خدمة عظيمة للكفاح العربي - الكردى المشترك " .

في فصل من " واجبات ومشاكل الحركة الوطنية الكردية يؤكد الكاتب على اهمية عقد مؤتمر وطني كردى عام لبحث القضية الكردية ووضع سياسة موحدة للاكراد .

انه كتاب مفيد لمساعدته في فهم القضية الكردية ولا غنى عنه لكل من يريد معرفة اوضاع الشرق الاوسط بصورة جيدة .

اتراء الآن . يمكن الحصول على الكتاب بطلبه من جميع المكتبات الانكليزية او من الناشر مباشرة

وهو - Lawrence and Wishart
 81, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.2

يوم ١٤ تموز في السجن

بقلم - عبد الله كوران

" فيما يلي قطعة شعرية نظمها بالكردية الشاعر البهدهع الاستاذ عبد الله كوران
عندما سمع وهو قابع في زنزانته العذالمة في بعقوة هتافات الجماهير الثائرة
يوم ١٤ تموز ٠٠٠٠ "

صوت بعيد	ايثها الاصفا
أبعد من الافق البعيد ...	اصمتي صمت السكون في السمع
بالكاد يخترق الحدود	وانت ايها الهواء المرتطم بزنانتي
يا ايها الصوت البعيد	اغف كما يخفو الرضيع
بالكاد تخترق الحدود	فلتخترق سمعي طمية من رصاصات
اأنت ابهى أم أسود أم أحمر ؟	هذا الصوت البعيد
تقدم الى الامام اكثر ...	فلتعد ولتتفجر كالمدفع
كما ينصب الماء في النار	وليلتهب شرر رأسي المستمر ...
انحدر عبر السمع الى الروح	
انثر في زنزانتي الحديد ..	x x x x

القس النسيم في سمعي هذا الهتاف	ابتم في امان ..
" طاش النظام الجمهوري "	ويا من تمش في شبر من الارض
اتراني في حلم ؟ أمة جمهورية ؟	لقد رلى الفناء ...
لا ليس حلما	- ترجمة كمال محمود -
انه مهرجان الجمهورية	من مجلة هيو
هذا الصوت وهذه البشري البعيدة .	العدد الثاني - السنة الثانية
فها ايها الجسد الراقد في الزنزانة	

نشاط جمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اوروبا والجمعيات الاخرى

مجلة " وحدة الطلبة "

اصدرت جمعية الطلبة العراقيين في المملكة المتحدة عددا من " وحدة الطلبة "

- مجلة الجمعية - خاصا بالثورة العراقية . وكان عددا ممتازا من ناحية المصمم (٨٦ صفحة) والمظهر والمادة والطبع وحوى على اربعة صفحات كاملة من الدور عن نشاط الطلبة العراقيين بقيادة جمعيتهم لنصرة الجمهورية .

جاء في المقال الافتتاحي ، تحت عنوان " الطلبة والثورة " ان تلمز الفرجة العربي والكردي ، يوم ١٤ تموز ، وحسب بل غمرت الآسيوى والافريقي وايجار اوروبا واعلمة ، لان ١٤ تموز قد اكثرتهم في ان الظالم والظلم ان اوجى من ان يقفوا على وجه قبة الشعوب واراداتها . وما ثورة العراق الا حلقة في سلسلة متتابعة ستنتهي بتحرير البشرية من شرور الاستعمار ومفارقة وياهم السلام وتنهأ شعوب العالم بحياة حرة كريمة .

وحوى العدد على مقال عام عن " الثورة العراقية " يتكلم بمد الخالق البياتي - رئيس الجمعية السابق - حيث كتب " ان الثورة العراقية هزت العالم بتداسها وعزته اكثر عندما تثبت نفسها بسرعة هجينة ، اثبتت نفسها على انها ثورة الشعب العراقي بعربيه واكراده . . . "

وذكر البياتي ان هنالك طابعان يميزان الثورة -

اولا - وحدة الشعب العراقي وتوابعها واستمرارها على اساس وحدة العرب والاكراد .

ثانيا - حركة العراق جزء من الحركة العربية التحررية وتوابعها الاندماجية الهائلة .

وقد لخص تأثير الثورة - بتدليلها لتوازن القوى في الشرق الاوسط والشرق الاقصى ، استمرارية الحركة التحررية العربية يستتوي اطي ، التأثير على التضامنيات بقية البلدان العربية ، تأثير ايجابي على الوضع في الخليج ، ضرب حلف بغداد والسياسة الدفاعية للغرب ، التأثير على الحركة الوطنية في ايران ، واخيرا ترك اروع الاثر في تحرير الاكراد ان تحرر كردستان من يديهم اكراد بالذات على اكراد تركيا وايران ، انه سيشير بصورة جلية اكراد هذين البلدين لكيما يحذوا حذو اخوانهم الاكراد العراق الذين تفتحت امامهم سجل واسعة وطرق جديدة .

- ٥٢ -

والإضافة الى هذا المقال الرئيسي ، فان العدد الخاص كان طيها بالآخبار الطلابية . ان
" كردستان " ترجو كل التقدم والازدهار لشقيقتها العزيزة " وحدة الطلبة " .

x + x +

حفلات التعارف

اقامت عدة حفلات تعارف بمناخية قدوم الطلاب الجدد للدراسة في انكلترا نظمتها جمعية الطلبة
المراقبين ورابطة الطلاب العرب ، فقد اقيمت حفلة في بورتسموث ٥٨/١٠/١٨ حضرها اكثر من
مئة طالب وقدمت فيها برامج لطيفة من اناشيد ورضا وتتميلية عن نضال الشعب الجزائري البطل
ضد الاستعمار الفرنسي الفاشم وقد القى السيد دنان الجبوري قصيدة طامية استحسنتها الحاضرون
كثيرا . واقامت الجمعية والرابطة حفلة مشتركة في لندن يوم ٥٨/١٠/٢٥ .

xx وفي ٥٨/١٠/٢٥ اقامت سكرتارية فرع جمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اوها حفلة غدا في لندن
على شرف الطلبة الاكراد الجدد ، حضرها ١٨ طالبا وطالبة . واستمع الحاضرون الى الاغاني
الكردية المسجلة .

xx وفي مساء نفس اليوم اقيمت حفلة تعارف مشتركة نظمتها رابطة الطلاب العرب وجمعية الطلبة
المراقبين قدمت فيها اغاني وقطائد وانشيد وتمتع الحاضرون بوقت طيب . وقد قدم الطلبة الاكراد
رقصات واغاني في الحفلة .

xx قد فرع لندن لجمعيةنا اجتماع حضره عشرة اعضاء لبحث بومصر فرع الجمعية وقد قنن
الحاضرون وقتا متما .

xx اقامت الجمعية العربية في مدرسة لندن للعلوم السياسية والاقتصادية ندوة حول " الاكراد
في البلاد العربية " تكلم فيها عن الاكراد دارا الصالحي السكرتير العام لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في
اوها وتحسين امين هورماني عضو الجمعية . وعرض مد الجهار الزبيدي وجهة النظر العربية .
نشكو اخواننا في الجمعية العربية لتنظيمها هذه الندوة واتاحتها لاضائنا بشرح وجهة النظر الكردية .

xx اصدرت سكرتارية جمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اوربا بياناً صحفياً في لندن للرد على آراء ومزاعم الصحف المفروضة حول موقف الشعب الكردي في العراق من الحكم الجمهوري، شارحاً تأييد الاكراد التام للحكومة ومصلحته المشتركة من النظام الكردي - العربي . كذلك اشار البيان الى حالة الشعب الكردي السيئة في كردستان ايران وتركيا .

xx سيعقد فرع انكلترا لجمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اوربا مؤتمراً للمعتاد في لندن يوم ٢٧/١٢/٥٨ في

Museum Tavern,
36 Museum Street,
London, W.C.1

اقرب محطة .. Tottenham Court Road.

+++++

عمل شكر

يؤلف الآن فؤاد ملا كيم (B.Sc.) ، عضو جمعية الطلبة الاكراد في اوربا ، فرع انكلترا ، كتاباً من طم الفينزيا باللغة الكردية . ان الجمعية ان تهنته على هذا المجهود الطيب ، تتمهد بتقديم جميع المساعدات المادية والمعنوية له . ونفس الوقت نأمل من جميع اخواننا الذين لهم الاهلية اللازمة لمساعدة فؤاد في عمله ، سواء كانوا هنا او في الوطن . نكرر تمنياتنا لفؤاد بالنجاح .

تنقة برفقيات الى المؤتمر

وفي رسالة من اللجنة العليا لاتحاد طلبة كردستان مؤرخة في ١١/١٠/٥٨ الى اللجنة الادارية للجمعية جاء فيها " اننا نقدم لجمعيةكم المنانلة احر تحياتنا ، ونعتز كثيراً بعلاقتنا الوثيقة معكم . فانتم على طلبة كردستان في المالم . . . وإلى الامام من اجل الحفاظ على جمهورية العرب والاكراد ولتحرير واتحاد واستقلال كردستان العزيز " .

نريد ان نشكر جمعية الطلبة العراقيين في الملة المتعدة لمساعدتهم لنا في
طبع مجلة " كردستان " سكرتير التحرير

رسالة من اتحاد الطلبة العالمي لجمعية

نشر فيما يلي رسالة من اتحاد الطلبة العالمي جوابا لرسالة لرئيس الجمعية -
صديقنا العزيز ،

استلمنا رسالتكم وفيها تخبرونا عن رغبتكم للتعاون مع اتحاد الطلبة العالمي وارتقم
معها البلاغ الخطأ في المؤتمر الأخير .
نحن نتأسف باخلاص لتأخير جوابنا بسبب التحضيرات للمؤتمر الخاص لاتحاد الطلبة العالمي
الذي انعقد في بكين في نهاية أكتوبر .
سنشر البلاغ في العدد القادم من " نشرة الاخبار " وسنرسل لكم بانتظام منشورات اتحاد
الطلبة العالمي " طلاب العالم " و " نشرة الاخبار " ستستفيدون قريبا الكتب الخاص بنتائج
مؤتمرنا ونحتاج نشاط اتحاد الطلبة العالمي للسنة الأكاديمية القادمة . نرجو ان تعلمونا من
النشادات التي تغلبوها .

نأمل ان نعظم منشوراتكم بصورة منتظمة ونود ان تحوى على سجل لنشاطكم لنخبر الراي
الطلابي من مشاكلكم المختلفة وفعاليات جمعيتكم
ختاما نأمل ان نسمع عنكم قريبا ، تقبلوا تحياتنا الاخوية ،

س . باهاك

رئيس مكتب متابعة الاستعمار ، براغ
(الترجمة من الفرنسية)

x x x x x x x

طلاب العالم يدينون تركيها تجاه الاكراد

في المؤتمر الخاص لاتحاد الطلبة العالمي في بكين ونزع الوفد العراقي صيغة قرار يتعلق
بوضع الاكراد في تركيها . وجاء في القرار ان " المؤتمر يدين سياسة الحكومة التركية بممارستها
التمييز العنصري ، وتحريم اللغة الكردية وعدم تدريسها في المدارس وممارسة التمييز العنصري في
الحياة الاجتماعية ضد خمسة ملايين كودي في تركيها . وقد اقر هذا المؤتمر الاقتراح بالاكثرية .

قبرص وتركيا وكردستان

- نشرت جريدة " ترهون " الاسبوعية السبالية المسارية الرسائل التالية حسب التسلسل .
- كانت الاولى تحت عنوان تقسيم (١٦٥٨/١٠/١٧) .
- " ان اصرار الحكومة التركية على تقسيم قبرص ليس غير مقبولا لحسب بل مجود نفاق . ان
- ال (١٦٠٠٠) تركي في قبرص يعيشون مختلطين تماما بـ (٤٠٠٠٠٠) يوناني .
- هناك حوالي ٤٠٠٠٠٠٠ كودي في تركيا يسكنون منطقة ذو غالبية كردية ومنطقة جنرانيا
- من اسما الصغرى من دالها بحق تقرير الصير في سلسلة من الثورات في ١٩١٤ ، ١٩٢٥ ،
- ١٩٢٧ ، ١٩٣٦ . الخ .
- يتوقع الانسان ان تعذب الحكومة التركية حق تقرير الصير بحق الشعب الكودي ايضا ، او حسب
- طريقها المفضلة تقسم تركيا بين ٢٠٠٠٠٠٠٠ تركي و ٤٠٠٠٠٠٠٠ كودي .
- . صلاح . م . سمد الله
- وكانت الرسالة الثانية التي نشرتها ترهون بتاريخ ٥٨/١٠/٢٤ تحت عنوان " الاظلمات " .
- هي كالآتي " بحفتي كوديا اريد ان اشكركم لنشركم رسالة السيد صلاح . م . سمد الله . انه
- نالكم المستر في سهل علفق الشعب في كل مكان الذي يحمل " ترهون " صحبه ضد
- الشعوب الانريكية الاسيوية .
- ان الاكراد في تركيا غير محرومين من حق تقرير الصير فحسب بل من جميع الحقوق المتعلقة
- بالحرية والديمقراطية .
- يعرف الجميع ان الولايات الشرقية من تركيا الحالية كانت ولا تزال منذ الاف السنين يسكنها الاكراد
- ان الحكومة التركية تنكر وجود الاكراد وتعاملهم كمواطنين من الدرجة الثانية وتتبع سياسة
- اباداة الاكراد سواء من طريق المذابح الدموي كما في ١٩٢٥ ، ١٩٢٧ ، ١٩٣٦ او بسطية
- ابطاً وهي التنريك .
- في العراق تتبع السلطات الجمهورية سياسة نيره تجاه الاكراد في كردستان العراقية ، ان
- هذه السياسة لا تضجف للعراق .

- ٥٦ -

إذا حدث ثورة أخرى في كردستان " التركية " طيكم كاشتراكيين انسانيين تحذير الشعب
البيطاني من تصديق الادعاءات القديمة بان الاكراد " اعداء للقانون " همركون من الخارج .

احمد . ن . سدي

والرسالة الثالثة نذرت بتاريخ ٨/١٠/٢١ تحت عنوان " تقسيم " رسالة صالح م . سدي الله (ترميون ١٧ أكتوبر) التي اشارت الى ان الحكومة التركية نسي
اصرارها على تقسيم قبرص جاءت في وقت مناسب جدا .
على الاتراك النذار اترب . . كيف بالخلايين الاربعة من الاطوية الكردية في تركيا ؟ انهم
محرومون من حق نشر سجلاتهم ووجود مدارسهم .
الاكراد لا يعارضون التقسيم انه موجود جغرافيا . ان النظرة الى قضية الاطوية الكردية
من المقاييس الصحيحة دائما للحكم على نزاهة حكومات الشرق الاوسط . كل القوة للحكومة العراقية
الجديدة . . ان ثورة ١٤ تموز قد حررت كردستان الجنوبية . حسب مواد الدستور الجمهوري
معتبر الاكراد والمرب شركاء وحقوقهم القومية معترف بها .

ي . آ . وودس - لندن

+++++

رسالة من امريكا

الى سكرتير تحرير كردستان المحترم ،
لقد ارسلنا لكم مع هذه الرسالة نداء " جمعية الطلبة الاكراد في امريكا " كباقي الجمعيات ،
ان جمعيتنا بحاجة الى التوازية والمساندة من الاخوان والشعب . لذا نرجو ان تنظروا هذا
النداء الى اذاننا جمعيتكم وقراء عجلتكم باحسن طريقة ممكنة .
نأمل ان تستمر الرسائل بيننا في المستقبل لكي نتدافع على مهمات الجمعيتين وننظم الاعمال
فيهما بطريقة تعطي فائدة اكبر لاهلناهما والشعب الكردي . ان جمعيتنا جديدة وصغيرة
وتحتاج لجهود كثيرة لنوطها لدرجة تتج فائدة تامة . وخلال هذه السدة نأمل ان نتعلم من
تجاربكم الماضية ، لذا نرجو ان تدوا يد المساعدة لجمعيتنا الفتية . ولكم الشكر .
من جمعية الطلبة الاكراد في امريكا
حكمت توفيق فكرت

التبادل الثقافي والغنية الكردية

سررت جدا لاطلاعي على جمعيتكم خلال مجلتكم . ان الامة الكردية قد باتت في سبات جبري
لعدة طويلة لاسباب سياسية واقتصادية كشعب جزاء لهذا فنهضتهم القوية التدريجية مشجعة للغاية .
انني ، كباقي اصدقائي الشعب الكردي ، اتمنى لهم النجاح لتحقيق آمالهم ليكونوا في المستقبل
القريب ، مرة ثانية ، شعبا مستقلا موحدا ، يأخذ حقه اللائق في العالم .
ان موقف الحكومة العراقية الحالية من الشعب الكردي يجب ان يكون مثالا ليقبلى به جميع
الجيران .

ان الغنية الكردية لم تحل بسبب تقسيم كردستان لكي تستغل الاحتكارات الغريبة الكبيرة
منابعها النفطية الغنية . ولهذا يمكن حلها فقط عند تحطيم هذه العوائق .
ان تطوير وتوسيع العلاقات الثقافية سيساعد على اعتراف العالم بالامة الكردية وسيعرف اوساطا
واسعة على مشاكلكم . ان سياسة جمعيتكم وصفتها الرئيسية " كردستان " مدعاة للاعجاب في
هنا الشأن .

ان قرار تنفي الحروف اللاتينية للغة الكردية مفيد كثيرا لان الفروق اللغوية الكبيرة تساهل على
فزل الشعوب . وهذا الاجراء سيساعد على نفوذ اللغة الكردية بتسهيل الاتصالات مع الشعوب
الآخري هكونه اداة لتوحيد اللهجات الكردية .
مع احسن التمنيات لنجاحكم .

مايكل هتلاف

سانت هيلير ، جيسى ، جزر القنال .

فريزي سكوتير التحرير ،

تقرير العصور حق لكل الشعوب تقرير هي . ولكن الدول الاستعمارية تنكر هذا الحق على
شعوب المستعمرات التي حرم من هذا الحق والاسوأ تقسيم الوطن الكردي من قبل الدول الاستعمارية .
كوطني هراقي ، انهم صوي القوي التقدمية في العالم التي تعمل بحق الاكراد في تقرير مستقبلهم بانفسهم .
سؤال واحد - اريد ان اسأل الحكومة التركية ان كانت الحكومة التركية تؤمن بحق ٨٠٠٠٠ تركي في
قبص في تقرير العصور . فلماذا لا تؤمن انهم بحق خمسة ملايين كردي في تركيا في تقرير العصور ؟
٣- طان الملاك - بورتسموث

نساء الى مؤلفي الكتب العلمية باللغة الكردية

ان قلة وجود الكتب العلمية في اللغة الكردية تجعل من المستحيل تحقيق الامال التي استهدفها الاكراد قبل احد بعيد لجعل بالدراسة في مدارسهم باللغة الكردية ، وان قلة مثل هذه الكتب قد تكون عائقا في انجاز الحقوق الثقافية للشعب الكردي .

انه لشيء واقعي في المدارس تدريس مختلف المواضيع العلمية وادبية . ان لغتنا في الحقل الادبي قد تقدمت بغل ادبائنا ، ولكنها لسو الحظ متأخرة في المجال العلمي .

ان تقدم اي شعب يقيس بمقدار تقدمه العلمي . لكي نغلي الى مرحلة متقدمة يجب علينا ان نطو اكبر عدد من الكتب العلمية بمختلف فروعها ، لأن طالب العلم لا يمكن ان ينتج ما يستحق الذكر الا اذا قرأ كثيرا . لهذا وجود الكتب العلمية شرط اساسي في التقدم العلمي .

لقد شعرت قبل مدة طويلة بضرورة وجود كتب علمية في لغتنا ، وان قلة وجود هذه الكتب قد صغرتني لبدء بتأليف كتاب في علم الفيزياء . اني اواجه صاحب كتيرة من الناحية اللغوية لعدم وجود كلمات ، وتعابير علمية كردية ، وخاصة وانني اكلت دراستي في الحق العلمي باللغات الاجنبية . لهذا فاني بينما اؤلف كتابي اضطر في الوقت نفسه لان اجد كلمات ومصطلحات علمية كردية .

ارجو ان ينال عطي هذا رضا وعطف ومساعدة الاكراد من المختصين بالعلوم ، وان يكون هذا حافزا للاخرين .

لاجل ان تبني لغة كردية علمية موحدة من الضروري جدا تبادل الاراء حول هذه الكلمات والمصطلحات التقنية بين المؤلفين . ان طلاب العلوم لنفوز علم بالمواضيع العلمية التي تستعمل في كتاب علمي واحد ، فضلا كتاب الفيزياء يحتوي قسا كبيرا من اصطلاحات الرياضيات ، لذلك طس الفيزيائيين والرياضيين ان يتشاوروا في هذا الضار .

انني لاطك معلومات عن اي شخص كردي الف او بدأ بؤلف كتابا علميا لكي اتصل به ، لذلك ارجو من ذوي العلاقة ان يتفضلوا بالاتصال بي لكي نتفق على تبني الكلمات والمصطلحات الكردية العلمية .

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 Turkey — Kurdish Publications are forbidden.

KOMELEY XWÊNDIKARNÎ KURD LE EWROPA

KURDISTAN



THE KURDISH PEOPLE CELEBRATED NEWROZ—21st MARCH—THEIR NATIONAL DAY
The picture depicts Kawa the Ironmonger leading the Kurds in their ancient revolt for freedom.
Premier Kassem honoured the occasion (see page 16)

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KURDISTAN

Published periodically by the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe

Editor: SALAH M. SAADALLA

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Editorial

Political events in Iraq have been moving at a breath-taking speed. The last Cabinet reshuffle, in which six Right Wing Ministers were relieved of their posts and replaced by more national democratic elements, coupled with restoration and extension of the democratic liberties consolidated the position of the Republican Government, led by Premier Kassem, and brought about the gradual isolation of the extreme Right and the disintegration of their mass organisation—the Baath—which had become the centre of attraction for the remnants of the former reactionary regime including many feudal elements, turning in fact

into the main downright counter-revolutionary and fascist grouping.

Deprived of popular support the Baathist switched over to conspiracies, in close co-operation with the ruling neo-fascist 'Nationalist Union' clique in the U.A.R.

The counter-revolutionary and openly fascist Shawaf mutiny in Mosul was nothing but a manifestation of the feverish attempts by these reactionary elements to destroy the Republican order and hold the march of democracy by forcing the integration of Iraq with U.A.R.

It was launched under the convenient cloak of 'Arab Nationalism' to shelter the criminal plotters. Having lost their popular basis they turned towards the U.A.R. authorities, to the former Pashas who had their own axe to grind, to rescue them from an inevitable doom.

The upper circles of the U.A.R., bent on the domination of the Arab world especially the annexation of oil rich Iraq, were ready for aggression.

They also raised the slogan of 'Arab Nationalism' (sometimes co-operative democratic Socialism!) to cover up their expansionist designs, although few years ago, the same people were hard at it to prove their Pharaoh origin and nationality!

The plot, however, mis-fired — rather back-fired — owing to the firm stand taken by the Republican forces led by Premier Kassem and the heroic resistance of the masses in Mosul. It is a matter for pride that our Kurdish people took a positive role in smashing that dirty plot (it was reported that five thousand armed Kurds took up positions on the hills and a thousand fighters entered Mosul and joined the other Republican forces).

Needless to say, integration and federation are both out of question as long as the anti-Iraqi policy of the U.A.R. continues, for one does not unite with an enemy. Federation, too, is out since it will serve as a screen for further plots.

The crushing of the Shawaf plot was followed by the formal withdrawal from the hated Baghdad Pact, limited purges in the state apparatus, the partial arming of the popular resistance forces and the signing of the Iraqi Soviet Economic Agreement. We welcome these moves and congratulate the Republican Government and its leader Premier Kassem, on their great achievements.

The £50 million Soviet loan covering the cost of many economic projects will doubtless contribute towards raising the standard of living of the people of Iraq.

* * *

Guided by the Provisional Republican Constitution, the Iraqi Government has taken further steps to satisfy the just national rights of the Kurdish people. The return of the rest of the Kurdish refugees in the U.S.S.R. has been facilitated, the four Kurdish patriotic officers executed by the old regime have been posthumously rehabilitated, Newroz has been recognised as the national feast of the Kurdish people, Government advertisements have been authorised to appear in Kurdish for the first time and many more Kurdish journals have been published (including political newspapers which were banned by the former regime).

Above all the Government has decided to set up an 'Education Directorate of Kurdistan' to serve as an independent cultural unit devoted entirely to Iraqi Kurdistan.

This is a democratic gain of tremendous significance. It is a practical recognition of the national structure of the Kurdish people and the first concrete step towards Cultural Autonomy. We have no doubts that the Kurdish language will soon be made official — officially! The next step is to establish an 'Administrative Region' for Kurdistan, to serve, together with the Education Directorate, as the basis of self-government — cultural and administrative — for Iraqi Kurdistan.

No wonder the Iraqi Republic is considered the Republic of the Kurds and Arabs, and no wonder that the Kurds regard it as their first task to preserve the Republic and carry on its democratic path.

One fantastic charge levelled against the Iraqi Government by the so called 'Arab Nationalists' — has been that the Government incites Arab-Kurdish conflict, although everybody realises that relations between the Kurds and Arabs of Iraq, and indeed the other nationalities, have never been more cordial. Yet at the next spell the Cairo radio calls upon their Kurdish 'brothers' to rise against the Kassem of Iraq!

Yet the essential anti-Kurdish nature of the 'Nationalist Union' regime was revealed by an Egyptian journalist, Riyadh Taha when he complained bitterly that under Nuri no one had ever heard of the Arabs and Kurds in Iraq, 'it was always the Arabs.' Shedding tears on the former corrupt pro-colonialist regime!

* * *

But the Kurds cannot be misled by the demagogues and fire-eaters. Apart from the wise course followed by the great Kurdish leader, Mustafa Barzani (a firm supporter of the Republic and its leader, Premier Kassem) they could compare their conditions in the free Iraqi Kurdistan with those prevailing not only in Turkey and Iran but also in Syria.

The 400,000 Kurds in Syria (about 10% of the population) are denied elementary national and cultural rights. There does not exist one Kurdish school in Syria, the Kurdish language is not taught in the predominantly Kurdish region, no Kurdish journals are allowed to appear (a book on a Kurdish folk-tale appeared about two years ago without the author's name to avoid persecution). A Lebanese newspaper was prohibited from entering Syria after publishing a call by some Kurds for a Kurdish National Congress, and a Syrian news-

paper was suspended for five weeks after publishing an article on Arab-Kurdish brotherhood.

The visit of a Syrian Kurd, Dr Zaza to Iraq was banned—he was brought down from the aircraft in the airport and his passport confiscated, a Kurdish poet, Qedri Jan (Abdul-Qadir Aziz) has been arrested. Kurds are being arrested for the crime of possessing Kurdish books on history, literature and Kurdish alphabet. Kurdish officers and soldiers in the Syrian Army have been dismissed together with many teachers. Kurds cannot obtain jobs without special permits from the C.I.D. Needless to say this is part of the anti-democratic drive in U.A.R., nevertheless a distinct anti-Kurdish policy has been followed by U.A.R. rulers. The swallowing up of Syria by the Egyptian rulers and their subsequent fascist rule, exemplified by the suppression of the cherished democratic liberties, the police terror, the concentration camps, detention without trial, torture and the mad anti-Iraqi campaign, naturally affected the Kurds in Syria (regarded by Egyptian rulers as dangerously pro-Iraq) and aggravated their conditions.

We strongly condemn this fascist terror practised by the U.A.R. rulers and demand the restoration of the democratic rights including the immediate cessation of the persecution of the Kurds in Syria.

* * *

The Conference of the Kurdish Students' Society—United Kingdom Branch, resolved to approach the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations to bring to their attention the violation of the Human Rights of the Kurds by the Turkish and Persian Governments. Is it not a human right for a Kurd to call himself a Kurd? No, say the

Turkish Government, you are 'Mountain Turks.' Five million Kurds in Turkey's Kurdistan are not allowed to have their own schools and publish Kurdish periodicals, no manifestation of Kurdish nationality is permitted.

The situation is similar in Persia. Now the Persian Government has concluded a bilateral military agreement with U.S.A. and started building aggressive military bases in Kurdistan.

The United Nations Commission has now replied that it cannot act on the complaints submitted by individuals — although they have been kind enough to offer to pass on the complaint of the Branch to the Governments concerned.

We are confident that at a suitable time the Iraqi delegation will submit the Kurdish Question to the United Nations. Until then expressions of support to the just aspirations of the Kurdish people and condemnation of denial of their elementary rights by the Turkish, Persian and U.A.R. Governments are welcome.

THE FOURTH CONGRESS

The Fourth Congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe will be held this summer. The time and place have provisionally been fixed from 20th-25th July in Vienna. This will give our members an opportunity to participate also in the World Festival of Youth and Students, to be held in Vienna from 26th July to 4th August.

We call upon our entire membership to make every possible effort to attend the Congress and make it a great success.

The Achievements of the Iraqi Republican Government

The Editor of *Kurdistan* asked the Acting Cultural Attaché of the Iraqi Embassy in London, Mr. Abboud Al-Baldawi to list the achievements of the Republican Government of Iraq in the first six months of its existence, and to give the fundamentals of its foreign policy. Mr. Al-Baldawi quickly responded, and stated that the Government:—

1. Declared the Agrarian Reform Law eliminating feudalism and limiting land holdings.
2. Consolidated the slogan of Iraqi Unity (between the Arabs and Kurds and other elements, thus making Iraq a bastion of strength that no power in the world can divide).
3. Recognised the Trade Unions and other social organisations.
4. Restored other democratic rights.

5. Improved the lot of the people by lowering rents, commodity prices and the cost of living and limiting relations between producers and the consumers.
6. Built and opened more primary and secondary schools, opened and widened the capacities of the Evening Institutions, and increased the number of students sent to study abroad, in both Eastern and Western countries.
7. Inaugurated new schemes for expanding irrigation, communications, transport, industry and agriculture.
8. Opened new hospitals.
9. Instigated purges in the Government apparatus and cleared important Government offices of traitors, agents, spies and embezzlers.

10. Abolished the system of Tribal Law.
11. Took measures to improve the countryside.
12. Introduced measures to strengthen the national economy, develop agriculture and raise the material and cultural standards of the people. This is demonstrated by the agreements signed with the United Arab Republic, and with certain neutral Asian and Socialist States.
13. Decided to introduce a Social Security Scheme.
14. Set up the People's Court in Baghdad to submit for trial traitors and foreign agents, and to expose the conspiracies of Imperialism and its agents against Free Arab Nationalism in Iraq and the Arab countries

Continuing on the level of Arab Affairs, he stated that, 'our Republic has taken a stand with the United Arab Republic, and has announced cultural and trade agreements with her

Supported the Free Arab Movement in order to strengthen the Free Arab League

Supported the Algerian Cause, recognised the Free Algerian Government in exile, contributed materially to the Algerian Liberation Army and started a fund for that purpose'

Finally, on the Interantional level, Mr. Al-Baldawi stated that the Iraqi Republic:—

Stood from the beginning with the principles of the Bandung Conference and with all freedom and peace loving peoples

Declared its attitude of positive neutrality to the two world camps, and its friendship for, and its peaceful intentions towards all friendly and pe ce-loving States

Has concluded cultural and trade agreements with certain Socialist States.

The Iraqi Revolution and the Kurdish Question

by SALAH M. SAADALLA, England

To study the effects of the Iraqi Revolution on the Kurdish Question, it is necessary to know some facts on Kurdistan, the Kurdish people and the history of its national Question.

Kurdistan is the region inhabited by the Kurds. It is a vast mountainous country covering East Turkey, West Iran, North and North-East Iraq and North-East Syria; the Kurdish population is estimated at about 8.5 millions, distributed as follows:—

State	Kurdish Population		
Turkey	4,000,000
Iran	2,500,000
Iraq	1,500,000
Syria	400,000
U.S.S.R.	100,000
TOTAL	8,500,000

Thus the proportion of the Kurdish population in Iraqi Kurdistan to the total Kurdish population is just over 17.5% and to the population of Iraq is 23%.

The Kurds constitute a nation: they possess all the features which make-up a nation. They are a stable community, occupying a common territory (despite arbitrary frontier divisions), speaking a common language, sharing a common culture, common traditions and customs, and possessing the basis for a single national economy.

The Kurds have inhabited the region which bears their name, since the dawn of history. They

ruled it about 2,000 B.C., and some Kurdish tribes such as Mukri, Baban and Miran are well known as far back as 600 B.C. The independent Kurdish Kingdom of Shahrizor lasted from 11th to 16th century; the Mongols destroyed this kingdom as the Seljoks destroyed the Kurdish Mervanite principality in the 11th century.

The leading role which Saladin, the celebrated Kurd, played in resisting the Crusaders is well known to the world. He united the Kurdish tribes in present Syria under his rule and established the Eyobite principality in the 12th century. The Ottoman armies occupied Kurdistan in the 16th century: in 1848 the last Kurdish principality, Botan, fell to the Ottoman armies. Kurdistan then became divided between Turkey and Persia. In 1876, the Kurdish people revolted, under the leadership of Obaidulla, against the Persian rule, and in 1914 the Kurds of Bitlis rose against the Turkish rule.

With the end of the First World War, the allies divided up the spoils of war. It was generally held that a Kurdish State would be set up — along with others in the Middle East. Major E. W. C. Noel, in a memorandum to the Civil Commissioner at Bagdad on 27th September 1919, stated that, 'there are certain areas in the Eastern Willayets which are populated by a subject people distinct and separate from the Turks; who have suffered from 400 years of Turkish mis-rule and the persistent effort to drown Kurdish nationality, and force the Kurd, an Aryan, to assimilate to a non-Aryan culture and nationality.'

The Sevres Treaty, signed in 1920, recognised in the Articles 62, 63 and 64 the rights of the Kurdish people to an independent and united State, but the Kemalist elements refused to abide by this Treaty, which was supplanted by the Lausanne Treaty (1923), which disregarded the right of the Kurdish people to a national state.

The British political representative in Bagdad, discussing the frontiers of the proposed States of Iraq and Kurdistan after the First World War, stated in a telegram dated 13th June 1919, to the Secretary of State for India, 'For economic and for strategic reasons, and in order to secure to Iraq State the advantages of a mountainous tract, well wooded and capable of great development it is desirable to include Suleimaniya, Rania and Koi-Sanjaq within the limit of the Mesopotamian Administration. Erbil is one of the recognised railway alignments to Mosul and like Aqra should be excluded from Kurdistan (the proposed State after World War I) Dohuk and Zakho must also be regarded as within Mesopotamia but not Amadia.'

Major Noel advised the British Government not to partition Kurdistan, but his view was over-ruled and the British Government aimed first to set up several autonomous Kurdish States. The British and Iraqi Governments, in fact, issued a joint statement in 1922, recognising the right of the Kurds to establish a Kurdish Government within Iraq and hoped 'that the different Kurdish elements would soon reach an agreement among themselves concerning the form and the boundaries of that Government, and its economic relations with the British and Iraqi Governments.'

A Kurdish State was in fact established; it was autonomous, with a ruler, Sheikh Mahmud and a Government headed by Prime Minister Sheikh Qadir, but the British Government sent aircraft which bombed Suleimaniya and dispatched troops which occupied the city and suppressed the young Kurdish Government.

At about the same time, the Kurds rose near Urmia under the leadership of 'Simko' against the Persian rule, demanding self-government. They defeated Persian troops in several battles. It is significant that Major E. J. Ross in a Note to the British Government, on Urmia, in 1919 wrote that, 'As far as can be seen the Persian Government will eventually be thrown out by the Kurds unless we actively intervene. If this section of the Kurdish nation frees itself from the Persian rule which it dislikes and asks to be included in the independent Kurdish State to which it naturally belongs, are we to say "No" and be prepared to keep it out by force? It will be useless to say to the Kurds that we have promised not to touch Persia or to allow

her integrity to be violated. Kurds do not recognise our right to give these pledges at their expense.'

In 1925, the Kurdish people carried out their greatest national revolution in Kharpot, Turkey's Kurdistan, under the leadership of Sheikh Said Pirani, demanding the right of self-determination. The Kurds achieved important military victories and approached Diarbakir which frightened the reactionary Turkish leaders, who declared general mobilisation and suppressed the revolt with outside assistance after a fight lasting many months.

In 1927, the Kurdish people rose once again in the region of Agri-Dagh, after a conference there which united the smaller Kurdish organisations. It lasted a year, during which a Kurdish civil administration was established.

On 6th September 1930, a massacre was carried out by the Iraqi Government troops and their British advisers against the peaceful civilian population of Suleimaniya, an event now called the 'Black Day', the aim being to promote Kurdish Arab enmity. In 1936 and 1937, Kurdish risings broke out in Dersim against the fascist measures of the Turkish rulers.

In 1943 and 1945, the Barzani revolts occurred in Iraqi Kurdistan due to local grievances and for limited national rights which later developed into a manifestation of the Kurdish national aspirations as stated by their leader Mustafa Barzani, 'I appeal to the Kurdish and Arab peoples to co-operate and unify their efforts in the common struggle against a common enemy — imperialism and its agents — so that each people may live in its own land, free and independent.'

In 1946, the courageous Kurdish people achieved a great victory by establishing the Kurdish Democratic Republic of Mehabad in Iranian Kurdistan, which set about (as Justice W. O. Douglas recorded in his book 'Strange Land and Friendly People') to build Kurdish schools, to publish Kurdish books, magazines and newspapers, and proclaimed a Republican Constitution which pledged to defend the interests of the workers by forming trade unions to improve their conditions, and declared the necessity of educating the people regardless of race, religion or sex, and the political, economical and social equality of women with men.

The Kurdish Government distributed land to the peasants and signed a treaty of friendship with the Azerbaijan Republic. Imperialism and Persian reactionaries conspired against this Republic and suppressed it a year after its birth.

Meanwhile the Kurdish nation was being subjected to barbaric campaigns aiming at its complete destruction. Thousands of Kurds were deported to

West Anatolia, their properties confiscated, the Kurdish language banned, cultural Kurdish institutions closed, Kurdish newspapers and magazines banned, even the words 'Kurd' and 'Kurdistan' omitted from text books, and the Turkish authorities started officially to call the Kurds 'Mountain Turks'. The Turkish Government isolated the region of Kurdistan from the outside world and set up a military administration there. Even the Kurdish costume was banned.

The situation was not much better in Iran, although the conditions of the Kurds in Iraq were fairer. The Kurds of U.S.S.R. enjoy their full national rights.

Throughout this period the ties of brotherhood and solidarity were ever strengthening between the Arabs and Kurds of Iraq in the many battles that were raging, in the revolutions of 1920, resistance to the 1930 Treaty, the massacre of Gaworbghi workers in Kirkuk in 1946, the 1948 uprising against the Portsmouth Treaty and the uprising of 1952.

In 1955, the reactionary Iraqi Government signed the Baghdad Pact with the Turkish, Persian, Pakistani and British Governments. Nuri Al-Said made it clear that the Pact was not only intended against the alleged Communist danger but against the Kurdish national movement too. In fact the Baghdad Pact was first applied to the Kurdish people when the Jowanrodi Kurds (rising against the oppression and excessive taxes of the Persian Government) attempted to withdraw into Iraq, but the fire of the Iraqi police drove them back into Iran — into the fire of Persian troops. The situation further worsened after the establishment of the Hashemite Union.

I have attempted to give a brief account of the national struggle of the Kurdish people in the various regions of Kurdistan, to secure their national rights. It would be noted that the Kurdish national movement is an old, deep-rooted, clearly defined and aims basically to achieve the right of self-determination, to free Kurdistan and achieve the national unity of the Kurdish nation. You would also observe that the Kurdish National Question is not newly born but it is a reflection of the continuous denial of the rights of the Kurdish people. It is a national, not a minority question. Talking of Kurdistan as a nation of nomadic tribesmen is false and entirely outdated. It is a society like any other, with practically the whole population sedentary working mainly on agriculture, with the industry expanding slowly, but surely. It is quite clear, too, that it was imperialism which partitioned Kurdistan and deprived the Kurdish people of its rights. It is therefore natural for the Kurdish national movement to concentrate its fight against imperialism and its reactionary agents.

These were the miserable conditions under which the Kurdish people were enduring. Then the dawn of July 14th heralded the revolution of the Iraqi people, Arabs and Kurds, under the leadership of the gallant Army.

The reaction of the Kurdish people was quick and decisive, without hesitation or doubt they welcomed the Revolution and supported it wholeheartedly, and enthusiastically worked to preserve the Republic against all hostile elements. Then the Provisional Constitution was proclaimed; this Constitution considers in Article III the Arabs and Kurds as partners and recognises their national rights within Iraq. This article which was later adopted by the National Union Front, will truly become the corner stone in the liberation of all Kurdistan and the achievement of the national unity of the Kurdish nation. The Kurds were also delighted when the Coat of Arms of the Iraqi Republic was announced (a Kurdish dagger appears with an Arab sword.)

For the Iraqi people, including the Kurds, the old regime was a terrible nightmare. Its collapse and replacement by a Republican democratic order has opened up new vistas of progress and national prosperity before the Kurds and paved the way for the solution of the Kurdish Question, which can only be solved with the establishment and extension of democracy and the recognition of the right of the Kurds to self-determination.

We therefore feel that the first task of the Kurdish people in Iraq is to preserve the Iraqi Republic and consolidate the gains of the 14th July Revolution. In addition, they must assist their brothers, in every possible way, who suffer from the injustice of the reactionary Turkish and Persian Governments; their brothers across the arbitrary frontiers that separate them. The Arab people in Iraq think of their brothers fighting in Algiers, Aden and Oman. Naturally. The Kurdish people too think of their brethren in Iran, Turkey, Syria and the Soviet Union, sharing their happiness and sorrow.

The Kurdish people, as Mustafa Barzani stated to the *News Chronicle* correspondent in Baghdad, are indivisible and the frontiers that separate them artificial. Thus, the liberation of Iraqi Kurdistan will make it a strong base for the Kurdish national movement to render assistance to the Kurds still within the sphere of imperialism.

Colonel Majid Mohamed Amin, the Military Attorney General in the Peoples' Court in Baghdad, rightly stated in the Court on 25.1.1958 that, 'the sons of the partitioned Kurdish nation look with inspiration and delight to their Kurdish brothers in Iraq who gained their freedom on 14th July . . .

the revolution of the Arabs and Kurds and other nationalities. Today, Iraqi Kurdistan in the Republic is a torch of hope to the sons of Kurdistan everywhere.' It is therefore of exceptional importance to the Kurdish people and their national movement to achieve self-government — administrative and cultural — in Iraqi Kurdistan.

The reactionary rulers of Turkey and Iran began to worry as a result of the freeing of Iraqi Kurdistan, anticipating some unwelcome consequences in the regions forcibly incorporated in their states. Their broadcasts and press started to attack the Iraqi Republic, protesting and shedding crocodile tears on the alleged bad conditions of the Kurds in Iraq! Mr. Menderes met the Shah of Persia and they found a solution for the whole problem by demanding the incorporation of Iraqi Kurdistan into Iran!

The British press then entered the field. The *Daily Telegraph* (10.12.58) stated that, 'Kurdish nationalism is a genuine aspiration but was being exploited by the Russians...' Next day *The Times* correspondent in the Middle East wrote that, 'the Kurds are a powerful minority with a sixth or more of Iraq's total population, with a history of lawlessness and insurrection, and a traditional contempt for Arabs. If serious disaffection could be inspired among them now, Baghdad would be in trouble.' When the incitements to move the Kurds against the republican order failed, these papers concluded in despair that the Kurds were all Communists! Added the *News Chronicle* on 17.12.58, 'The Kurds were Russia's pet Trojan horses long before the 1917 Revolution.'

Incidentally, when some Arab chauvinists began to speculate on the Kurds' intentions, the Iraqi Premier, Abdul-Karim Kassem announced at the Arab Lawyers' Conference in Baghdad that the Kurds had foiled a plot against the Republic in Iraqi Kurdistan and handed over maps and money, given them by plotters, to the government authorities. It is well known now that recent anti-republican plots did not emanate from the Kurdish people, who are loyal to the Arab-Kurdish solidarity and fully co-operate with the Republican authorities. The Premier commended this, saying that, 'we have become a mighty force, frightening the enemy, due to the co-operation of the Arabs and Kurds.'

Following the Revolution, the political parties in Iraqi Kurdistan signed a 'Charter of Co-operation' which included:—

1. The preservation of the Republic and the consolidation of its national and democratic path.

*This solidarity was further demonstrated in the crushing of the Shawaf plot in Mosul.

2. Recognition of the right of the Kurdish people to self-determination.
3. Combating all separatist ideas and movements nurtured by the imperialists, reactionaries and agents to create racial discord or cosmopolitan trends in order to separate Iraqi Kurdistan from the Iraqi Republic. Consolidating the solidarity between the two main nationalities — Arab and Kurd — and developing their common struggle for peace and preservation of the Republican and democratic order.

There are two important points:—

1. The Kurds support the Iraqi Republic absolutely because of the independent foreign policy of the Government, the policy of peaceful co-existence and positive neutrality based on the U.N. Charter and the Bandung Conference, the democratic, anti-imperialist, anti-feudal policy, the many reforms (such as the Agrarian Reform) carried out, which correspond to the deepest aspirations of the Kurdish people.
2. The Kurdish people support the Arab national liberation movement because it is just, anti-imperialist and serves the cause of peace and democracy. They also support the aspiration of the Arab nation for complete independence and national democratic unity.

The Kurds expect that any moves in the future in Iraq towards the Arab Union will be accompanied by steps to extend the Kurdish national rights, such as making the Kurdish language the official language and the language of instruction in schools in Iraqi Kurdistan — the achievement of self-government based on cultural autonomy, and finally the application of the right of self-determination.

Arab-Kurdish friendship is unparalleled in history. It is deep and mutual. It is the basis of their mutual respect for their national rights and their common struggle. Perhaps this explains some remarks by Colonel Mahdawi the President of the Peoples' Court in Baghdad, which implied that, 'The Kurds from Iskanderon to Mahammara will unite by 1960 with the Kurds of Iraq within the Iraqi Republic.'

May be it is a possible solution to the Kurdish Question!

I would like to end this article by quoting a letter from my young brother on the situation in Iraq, for it illustrates our attitude well. He wrote:— 'Brother! We are now in a new era, the era of freedom and peace. We have, fortunately, a leader unique in his selfless service of the people. We love him very much for his modesty and firmness. He holds to Arab-Kurdish brotherhood

and democracy. Today we began enrolling in the Peoples' Militia. We consider this as our duty to the nation in order to preserve the gains of the heroic Republic and the reforms it has carried out. Newroz (Kurdish national day) has become an

official holiday and will be more highly esteemed in the Republic: the Kurds have now a great standing in the Republic. All the Iraqi people, Arabs and Kurds, are solidly united behind their leader, Abdul-Karim Kassem.'



12 YEARS AGO
Qazi Mehemed (left) President of the Kurdish Autonomous Republic of Mehabad was hanged by the Persian Government 12 years ago. On the right is Mustafa Barzani, commander of the armed forces of the Republic, who is now, once again, a 'soldier of the Republic', the Iraqi Republic

The Kurds in Turkey

by JALAL BEYTOSHI, Leipzig, German Democratic Republic

To talk of the Kurdish people, their history and heroic struggle for their independent political structure in Turkey's Kurdistan, it is necessary to go back to study the past of this people and its fights in this part of the world.

To simplify and in order to avoid being charged with partiality we must search for proofs in text books and what the historians have written on the struggle of the Kurdish people. It is also fair to be guided in this by the famous Turkish Traveller Olya Chalabi, who says in his book that there were 11 independent Kurdish states or principalities in the beginning of Sultan Salim's rule, with a flourishing civilisation and 'advanced' science and industry, distributed in Kurdish military triangle between Iran, Iraq and Anadolia Syria and the Caucasus. These states fell before the Ottoman invasions as a result of constant quarrels and disunity.

Yes, they could have resisted but the personal interests of the feudalists and princes were an obstacle. The most important of these principalities were:—

1. Botan, with a population of over 500,000 and one of the best known families was the Azizan.
2. Hakari.
3. Wan.
4. Diarbakir.
5. Bitlis.

I shall briefly describe the last two in the light of Olya's report owing to their importance and their heroic resistance to the Ottoman Turks.

The Diarbakir Principality:—Olya Chalabi states that the Kurdish state in Diarbakir was distinguished by the heroism of its men and the courage of its organised troops during its independence which enabled it to resist the Ottoman invaders for tens of years. The Ottomans could not break through their forts without heavy casualties and then only after employing tens of thousands of troops. Olya frequently referred to the advance of architecture in the Kurdish State of Diarbakir and of its cultural and scientific standard, which is clearly shown in the advancement of medicine, pharmacy, theology, literature, etc.

The Bitlis Principality:—Olya Chalabi states again that it was a great cultural centre containing 20 institutions and more than 70 non-religious schools and many industries especially watch-making. As soon as the Ottomans occupied these principalities they began to rule in the name of religion and intensely spread propaganda for the 'Caliph' which helped them considerably.

But the Kurdish people did not give up the fight. They struggled together with Turkish democrats against the racist policy of the Ottoman leaders. This movement which included armed resistance, lasted from 1875–1886. It was defeated by Turkish-Persian collaboration.

THE KURDS IN THE MUSTAFA KEMAL PERIOD

During the World War I, the Kurdish people suffered heavily, but as the war ended and the Ottoman Empire collapsed they gathered their forces and pressed the world statesmen to grant them their rights. On the other hand the Greeks were attacking Turkey and the Armenians were demanding Qaris and Ardehan. It was then, at a critical time for Turkey that Ataturk appeared. He went to the Kurds, spoke of the Turkish Kurdish friendship, promised them a Kurdish Government and appealed for assistance. The Kurdish leaders responded. So the Turks and Kurds fought unitedly against the Greeks and won. The Kurds also began to demand that the big powers discuss their problem and sent an official delegate 'General Sherif' to represent them in the Peace Conference. The ensuing Sevres Treaty, signed in 1920 recognised in articles 62, 63, 64, the rights of the Kurdish nation to set up an independent state. But these articles of the Sevres Treaty were never carried out and the matter was dropped especially after the Kemalist Coup d'état. The Big Powers then signed the Lausanne Treaty with Turkey which deprived the Kurdish people of all their national rights and Kurdistan was partitioned between the expansionist states.

This is what took place on the stage of international politics and that is what the imperialists wanted for the Kurdish people. But the Kurds fought on to achieve their national aims and to revenge themselves of those who betrayed promises. Secret Societies were formed and calls were issued to the Kurdish people which resulted in revolutions in the regions of Diarbakir, Mardin and Orfa under the leadership of Sheikh Said Pirani. But the revolution was brutally suppressed and Pirani and Dr. Faud were hanged together with 45 other Leaders.

But that was by no means the end of the struggle. This time a political party called Khoybon —

Independence — was formed with branches in many regions in Turkey's Kurdistan working under the slogan — 'Liberation of Kurdistan.' It was this organisation which led the revolution in the region of Agri-Dagh on the Iranian-Turkish frontier under the leadership of Ihsan Nuri. This revolt was also suppressed. The campaign of suppression was accompanied by shameful and monstrous crimes. During the last four decades the situation has worsened. A clique representing the worst form of reaction has taken and sold out the independence of Turkey. The Turkish authorities used all means to preserve the miserable conditions over power in Kurdistan:

1. They spread the idea that the Kurds are of Turkish origin and those claiming to be Kurds are merely dissidents. The appearance of the Kurds is nothing but a result of the work of imperialists wishing to make Turkey divided and thus created this imaginary nationality! They also say that everyone who speaks the Turkish language is Turkish (Turkish is taught compulsorily in Kurdistan).
2. They have formed a gigantic police force, secret and uniformed to terrorise the citizens, who are arrested at the least sign of opposition and without knowing the date of their trial.
3. They have registered all the Kurdish cultural workers and scientists, etc. as Turks — such as the great Kurdish historian Sharaf-khan of Bitlis.
4. The Kurdish language is officially banned.
5. Deportation policy: The Turkish Government deports the Kurds from their regions to the Turkish regions.
6. There is no Kurdish programme — not even a Kurdish song — in the Broadcasts in Turkey, i.e. the Kurdish people in Turkey numbering over seven million are denied their most elementary rights.

This is what the traitorous Turkish Governments have done against the Kurdish people in Turkey. But can the terror succeed? No. The people of Turkey and the Kurdish people in Turkey's Kurdistan will break their chains. Let them say what they will, the Kurds have preserved all their national features and inhabit their own regions and resist the policy of deportation and do not leave in spite of terror and oppression.

Here are the regions inhabited by the Kurdish people in Turkey:

- (a) The regions inhabited almost exclusively by the Kurds, 95%–100%—
1. Hakari; 2. Wan; 3. Agri; (Gerekose); 4. Qaris; 5. Arzerom; 6. Benger; 7. Moshe
 8. Bitlis; 9. Sirt; 10. Mardin; 11. Diarbakir; 12. Malatya; 13. Betunjel (Dersim);

14. Arzenjan; 15. Meresh; 16. Sevas;
17. Razi-Aintap.

- (b) Regions where they form a sizeable proportion:
1. Ankara — the towns of Haimna, Bala and Girsher have Kurdish majorities. 2. Qonya — the Kurds inhabit the regions of Yazghat and Jehanli where they constitute absolute majorities.
- (c) In the region of Nidi Aqsra 50,000 Kurds live.
- (d) In towns in the Adena area, 100,000 Kurds live.
- (e) In Istanbul, 50,000 Kurds live, the figure rising in summer. The main provinces inhabited by the Kurds in Turkey are:

1. Diarbakir — this is an important centre in the heart of Kurdistan; 2. Bitlis; 3. Moshe; 4. Wan; 5. Jabaqchor; 6. Dersim; 7. Qaris; 8. Kerkosh; 9. Mardin.

ROCKET AND ATOMIC BASES

The main Kurdish regions taken by the Turkish Government as military bases near the frontier of the Soviet Union are: 1. Arzerom — where the Turkish third division is stationed under the direction of American militarists. 2. Diarbakir, where airfields have been built especially in the fortified mountain regions. 3. Adena — where American atomic bases have been built. Preparations are being made to build rocket bases there (other atomic and rocket bases are in Izmir and Manis.)

Turkey Reminded of Pledges

The following letter was sent on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe, to Mr. A. Menderes, Turkish Prime Minister during the Greco-Turkish Conference in Zurich:—

The Greece-Turkish Conference opened yesterday in Zurich to find a solution for the Cyprus question; the Executive Committee of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe, wishing for the emergence of a solution for the problem in accord with the interests of the Cypriot people, shall permit itself to review briefly the unhappy conditions under which the five million Kurds live in Turkish Kurdistan in the Eastern provinces of the Republic in order that the Turkish Government may take note of it.

We regret to note that the five million Kurds of Turkey, while suffering as a result of extremely bad economic conditions, are also deprived of all national rights, including the right to study in their own national language.

The Turkish Government goes so far that it even ignores the existence of these five million Kurds. This contradicts what Mr. Ismet Inunu used to declare during the Lausanne Conference in 1922-1923. Indeed, Mr. Inunu used to ascertain during the discussion on the Mosul Question as the conference documents show, that Turkey is a state of two peoples namely the Turkish people and the Kurdish people, that both peoples have absolute rights in participating in the Turkish Government and in full national equality. The miserable conditions of the Kurdish people in Turkey, differ entirely from this picture.

After the failure of the Sevres Treaty in 1920, which decided in favour of establishing an independent Kurdish State or self-governing Kurdish State, the Lausanne Treaty was concluded in 1923

which guaranteed in Articles 38-44 all the non-Turkish elements in Turkey and non-Muslim minorities, minimum cultural rights and freedom of expression and press in their own non-Turkish language. We regret to note that the Turkish Government has not taken into consideration these articles of the Lausanne Treaty, with regard to its Kurdish citizens, who constitute the largest nationality in Turkey after the Turks.

Your Excellency may wish to challenge our estimate of five million Kurds in Turkey. Although we consider this figure correct, probably underestimated, we would remind you that the periodic Bulletin of the Central Bank of the Turkish Republic No. 66, March, 1948, states that the Kurdish language is spoken by 9.16% of the total population of the republic. If we regard your statistics as correct, the Kurdish population will still be about 2,500,000 that is 30 times the number of Turks in Cyprus.

While you are negotiating with the Greek Government to find a solution for the Cyprus Question, to secure the rights of 80,000 to 100,000 Turks on the island, we request you to carry out the promises uttered by the Turkish delegation in the Lausanne Conference, and apply Articles 38, 39 of the Lausanne Treaty in the interests of the Kurds of Turkey and recognise the personality of these as a nationality differing from the Turks and as citizens in the Republic . . . and grant them especially the right to study in their national language and the practicing of any other right born of their national structure within the Turkish Republic."

Copies of the letter were sent to Mr. Karamanlis, Greek Prime Minister, the Secretary General of the United Nations, Human Rights Commission (U.N.). It was also released to the press.

The Kurds in Iran*

A Historic-ethnographic essay by T. F. ARISTOVA

Translation from the Russian by A. N. AL-SAAD, London.

Iran is a multi-national state of more than 18 million people. Its territory is inhabited by peoples differing in social, ethnic, linguistic and religious belonging.

The economic and strategic positions of Iran had made her, since a long time, an arena for the struggle of imperialist states. These have converted Iran, now, not only to a cheap source of raw materials but also to a bridgehead for an attack on the Soviet Union.

The imperialists are utilising the Iranian Government as an aggressive political tool against the Iranian people who are to be used as cannon fodder in the imperialist struggle for world supremacy. These policies of the Anglo-American imperialists contradict the interests of the Iranian people who are suffering from imperialist oppression as well as their own bourgeoisie and feudal lords.

The national liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries after the second world war, at a period in which developed a new general crisis of the world capitalist system, acquired far better strength and political maturity in comparison with the anti-imperialist movement after the first world war. This flame of the emancipation movement involved all the colonised east, and Iran in particular.

Among nationalities of Iran, the Kurds occupy a special position. Like others, they are suffering from the colonial system. The position of the Kurdish people is still more complicated since they are divided between several states: Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria.

The fate of the Kurdish people, who are about seven million, in the present era of crises of the colonial system, represent considerable interest, as in many respects does the fate of the neighbouring peoples of the Middle East.

The centuries old Kurdish history had been influenced by many neighbouring states and peoples. This undoubtedly, has affected the Kurds materially as well as spiritually.

In spite of the foreign influence, the Kurds have preserved up till now their own national culture with inherent specific characteristics. In particular, in spite of age long oppression and forcible political assimilation, the Kurds have preserved their own

national language. This confirms the words of Comrade Stalin about the firmness and colossal resistability of language to forcible assimilation.† The Kurds have also preserved their own national costumes and a series of customs and ceremonies.

The study of the history, origin, development and present cultural and material conditions of the Kurdish people, and in the light of these the, possible, future fate of the Kurdish nation appears to be a proper subject for specialised investigation.

The authoress's present thesis concerns the following problems:—

1. To give a general ethnographic description of the Iran Kurds.
2. To show the sweeping national emancipation movement of the Iran Kurds after the second world war.
3. Illustrate by ethnographic material the different fates of the 'foreign' and Soviet Kurds, and compare the two systems (Capitalist and Socialist) and show the change in the life and culture of the Soviet Kurds as a result of the Leninist-Stalinist national policy.

Theoretically and methodologically, the thesis had been based on classical Marxist-Leninist works, in particular the works of Stalin on the national question and his work 'The economic problems of socialism in the U.S.S.R.'

The authoress, in her work, has followed the direction of the well known position of Comrade Stalin. 'Each nation — all alike large and small — has its own qualitative peculiarities which belong to it alone and which are not possessed by others. these peculiarities, in each nation, are deposited in the general treasure of world culture, enriching and supplementing it.'**

The thesis consists of an introduction, five chapters, and conclusions. There is also a supplement as well as an album illustrating the material. Material on the Kurds living in the Armenian S.S.R. had been gathered by the authoress during a visit to the Soviet Armenias' Kurds in 1951.

The first chapter surveys literature on the Kurds in general and Iran Kurds in particular. This is followed by, the far from complete, ethnographic information chiefly concerning all Kurds without specific isolation of the Iran Kurds.

* The essay was written in 1953 as the authoress' thesis for the degree of candidate of Historical Science at the Institute of Ethnography, Academy of Sciences, USSR.

† Stalin—*Marxism and the Language Question*.

** Stalin in a speech at a dinner given in honour of a Finnish Governmental delegation on 7th April 1948—*Bolshevik* 1948 No. 7.

Most of the works about the Kurds published in Western Europe, had been written by travellers and missionaries. A great number of books devoted to the Kurdish Question were published from the 19th to the beginning of the 20th centuries, in German and French. In the present time considerable number of works on the Kurds had been published in English. Many of these works reflect racist and chauvinistic tendencies (works of Ripla, Booshan, Brown, Jackson, Shultz and others.)

Some insignificant material is from literature in the Persian language: (Afshar, Nader, Chokhraz and others), and the work of M. Kaeykhan *The general geography of Iran* (1931), A. Razmar *The Military geography of Iran* (1941), R. Yasem *Kurds and their historic and ethnic origin* (1945), from the *Geographic dictionary of the population of Iran*.

The literature on the Persian language propagates the Pan-Iranian theory, that Kurds according to culture, language and religion are Persians (Abbasi, Cendzhabi, R. Yasemi).

Neglect towards the ethnographic study of the Iran Kurds is explained by the self-conceited policy of assimilation followed by the Iranian Government. This makes a feeble attempt to prove that Kurds belong to 'The great and proud Iranian nation' and that Kurds are 'Pure Iranians'.

In the Russian literature until the first half of the 19th century; in the articles of the magazine *Caucasus*, *The Caucasus news department of the Russian Geographical Society*, *Transactions of the Russian Geographical Society*, *Collected material on Asia*, *Collected material describing countries and tribes of the Caucasus*, and others, numerous fragmentary information on the ethnography of the Kurds had been reported by different authors (Arakelyan, Gagaren, Kartsev, Mašsalski, Maximovith-Vasilkoviski, Khanekov, Zeodlits, Kamcarakan, Khachaturov, Maoonzel and others).

At the end of the first half of the 19th century, works by Russian authors, dedicated especially to the Kurds and their ethnography, began to appear (Obovyan, Larkh, Egiazarov). Of these, the researches of Larkh, alone are dedicated to Kurds of Iran. The rest of the authors examine the ethnography of Transcaucasus Kurds.

In contrast to West European, as well as Iranian authors, the majority of the Russian investigators are factual. They show that the Kurdish people do have a culture of their own.

Armed with the progressive Marxist-Leninist theory, Soviet specialists on the Kurds, a large number of whom are Kurdish scientific workers, have continued and developed the progressive tendency of the Russian scientists, achieving consider-

able success in the study of history, language and ethnography of the Kurdish people. Abundant material on the history, economics and ethnography of the Kurds is contained in the newspapers *The New East* (1925), *The Agrarian Problem* (1931), the magazine *The Dawn of the East* (1925), *Material on the National-Colonial Problem* (1934), *The Soviet Ethnography* (1949, 1951, 1952). Valuable and interesting material on the ethnography of Iran Kurds is contained in the work of O. L. Vilchevsky 'Kurds of North-West Iran', which is in the form of a short essay. Last but not least, the works of the Kurds: (Amir Avdal, Adzhie Dzhendi, Ch. Bakaev, K. Koordoev).

The second chapter gives general information about the Kurds (where they are settled in the country and their numbers, religion and language, and available ethnographic information) as well as a short historic essay and information (data) about Kurdish tribes in Iran. The historical essay shows that all the history of the Kurdish people is filled with struggle against conquerors (Romans, Arabs, Seljuks, etc.), by preserving their independent culture, language and political independence. The short historical essay covers the period from ancient times up to the second world war. One third of a chapter is devoted to the material conditions and culture of the Iran Kurds from the 19th to the 20th century (occupations, dwellings, women's costumes and ornaments, men's costumes and arms, utensils and food, social and domestic relations, music, dancing and religion).

The social system of the Iran Kurds is characterized by feudal relationships. Their fundamental occupations are cattle breeding and agriculture. Cattle breeding appears to be the main occupation of nomadic and semi-nomadic Kurds, and is based chiefly on breeding small horned cattle (goats). Breeding big horned cattle (buffalos, cows and bulls) have secondary importance.

Agriculture is widespread, to unequal degrees, almost everywhere except at the regions of high mountains.

The food is, fundamentally, from agricultural products: barley, wheat, maize, lentil, sugar-beet and rice here and there. Of industrial crops, tobacco is widespread, vegetable crops are also widespread. The earth of Iran Kurdistan is fertile, but it is treated by primitive tools — a characteristic of the whole of Iran. These are, on the whole, wooden ploughs with iron tips. Other tools used in agriculture processes are: boards for thrashing corn, wooden shovels, pitch forks and similar.

Many Kurds make a living by making and trading in carpets, felts and other woolen goods. Kurdish

carpets, according to their manufacture, may be divided into proper or nap carpets and non-pile carpets. The first category are attributed to: 'Khankefi', 'Emani', 'Cenne', 'Mina-khani'. The second type are the carpets of 'Zili' or 'Bar' and 'Dzhardzhi'. There are detailed drawings of different types of Kurdish carpets.

Felts manufactured by the Kurds are of two types: 'khoresani' — the best quality and 'kolav' which is rougher and gets a worse treatment than the 'khoresani'.

In addition the Iran Kurds make men's waist-coats and caps. From woollen articles: bags, men's, women's and children's socks and stockings, and linen for tents are made.

Kurdish villages are usually divided into several blocks, which are from two to four or more. On the plains few of the towns or villages of Iran Kurds differ from the Persian, Armenian or Azerbaijani villages. The characteristic buildings here are the mud houses with flat roofs.

The chapter also describes Kurdish dwellings with cupola shaped roofs.

Irrespective of building materials; the Kurdish summer quarters, in the interior layout and to a considerable extent in construction, frequently, appear almost of the same type for all settled Kurds.

Cupola shaped roofs are the characteristics of the upper apartments. In the centre of the cupola there is an opening for light and smoke (there being no windows).

Such summer dwellings may consist of one or several apartments of square or rectangular shapes. Quality and dimensions depend on the prosperity of the owner. The homes of poor Kurds (the fundamental masses of the population), consist, usually, of one apartment which serves as a dwelling as well as for the upkeep of cattle. With prosperous Kurds, there are special places for accommodating sheep, cattle, etc. Parts of the house are joined by corridors.

Nomadic as well as semi-nomadic Kurds live in the mountains in summer where tents serve as living quarters. The anti-room side of the tent, as a rule, is opened orientated to the east. The back and lateral sides are protected by the section sloping from above and roughly half a meter to the ground. In winter tents are divided, by means of curtains or screens, to several sections.

Available information about the costumes of Iran Kurds describe those existing in the Armenian S.S.R. of the 'Brook' tribe, a considerable fraction of which lives in the North-West of Iran.

The characteristic national costume of the women of Iran Kurds is the woollen knitted belt—

'pishte', the head-dress which has the appearance of a silk clothing or fez, made from cloth and decorated with coins; as well as the absence of yashmak. An inalienable and important part of women's costumes are the numerous adornments (of ears, neck, breasts, wrists and feet).

The description of the male costumes of Iran Kurds is given in the data.

Utensils used by the Kurds may be classified according to the materials they are made from (copper, clay, stone and cast iron).

A chapter investigates the problem of storing food (grains, meat and dairy products). The food of Kurds populating the valleys and occupied in farming is mainly from crops and vegetable dishes. In the food of semi-nomadic and nomadic Kurds, meat and dairy products predominate over crops and vegetables.

A highly original national art had been created by the Kurds. Round dancing 'Govend' is very popular. 'Govend' is of two varieties: a special dance with leaps—'chopi' and a smooth dance—'Nerm'.

The analysis of the material and spiritual culture of the Iran Kurds permits the following conclusions:—

The material and spiritual culture of the Iran Kurds present itself as the produce of centuries old historic development of the proud Kurdish people. It refutes the false racialist 'theory' about the absence of any kind of culture among nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples especially the Kurds.

At the same time one observes, in the culture of the Kurdish people, some distinctions of the other peoples of the Caucasus and the Middle East. This is the result of the prolonged economic, historic and cultural links between the Kurdish and neighbouring peoples.

The development of the national culture of Iran Kurds is hindered by the policy of pan-Iranism followed by the reactionary Iranian Government, and national assimilation to which the Kurds are subjected to.

The fourth chapter examines the national liberation movement of the Iran Kurds after the second world war.

Enormous influence on the awakening of the consciousness of the eastern peoples, including the Kurdish people, had been exerted by the Russian Revolution of 1905 and the Great October Socialist Revolution. With this influence, and up to the post-war period, the struggle of the Kurdish people for their own national liberation stood, partly, as the general struggle of the colonial people against

imperialism. In Iran after the second world war, the Kurdish national liberation movement had a high reputation among all the Iranian people. In 1945, the Democratic Party of Kurdistan was created.

As a result of the development of the national liberation movement in the North-West Iran region (Iranian Kurdistan), a Kurdish autonomous government was formed headed by the democratic Party of Kurdistan.

The merits of the D.P.K., like the Democratic Party of Iran Azerbaijan, were—that they carried out extremely significant measures of democratic characters (universal and free instructions in schools in the native language, the opening of national theatres, etc.), This offered the possibility of solving the national question on democratic basis.

The endeavour of the Iran Kurds to achieve their national liberation after the war ended in failure. All their democratic achievements were trampled under foot by the Iranian reactionaries with the active participation of the Anglo-American imperialists.

The struggle of the Kurdish people for liberation did not end, but it is at present more closely connected with the movement of all the Iranian people for the creation of a really democratic Iranian Government.

The fifth chapter deals with changes in the economy, culture and life of the Kurds living in Soviet Armenia.

The Kurds in the U.S.S.R. are safe from persecution and national assimilation which they suffer abroad—in Iran, Turkey, etc. Material conditions offer the possibility of contrasting the life and well-being of U.S.S.R. and Iran Kurds, not only generally but also on a special example of the 'Brook' tribe which lives in both Iran and U.S.S.R.

In Tsarist Russia the Kurds belonged to one of the very oppressed nomadic peoples.

During the Soviet rule, the Kurdish economy has attained unprecedented successes. In the U.S.S.R. the Kurds have once and for all altered towards a permanent way of life as the result of the setting up of collective farms among Kurdish peasants. This has brought them prosperity.

Armenia's Kurds have carried out big work on the development of stock-raising. Each collective farm has specialised farms: sheep and goat breeding and poultry farms.

For the successful development of the collective farms economy for better cultivation of the land and increase in its crops capacity, various forms of organisation of labour had been adopted. In mixed collective farms, men and women of different nationalities work together side by side (Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Kurds). Many teams in the collective farms are headed not only by Kurdish men but women as well.

With the growth and consolidation of the collective farms' economy, collective farmers became more prosperous. Kurdish population started living in new houses with neat, spacious and airy rooms. The great majority of these new houses have electricity and radios.



PERSIAN CRIMES NOT FORGOTTEN

A Persian gendarme holding by the hair the head of the dead Kurdish leader 'Simko' who led the movement for Kurdish self-government in the 'twenties. He was—together with other leaders—invited for negotiations with the Persian authorities but was murdered in Ushnu in a dirty plot (he was asked to parade to have his photo taken and was then murdered).

About the Kurds of the U.S.S.R.

COMMENTARY ON "REYA TEZE"—THE KURDISH JOURNAL FROM EREVAN,

by M. BASIL NIKITINE

(From *The Chronicle of Kurdish Sociology* No. 2, June 1958) in 'L'Afriqne et L'Asie' No. 43 1958

Translated by M. MERDAN, England.

The Kurdish journal *Reya Teze* is published in Erevan by the Communist Party of Soviet Armenia, and has appeared since 1945 in the Cyrillic Alphabet. It provides many points of interest on the development of the Kurdish minority in that region. In the discussion, the accent is on agricultural work, and the changes in rural life in the collective-farms; one learns, then, of very comfortable houses, running water, electricity, schools, sport, medical services, cinemas, broadcasting, clubs and co-operative stores. Movements of flocks has not lessened, but breeding is practised in winter in a very rational manner (using stables, silos of forage and veterinary care).

The main theme is on the increasing of the products of breeding, such as milk, meat and wool. The swine-herds and shepherds who obtain the best results are honoured, and their names and pictures featured in the journal's columns. The subject of hours of work and amount of wages for the collective farm workers raises many discussions. At annual general meetings the collective farms obtaining the best results are quoted as examples to follow, and their hard working members, consequently are rewarded with money and produce. In contrast, the badly managed collective farms are nailed to the pillory, and lack of labour discipline severely criticised. The tasks of agriculture,

sowing, harvesting, construction, are very closely followed. There are many indications given of the successes achieved by the tractor-drivers or by the combine-harvester teams, and their faults criticised, along with the bad state of sheep folds, of agricultural machinery (M.T.S.), etc. Wall-newspapers, Socialist Competition, the Komsomal (Young Communists) all play a big part and are often discussed.

The country elections for the local Soviets recognise Kurdish candidates, and then at that time give information in party literature on Kurdish customs and culture.

One concludes that in Soviet Armenia there exists a separate Kurdish community which may, one day, make claims in the line of a general national movement, in so far as its particular way of life and outlook is not made into an obstacle by the neighbouring groups of Kurds. As for economic development, it does not seem that the development of private property has harmed the development of the community. The collective farm and the tribe warrant study in comparison.

N.B.—A detailed article on the subject, based on a paper delivered to the Congress of Oriental Studies, held in Munich in 1957, will appear in the revue *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* of Warsaw in 1959.

The Gorky Institute, U.S.S.R., and the 'Kurd Epic Songs'

The journal *Soviet Literature*, 10th Number, 1958, published the following news item:—

"The Gorky Institute of World Literature has undertaken the publication of a series of books called *Epos of the People of the U.S.S.R.*, which is being prepared in co-operation with the institutes of literature of the Union Republics.

The preparation of the first book, *Kurd Epic Songs*, has already been compiled jointly with the Institute of Literature of the Armenian Academy of Sciences.

This is the first time that the finest songs and tales of the Kurd people are presented so fully. The book contains originals of the Kurd epos, their translations into the Russian language, the melodies of these songs, recorded by the Armenian Composer, Komitas, and commentaries."

This fact was discussed at the Conference of K.S.S.E. United Kingdom Branch, and the Editor of this journal was instructed to communicate with the Gorky Institute on behalf of the Branch. The following letter dated 25/1/1959, was subsequently sent:

The Director,
Gorky Institute,
Moscow.

Dear Friend,

I am writing to you on behalf of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe — United Kingdom Branch. I have been instructed by the Conference of this branch, held in London on the 27th December, 1958, to convey to you our sincere gratitude for the magnificent work being done on Kurdish literature by the Gorky Institute. We have just

learnt through the medium of the monthly *Soviet Literature* — 10th English Edition for 1958, of the completion of the book *Kurd Epic Songs*, with originals of the Kurdish epos, their translations into the Russian language, the melodies of these songs recorded by the Armenian composer, Komitas, and commentaries.

For us Kurdish people this is truly a land mark in the history of our culture, and speaks well for the cultural development of all nationalities in the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

We Kurds who do not live in the U.S.S.R. strongly desire to read and study this unique book, and therefore our Society begs you to prepare for us a special edition of this book, printed as follows:

1. As far as Kurdish is concerned, in the Kurdish Latin Alphabet.
2. Omitting the translation into the Russian language.
3. with the texts of the songs, and with their accompanying melodies, in the Kurdish Latin Alphabet.
4. The Kurdish translations of the commentaries, using the Kurdish Latin Alphabet, to be included.

We know that you will appreciate the fact that the use of the Cyrillic Alphabet will greatly limit study of this book outside the U.S.S.R.

The awakening of the Kurdish people, especially after the recognition of their national rights by the new Republican Order in Iraq, has produced a great demand for such cultural works as this. If you could possibly prepare such an edition, and we beg you to do so, we would guarantee ordering it

on a large scale for distribution and sale at least in Iraq, and probably also in Syria and Iran.

We enclose for your general interest a copy of *Kurdistan — Divided Nation of the Middle East*, and the third issue of our magazine KURDISTAN.

Yours fraternally,

SALAH SAADALLA.

The Institute very kindly sent the following reply dated 16/3/1959:

Dear Friend,

Permit me to express my deep gratitude for the publications on Kurds and Kurdistan you were kind enough to send us. We examined them with great interest and undoubtedly they will be of considerable aid in our research work on culture of the Kurdian people.

The book you have asked about in your letter, namely *Kurd Epic Songs* was prepared by the research workers of our Institute in collaboration with Manoc Abegyan Literary Institute (Armenia). Since the interest in Kurdian Epic Songs, as well as in the epic songs of other nations is very widely spread among Russian readers, the text of that book is given both in the Kurdian and Russian languages.

As soon as the book is off the press, which will probably be early next year, we shall forward it to you.

Sincerely,

ARPHO PETROSYAN,

Deputy Director,

Gorky Institute of World Literature,
Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., Moscow.

Newroz Celebrations

The Kurdish people celebrated Newroz — the Kurdish National Day — 21st March in the various cities and towns of Kurdistan. This feast of Spring and Freedom was celebrated freely for the first time in Iraqi Kurdistan, as a result of the recognition of the Kurdish national rights embodied in the Provisional Republican Constitution following the 14th July revolution.

PREMIER KASSEM HONOURS THE CELEBRATIONS

The biggest Newroz celebration took place in Bagdad on 23rd March. Premier Abdul Karim Kassem honoured the occasion. Entering the hall, he was loudly cheered. He stayed for two hours. There was a moving scene as he rose to leave, the Kurdish girls in national costume surrounded him,

held him and requested him to stay; Premier Kassem did.

Before leaving, the Prime Minister — planner of the glorious 14th July Revolution and founder of the Republic of Iraq — addressed the meeting. He congratulated them on the occasion of Newroz, the national feast of the Kurdish people as he called it. It was then that he declared that 'to complete your happiness with this feast — Newroz — we shall announce an important event to the people and the world.' Three days later, Iraq officially withdrew from the Baghdad pact. He also said that 'we will have another revolution next month.'

Members of the Peoples' Court, the Soviet Ambassador, delegates from Peoples' China, German Democratic Republic and Bulgaria were

present. The meeting was opened by Dr. Sadiq Atroshi. Mr. Jamal Al-Haydari, a leader of the Iraqi Communist Party, and Mr. Hamza Abdulla, leader of the United Democratic Party of Kurdistan, delivered speeches.

Many Kurdish songs and dances were presented; perhaps the finest dance was performed by the

Feyli Kurds — of the Kurdish Community in Baghdad.

What a change from the days of the old regime when Newroz celebrations were banned!

Other Newroz celebrations took place in Suleimaniya, Arbil, Kirkuk, Duhok, Zakho, Aqra, Amadia, Khaneqin, Mandali and other towns of Iraqi Kurdistan.

Newroz in Europe

BERLIN. The Kurdish students in Berlin held a party on 21st March to celebrate their national day. The party was also attended by many Arab and German friends.

Mr. Mustafa Saydo delivered a speech of welcome. The party started with the Song of Newroz. Mr. Kemal Fuad, Chairman of the Germany Branch of the K.S.S.E., spoke briefly on the origin of Newroz and the history of the Kurdish people. He condemned the assimilation policy applied by the Turkish, Persian and Syrian Governments against the Kurdish people, and thanked the stand of the Iraqi Republic towards the Kurds. He stated also that the Kurds were not followers of Separatism, but supported voluntary union on the basis of brotherhood, equality and mutual recognition of national rights.

Mr. Kadhim Al-Qorayshi, representing the Iraqi Students' Society in Germany, commended Arab-Kurdish friendship and partnership.

A tea-party followed the presentation of recorded Kurdish songs.

Following the interval, Mr. Abdulla Omar recited the Newroz Song, translated into Arabic; then Mrs. Pirshang Adib also recited selected verses of Kurdish poetry by Kamuran. Miss Mariana then read in German a Kurdish poem called *Fatherland* by Dr. Kamuran Bedir-Khan.

Herr Hilmad Kadanik, after thanking the K.S.S.E., said that the 'German people bear the responsibility for two costly World Wars. However, there are still some people who think of waging a third World War, more destructive than any other before. This calls for vigilance and increased efforts to preserve the World Peace.'

VIENNA. Newroz was celebrated in Vienna, Austria, with a party attended by about 80 students, mainly Iraqis, Syrians and Jordanians. Guests included the Iraqi Consul in Vienna.

Speeches were delivered on Newroz. The support of the Kurdish people to the Republic of Iraq was emphasised, an example being the active part played by the Kurds in suppressing the counter-revolutionary Anti-Republican and U.A.R. inspired rebellion led by Shawaf in Mosul.

Omar Dizayi presented some songs. Serdar played on the guitar and Abdul-Razzaq Al-Maini spoke on current affairs.

LONDON. On the occasion of the Kurdish New Year — Newroz — the U.K. Branch of the K.S.S.E. staged a social function at the Mahatma Ghandi Hall. The programme was colourful and well arranged. It included some very lively Kurdish national dances from various parts of Kurdistan. The audience was visibly impressed by these performances; though amongst the Society members there were neither sopranos nor crooners, nevertheless a number of national songs — both patriotic and romantic — were sung by the existing talent.

Invitations were sent to various students', bodies and individuals. The response was encouraging. To mention some, representatives of the Iraqi Students' Society, The Arab Students' Union, The Pakistani Youth League and the British-Asian and Overseas Socialist Fellowship were present. Individuals came in great numbers. The Iraqi friends participated in the night's programme, and so did the Pakistani friends.

But the night was not all song and dance entertainment, a number of speeches were delivered. First the Secretary of the U.K. Branch, T. M. Amin, gave a short account of Newroz, Kurdish history, and the present and future democratic aspirations of the Kurdish people. Further, the General-Secretary of the I.S.S., Dhia-al-Iqabi, delivered a short speech in which he expressed the fundamental spirit of brotherhood that exists among Arabs and Kurds under the democratic Republic. In reply Salah Saadalla reciprocated the sentiments and confirmed in even stronger terms the unbreakable partnership between the two. The Secretary of the Pakistani Youth League expressed kind sentiments, and of their mutuality he was assured.

Altogether it was a successful night which indeed helped a bond of amity among the Kurds and the other people present.

NEWROZTAN PİROZ BE DİLÊKÎ ŞAD,
BE AŞTÎ BI JÎN SERBEST Û AZAD



CELEBRATING 'NEWROZ—THE KURDISH NATIONAL FEAST—IN LONDON

A group of young Kurds perform a national dance. Left to right: Rifat, Shaban, Abdel-Rezzaq, Tariq, Mohamed, Nozad, Jela.

PREMIER KASSEM SPEAKS OF THE IDEAL UNIVERSITY OF BAGHDAD

Addressing the first Conference of the Union of Teachers in Iraq, Premier Kassem said that the University of Baghdad will be proclaimed soon. It will be made an Ideal University. Premier Kassem said: 'We shall disregard the cost for the sake of science and the flourishing of culture. We shall endeavour to lay the foundation stone of the University before the next July 14th at all costs. The University will cater for 12,000 students.'

THE MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL

An important and very interesting 10-page essay on 'The Kurds and the Revolution in Iraq' by Mr. C. J. Edmonds appears in the *Middle East Journal*, Volume 13, Number 1, Winter, 1959 with a page devoted to the Third Congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe.

IRAQ STUDENTS

The Iraqi Students held a Conference to found their Union. Delegates attended from all Colleges,

Secondary and Intermediate Schools (except the Military Schools). The Government has already recognised the Union. A letter was sent to this Conference on behalf of K.S.S.E. Executive Committee wishing the Conference success and urging continued efforts to further consolidating the Republic and strengthening Kurdish Arab solidarity.

KURDISH STUDENTS IN TURKEY

A correspondent informed the K.S.S.E. that an organisation of Kurdish Students in Turkey has just been formed. The Central Committee of this Students' Union (which is underground owing to the absence of Democratic rights in Turkey), has declared its wish to strengthen relations with K.S.S.E.

THE SPRING FESTIVAL OF I.S.S. IN U.K.

The Acting Cultural Attaché of the Iraqi Embassy, Mr. Abboud Al-Baldawi addressed the opening ceremony of the traditional annual Spring Festival of the Iraqi Students in U.K. This year's Festival was held in Sandown I.W. at the end of March for four days. The Festival was filmed. It was highly successful, the attendance reached 260, a record.

Activities of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe

UNITED KINGDOM BRANCH

The U.K. Branch of the K.S.S.E. held its Annual General Meeting on 27/12/1958. It was attended by 24 delegates.

A letter of greeting was received from the Branch of K.S.S.E. in Germany. Mr. Said Taha, the Acting President of the Arab Students' Union in U.K. brought the fraternal greetings of his organisation to the conference.

Reports were presented by the Secretary, the Treasurer, and the Librarian, together with a short report from the Editor of KURDISTAN — a lively discussion followed. It was resolved:

1. To send a letter of greetings to His Excellency, Major-General Abdul-Karim Kassem — Iraqi Premier — in support of the sentences passed by the People's Court and to request their execution, support of the Agrarian Reform Law and to emphasise Arab-Kurdish solidarity. (This letter was sent and received wide publicity in Iraq—EDITOR).
2. To issue a press statement emphasising Arab-Kurdish solidarity and refuting false statements about alleged the malcontent among Iraqi Kurds.
3. To instruct the Editor of KURDISTAN to send a letter of thanks to the Gorky Institute of 'World Literature' in Moscow for their publication of the *Kurd Epic Songs*, and requesting its publication in a special edition.
4. To send letters of protests to the Turkish and Iranian Government condemning their treatment of the Kurds and referring to the forcible eviction of Kurdish tribes from Iran into Iraq.
5. To contact the Afro-Asian students' organisations to strengthen relations and to request affiliation.
6. To celebrate the Kurdish National Day — Newroz — and set up a special committee to organise a party on that occasion.
7. To hold two lectures on the 'Kurdish Question' soon.
8. to publish a Branch magazine in Arabic called *Seda Kurdistan* under the direction of the Editor of KURDISTAN — this magazine will be sold mainly in Iraq.
9. To recommend the publication of a magazine in French and German by the Austria, Switzerland and German branches.

The Branch Committee elected consisted of:—

Mr. Fnad Karim—*Chairman*.

Mr. Tahsin Amin—*Secretary*.

Mr. Ahmed Saadi—*Editor of 'Seda Kurdistan'*.

Mr. Shawqi Aziz—*Treasurer*.

Miss Nazdar Rashid Jawdat—*Member*.

The Conference ended with delegates singing the Kurdish National Song — *Kurdistan Kurdistan*.

SWITZERLAND

The Switzerland Branch of the K.S.S.E. held its Annual Meeting in Geneva at the end of 1958. The meeting:—

1. Adopted unanimously all the resolutions carried by the Third Congress and supported the work of the Executive Committee and the Society.
2. Adopted a resolution calling on the Executive Committee to write a letter to the Iraqi Government supporting the petition of a group of Kurdish educationists for the extension of Kurdish schools in Iraqi Kurdistan and the teaching of the geography and history of Kurdistan.
3. Decided unanimously to call on the Executive Committee to request the Iraqi Government to establish a Kurdish broadcast or extend the present Kurdish programmes especially in the dialects of Kurdistan of Turkey and Iran so that the Kurds of these parts of the Kurdish nation may benefit from the existing freedom due to the Iraqi Revolution.
4. To protest to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations against the plan of bombing Kurdistan with atomic bombs and publish the protest, together with a comment, as a pamphlet, and circulate it to the international press and international circles.
5. To form a special Committee to organise contacts with Iranian Kurdistan (the Committee was formed of three members all from Iranian Kurdistan).
6. To write to the press which publishes articles on the 'Kurdish Question' and collect what is published in newspapers on Kurdistan and send it to the Kurdish journals.
7. To call on the Executive Committee to send an open letter to the Iranian public opinion and the Iranian Government on the 'Kurdish Question' calling on Iran to carry out reforms in Iranian Kurdistan and to cease the attacks on the Iraqi Republic. It also decided to publish this open letter as a pamphlet.

Branch Committee was elected, consisted of three:—

1. A Kurdish Colleague from Iranian Kurdistan—*President*.
2. Hasan Sulaiman—*Secretary*.
3. Qadir Ziyad Gafuri—*Treasurer*.

GERMANY

The Branch Committee of the K.S.S.E. in Germany held meetings in Berlin on 29 and 30/12/58. The Committee:—

1. Accepted all the resolutions of the Third Congress and supported the activities of the Society thereafter.
2. Decided to contact all the Kurdish Students in Germany.
3. Decided to hold a party in Germany on the occasion of Newroz on 21st March, 1959 and to hold a General Meeting of the Branch in

Germany about the same time. It also decided to invite the Switzerland and Austrian Branches of the K.S.S.E. to participate. The party to be held in Munich, if these branches could participate, otherwise to take place in Mainz.

AUSTRIA

The Austrian Branch of the Kurdish Students' Society has been active recently. Apart from intensified efforts to organise all Kurdish students in Austria the Branch has:—

1. Printed the Rules of the Society in German.
2. Translated from Kurdish and published a collection of poems in German by Dr. Kamuran Aali Bedir-Khan.
3. Published a booklet (illustrated) called *Kurdistan in the Way to Freedom*.

Changes in the Executive Committee

The Executive Committee of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe has elected Salah Saadalla as the new Vice-President of the Society, following the resignation of Mr. Wurya Rowandozi the former Vice-President from the Executive Committee. He has also taken over as the Acting President owing to the sudden illness of the President.

Saadi Amin the Assistant General Secretary of the K.S.S.E. has taken over as the Acting General Secretary, owing to the absence of the General Secretary, Dara al-Salihi in Iraq. Mr. Al-Salihi's

application for a re-entry visa to Britain, for the purpose of further academic studies and training, has been refused, which has led the E.C. of the K.S.S.E. to protest and request Mr. R. A. Butler the British Home Secretary to intervene personally so that the authorities concerned may grant Mr. Al-Salihi a re-entry visa to Britain.

All communications to the Society should be addressed to: The Acting Secretary,
Kurdish Students' Society in Europe,
c/o 37 King Street, London, W.C.2., England.

A Press Statement and President Nasser's Comments

The Secretariat of the K.S.S.E., issued a press statement in London on 21/12/58 explaining that the 1,500,000 Kurds of Iraq strongly support the Republican Government. It pointed out that four million Kurds in Turkey and three million Kurds in Iran are absolutely denied any national rights and are brutally oppressed, while in Iraq the Kurds enjoy many national rights. The provisional constitution declares them partners with the Arabs.

The press statement also referred to the agreement reached by the political parties in Iraqi Kurdistan in which they pledge to fight against separatist tendencies.

PRESIDENT NASSER COMMENTS

Our Society, in the absence of the General Secretary, Dara T. Salihi received the following letter dated 15/1/1959 from Mr. Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic.

Dear Mr. Salihi,

I am writing to thank you for the Press Release and the valuable commentary contained dealing with the relation between the Kurds and Arabs in the Iraq republic. I should like to point out in this connection that the intriguing spirit between the Kurds and Arabs is an imperialist machination fostered with a view to dissension and shaking the loyalty of our brothers, the Kurds towards the Arab world.

But the steadfast loyalty coupled with their firm belief and foresight outmanouvred imperialist designs. It is much to our satisfaction to find a spirit of peace and sincere collaboration pervading the relations between both elements in Iraq as citizens of equal rights and obligations working collectively for the stability of the republic. With regards.

Yours sincerely, GAMAL ABDEL NASSER,
President of the United Arab Republic.

EDITOR:—The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe issued another statement welcoming President Nasser's letter and, at the same time pointing out to the deterioration of the conditions of the Kurds in Syria (see Editorial) and requesting him to use his powers to halt the anti-Kurdish drive in Syria and grant the Kurds their elementary national and cultural rights and restore democratic rights . . .

However, the situation of the Kurds in Syria has worsened further. While in Iraq, the national conditions of the Kurdish people are improving

rapidly, thanks to the Republican Government, led by Premier Kassem.

We consider the hostile attitude of the U.A.R. authorities towards the democratic Republic of Iraq quite incompatible with the spirit of President Nasser's letter. The persecution of the Kurds in Syria does not endear the U.A.R. policy to us, neither does the attacks on the Iraqi Government and its leader, Premier Kassem who planned the liberation of Iraq including Iraqi Kurdistan. It is high time to stop the attacks against Iraq, and cease the persecution of the Kurds in Syria.

Kurdish Students apply to join I.U.S.

The President of the K.S.S.E., Ismet Cheriff, has sent a letter on behalf of the Executive Committee, to the I.U.S., thanking it for adopting a resolution during the Peking Conference of the I.U.S. 'condemning the policy of the Turkish Government against the five million Kurds in Turkey and for depriving them to study in their national language, and supporting their just demands to enjoy their national rights. It also thanked the I.U.S. and its anti-colonial department for publishing the final

communiqué of the Third Congress of the K.S.S.E. and for providing us with I.U.S. publications.

The letter also drew the attention of the I.U.S. to the K.S.S.E. letters of 14th August, 1958 and 11th December, 1958, requesting the admission of K.S.S.E. to I.U.S. as an affiliated member representing the Kurdish students in Europe. The letter renewed the application for admission. We trust that the I.U.S. will adopt a positive attitude to our application and admit our Society.

The Press Secretary of the Iraqi Council of Ministers writes to K.S.S.E.

The Vice-President of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe has received the following letter from Major Naaman Mahir, Press Secretary to the Cabinet in Baghdad:—

The Vice-President of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe, Vienna, Austria.

"I have received with thanks, your letter 9/9/1959, together with the two magazines. I have also received your letter addressed to His Excellency the Prime Minister and showed it to him. He was very pleased and expressed his admiration for your efforts.

In thanking your sincere efforts to consolidate the liberation movement in our precious Republic the joint aspiration of the two noble peoples, the Arabs and Kurds, where the sincere elements of these peoples stood up to imperialism and co-operated to defeat it, and God gave them victory. I wish you steady progress and pray that God will guide our steps to serve our nation under the leadership of our inspiring leader and saviour Abdul-Karim Kassem.

With best wishes,,

MAJOR NAAMAN MAHIR,"
Press Secretary to the Cabinet, Baghdad.

This was in reply to a letter from the Vice-President of K.S.S.E. to the Iraqi Premier congratulating him on 'foiling the plot against the Iraqi people and their popular democratic government', assuring him of full support for the steps taken to strike at the conspirators and the imperialist agents who are attempting to overthrow the popular regime for which the Iraqi people, Arabs and Kurds well remember the heavy toll of sacrifices made to achieve it. 'Out Society,' he continued, 'which has decided to defend the Iraqi Republic whether in letters to the United Nations' Secretary, to the Human Rights Commission of U.N. or through the medium of its magazine *Kurdistan*, deems it necessary to warn our Kurdish brothers in Iraq to be more vigilant against the conspiracies and machinations of imperialism and its agents."

NOTE:

ALL communications to this magazine should be addressed to:

THE EDITOR OF 'KURDISTAN',
40 Wheatstone Road,
Southsea, Hants., England.

14th July in Prison

by the Kurdish poet, ABDULLA GORAN

This poem was written by the Kurdish poet, Goran when he heard, while in his prison cell in Iraq, demonstrating people:

A distant voice
Hardly penetrating the walls
O distant voice
That hardly penetrates the walls
Are you white, black or red?
Advance . . . further . . .
As water pouring on to fire . . .
Descend onto my soul
Spread, in my cell, flowers

The gentle breeze brought to my ear
'Long live the Republic'
Is it a dream? What Republic?
No, a dream it is not.
But a festival of the Republic.

This voice, this distant wonder,
O, body lying in the cell,
O, chains
Be silent, silent as the stillness in the ear,
And you, the air that strikes my cell,
Slumber like a babe . . .
Let charging bullets of this distant voice
penetrate my hearing
Let it return like the roar of a gun,
And let the sparks of my burning head
kindle into flames.

O you who dwell on a patch of land,
Smile in peace.

The death has passed!
(Translated originally from the Kurdish
journal *Hewa*.)

Book Review

KURDISTAN: Auf dem Weg Zur Freiheit. This illustrated pamphlet in German has been published by the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe (Austria Branch). It is short (17 pages of foolscap) but comprehensive and should prove useful to the German readers.

It starts with a chapter on 'the world press and Kurdistan,' followed by a brief introduction to Kurdish history, population, language and literature. Another chapter is devoted to Kurdistan after the first World War and naturally the Sevres Treaty is featured prominently.

The pamphlet then deals with the Kurdish National Revolution of Barzan in Iraqi Kurdistan and the establishment of the Mehabad Republic in Iranian Kurdistan at the end of Second World War and it ends with discussing the current situation and prospects.

The Austrian Branch has rendered a good service by introducing the Kurdish Question to German readers. It is a good pamphlet. Copies (cost one Deutch Mark, post free), can be had from this journal.

We publish two interesting reviews of a booklet of *Kurdistan: Divided Nation of the Middle East* (reviewed in our last issue) which appeared respectively in *World News* weekly journal of the British Communist Party, and *Socialist Digest*, published monthly by the British Labour Party.

"THE HOLDERS OF THE HILLS"

by EDDIE WOODS

You would have every excuse for not knowing where to look for Kurdistan on the map. Of the struggles of the Kurdish people for independence, your ignorance could also be understandable. But not any longer!

A book just published, *Kurdistan, Divided Nation of the Middle East* by S. S. Gavan (Lawrence and Wishart, 4s. 6d.) goes a long way to correcting the balance. Its pages are packed with information. The origins, history, language, customs and above all, the long struggle for independence — are all covered.

In his review published in the *Daily Worker*, Azmi Ghalib writes: 'The author has performed a great service to the united Arab-Kurdish struggle'. But the book is also very helpful to us in Britain, for there is little information about Kurdistan available in England.

What we do have, mostly written by military men, is extremely suspect. Many things have to be taken into account: the date of publication; the relations existing between this country and the Middle East at the time of writing; and, most confusing of all, the effects the writer might be trying to have on future events in the area. With such mixed motives objectivity tends to take a secondary place.

Let's take some examples! Pick up almost any book on Kurdistan. The frontispiece will almost certainly show a pitiful creature, dirty, emaciated and in rags, with the caption — 'A typical Kurdish beggar'. Living in communities which have been likened to the old Scottish clans, beggars do not become a typical feature.

We read: 'They are troublesome and warlike'. Why are they troublesome — and to whom? One can infer they make trouble for those who try to exploit them. They are 'a lawless people'. But the Kurds have very strict laws. What they do oppose are the attempts of others to decide the government they should have.

Their history dates back thousands of years and many sources suggest they were the people referred to as the Medes in ancient Persian history and mythology. From English sources we hear little until about 1160 and on — the time of the Crusades.

Remember that little story in the school history books? There is a dispute between Richard the Lion-heart and the great Saladin, as to who has the sharpest sword. Richard severs a baulk of timber with one massive swipe.

'But that,' says Saladin, 'shows only the strength of your arm'. He then waves into the air a piece of gossamer silk and lets it fall lightly across his sword where it is parted in two. Saladin was a Kurd whose rule at one time extended over all Egypt and inland Syria.

The past nations famed in Eastern history — Assyrian, Parthian, Greek, Roman and Persian — all invaded Kurdistan. And yet even today, when split up between Turkey, Iraq and Iran, the Kurds still proudly boast. 'We are the holders of the hills and the possessors of the tongue'. Their language is completely different from the countries on to which they have been grafted. Attempts to impose burdensome taxes have had little result due to the hazards of collection in the mountainous regions. Their boast is not an empty one.

Cultural Heritage.

They have been described as having no past heritage of culture. In 1591 at Bayazid, a Turkish frontier town at the foot of Mount Ararat, there resided a famous Kurd, Ahmedi Khani. He wrote a book for the instruction of Kurdish children prefaced with the gentle admonition:

'If your grammar and lessons you fail to construe,

No fame or renown is in store for you.'

How does this tally with a people described as 'malignant, devoid of all humanity, scorning the garment of wisdom'?

In a welcoming preface to S. S. Gavan's book, Emir Kamuran Aali Bedir-Khani, who from Paris has conducted for many years a sustained propaganda fight for the recognition of the Kurds, gives some disturbing facts about present day treatment of his people. He accuses Turkey, Iran and Iraq (the former regime) of attempting to obliterate a nation. Kurds are 'forbidden to have their own schools and publish their own periodicals'. He points out that in Turkey 'there is only one hospital bed for 200,000 Kurds and in one locality where the population is 40,000, one school only is available for 100 children.

Oil—the Key.

Kamuran Bedir-Khan, replying to an enquiry of mine in 1950, wrote: 'It is indeed sad to note that the Big Powers are interested just for the oil and nothing else. That is the reason why it is difficult to see the real face of the question.' Here is the key — oil! Once the acquisitive, grasping character of imperialism is understood, much of what appears obscure in the Middle East becomes comprehensible to us.

Are the chances of Kurdish independence any nearer today than at other periods in their long struggle? Seen against the general background of the Middle East movement S. S. Gavan believes they are. Provided the Kurdish people are not misled by the ardent appeals of those who glibly promise easy victory, dependent on there being support for the struggle against imperialism and for peace, the prospects today stand higher.

Of unusual interest in this fascinating book and a pointer to better things for the future, is the information on the participation of the younger people. They seem to get around and, unlike their fathers, will be less likely to fall for the short term promises made by potential exploiters.

To add more flesh to the strong, lineal bone structure of this book, here are some others you might care to look at.

The one I would mention first as more likely to fire your enthusiasm is a novel — *The Diplomat* by James Aldridge. On my showing this to a Kurdish friend he said it was the most penetrating study as well as being the most sympathetic, that he had read in English. Other books are: *Two Years in Kurdistan* by W. R. Hay (1924), *Road Through Kurdistan*, A. M. Hamilton (1937), *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, M. Sykes (1915), *The Kurdish Question* (International Affairs, January 1946).

There are in the Leningrad library the works of poets and philosophers of Kurdistan written many years ago. English translations of these might come our way in the not too distant future.

World News, October 11th, 1958.

WHERE IS KURDISTAN?

Kurdistan: Divided Nation of the Middle East,
S. S. Gavan, *Lawrence and Wishart*, 4s. 6d.

Where is Kurdistan? On the map, of course, it does not exist at all, but there are about eight million Kurds living who feel that Kurdistan is very much a nation. About half of them live in Turkey, a quarter in Persia, somewhat over an eighth in Iraq, and small groups in Syria and the U.S.S.R. So if Kurdistan did exist it would consist of portions of the above-mentioned countries where they come closest together. In Turkey the Kurds have been subjected to drastic oppression since the first world war — rising after rising has been ruthlessly suppressed, and the Kurds are now known as 'mountain Turks' — the Kurdish language and customs have been banned. In Persia the position is easier only because by, and large, Persian Governments have been less efficient than Turkish. Only in Iraq has the Kurds' position been at all tolerable, but even there the old government tried from time to time to suppress Kurdish movements.

Since this book was written there has been a revolution in Iraq, and for the first time a Kurd has become a Cabinet Minister. The great question for Kurds is whether to seek nationhood or full assimilation and political equality within existing countries. In Iraq it looks as if assimilation is winning. As regards Turkey, Mr. Gavan comments: 'It is instructive to note today the apparent insistence of the Turkish Government upon the partition of Cyprus on the ground that 20 per cent. of the population are Turks. By a strange coincidence the Kurds form roughly 20 per cent. of Turkey. One might expect the Turkish Government to apply the right of 'self-determination' to the Kurds. After all, charity begins at home.'

But the international implications of a new nation, splitting Persia and Turkey and stretching from the Soviet Union to Syria are colossal. Mr. Gavan scarcely touches on this aspect of the problem. *Socialist Digest*, Nov. 1958

NEW KURDISH JOURNALS IN IRAQ

Kurdish political journals in Iraq have appeared recently, they include *Azadi*, *Khabat*, *Rizgari*, *Rojani* and *Rasti*.

PROFESSOR MINORSKY PUBLISHES A PAPER ON BANU ANNAZ

The Editor of KURDISTAN wishes to acknowledge gratefully the receipt of a paper from Professor Vladimir Minorsky on the Kurdish principality of Banu Annaz (published in the Encyclopaedia of Islam). Professor Minorsky writes 'Banu Anaz' dynasty, 991 to 1117,' in the frontier region between Iraq and Iran which was one of the manifestations of the period 'between the Arabs and the Turks' when in the wake of the westward expansion of the Boyards numerous principalities of Iranian origin sprang up in Adhairbaydjan, and Kurdistan.

As the rise of Banu Annaz was based on the Shadhandjan Kurds, the dynasty should be considered as Kurdish, although the Arabic names and titles of the majority of the rulers indicate the Arab links of the ruling family. The organisation of Banu Annaz was typically semi-nomadic, combined clan living in tents with strongholds, serving as treasuries and refuges in time of danger. The characteristic feature of the Banu Annaz domination was the unusual flexibility of the organisation, now expanding and now shrinking. The existence of several rival branches of the family contributed even more to the vagueness of their territories and the constant displacement of their little known centres.

Professor Minorsky devotes the rest of the paper which is about 1,600 words long to a detailed examination of the history of the principality and its rulers.

Signed articles do not necessarily represent the view or policy of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe.

World Eyes on Vienna: Youth and Student Festival

The World Youth and Students are focusing their attention on the 7th World Festival to be held from 26th July to 4th August in Vienna. It is the Festival of Peace, Friendship and co-existence. Many cultural and sport activities will take place, along with the usual get-togethers between the youth of various countries for the purpose of

promoting mutual understanding, the basis of firm friendship.

We urge our members, and supporters to participate in the Festival and take an active part in its work.

Welcome to the 7th Festival of Youth and Students in Vienna!

WHEN QUOTING FROM THIS MAGAZINE PLEASE REFER TO THE SOURCE.

Kurdistan and the Press

The Kurds and Petroleum

The authorities in the capital of the United Arab Republic follows with interest the efforts of the Kurds of Iraq, numbering about two millions, to obtain their national rights. Owing to their fear that they will be lost in the big Arab Republic they contribute to drawing away Baghdad from Nasser. There are 10 million Kurds distributed between Turkey, Syria, Iran and the Soviet Union (and Iraq). Their region, which is separated by political frontiers, is the region of the great petroleum fields. If they achieve their unity within Kurdistan, they will control almost one half of the petroleum reserves in the world.

Illustré, Lausanne, 13th November, 1958.

"Kassem needs, and is getting the support of the Kurds — Iraq's largest and toughest minority. They form an important section of the Iraq army, holding many senior posts. The Northern Division stationed at Kirkuk — on Iraq's oil area — is 80% Kurdish.

By encouraging Kurdish nationalism the Iraqi Government is awakening the old ambitions for an independent Kurdistan which would cut into Turkey, Persia, Syria and Iraq. This is right in line with Soviet policy in the Middle East."

News Chronicle, 25/11/1958.

MORAL LAPSE

The Kurds have dwelt in present-day Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria and the U.S.S.R. for some 4,000 years. One of their main centres is the Iraqi Petroleum producing area.

Washington, during the brief Wilsonian period was concerned with minorities, showed interest in the Kurds. The 1920 Treaty of Sevres foresaw an Independent Kurdistan. But this was never created.

Since their deception at Sevres the Kurds have had a rebellious record. Although Nuri-as-Said had Kurdish blood, he conducted pitiless repressive operations against his kinsmen.

When Iraq's revolution exploded it was strongly supported by the Kurds.

Under Article III of its constitution El-Kassem's new State is called an 'Association of Arabs and Kurds.'

An independent Kurdistan would remake the Middle East map, crumbling the Turkish and Iranian bastions.

It is a tragedy that the free world which for so long ignored the aspirations of the Kurds, must now pay for this moral lapse. For it will be difficult to regain the affections of this thwarted strategically located people.

Meanwhile, Moscow immutably drives a Kurdish wedge through our entire alliance structure down to the Persian Gulf.

C. L. SULZBERGER in *New York Times*,
Foreign Edition, Amsterdam, 8/1/1959.

A VIEW FROM ROME

The Soviet penetration to the Middle East is taking a new path; Kurdish aspiration to autonomy. For four thousand years these tribes which dwell on the mountains near the Persian plateau struggle for independence. They have found understanding in the Soviet agents which renews their determination. From Armenia across the Caucasus mountains, broadcasts of the communist bodies reach their villages which incite them against the 'blood-suckers of the Kurdish people.'

There are nine million Kurds, 4,500,000 in Turkey or 20% of the population, 2,500,000 in Iran or 13% of the population, 400,000 in Syria, U.A.R. or 10% of the population, 1,500,000 in Iraq or 25% of the population. Moscow propaganda appears clearly especially with the strong Kurdish minority in Iraq. While thinking of their old dream, the bellicose Kurdish tribes in the region of the rich fields in Kirkuk aim to unite in an independent nation, these oil wells present annually to Western Europe 1/6th of its consumption.

La Tribuna Illustrata, Rome, 11th January, 1959.

DEMOCRACY

"Democracy in Iraq, where a nationality other than the Arab Nationality exists — namely that of the Kurds — will be a successful test to that of the Arabs: developing in the spirit of the age, along the road of fraternity and co-operation with the Kurdish nationality and other nationalities in Iraq, on the democratic level — this is a precious gain to the Arab nation."

AL-AHALI, Organ of the National Democrats,
Baghdad. 25/1/1959.

THE KURDISH PROBLEM — SOURCE OF CONFLICT

The Kurdish Problem engrosses certain Western Chancelleries at the present time. They are asking themselves whether the Middle East is not once more becoming the scene of grave troubles, roused

by the chronic antagonisms between the Kurdish Nationalists and the various States which are sheltering them.

The renewal of interest that observers of this problem testify is not fortuitous. Kurdistan, divided at the end of the first world war between states of Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran is in effect situated in a key position for the West.

Trouble in Turkey or Iran would endanger the Atlantic Alliance, the Baghdad Pact, and in a general fashion what remains of the Military preparations set up on the Southern Frontiers of the U.S.S.R. A Kurdish uprising in Syria which is not impossible, would have on the other hand decisive consequences on the relations of forces in the Arab worlds, the Kurds in short, are in a territory rich with oil, in Turkey as well as Iran and Iraq . . .

Kurdish Nationalism of which Dr. Kamuran Bedir-Khan is the Western spokesman is no novelty. It has not ceased to 'Manifest' itself since this Indo-European people became conscious of its own existence. It has survived through the ages, almost with stubbornness, survived all the invasions and long periods of slavery. Proud of their ascendance, they founded their first independent State 25 centuries before Christ — the Kurds succeeded more or less to keep their Autonomy until the middle of the 19th century.

It is said that the Iraq Revolution has opened to the Kurdish Nationalists undreamed of perspectives, the new constitution recognises their 'National Rights' within the Iraqi Republic.

The United Democratic Party of Kurdistan . . . openly pursues its policy, the authorities have formed a commission of Kurdish intellectuals to write a history of their people, which will be taught in their establishments of learning, even in purely Arab schools.

For the first time in the annals of the Iraqi State, colleges and universities solely for the Kurds, will be built. A system of administrative autonomy is at least being installed in Iraqi Kurdistan. This state of affairs is not re-assuring to Turkey or Iran, which practice to different degrees, a policy of assimilation . . .

ERIC ROULEAU, in *Le Monde Diplomatique*,
Paris. February, 1959.

DANGER

The close alliance between Premier Kassem and the pro-Soviet Kurdish Leader, Mustafa Barzani is another potential danger to Persia with its large Kurdish minority.

'H.A.R. PHILBY in the *Observer*, 15/2/1959.'

THE RUSSIAN TALE AGAIN

The one million or so Kurds are being told by the Russian Radio that revolution freed their brothers in Iraq. Kurds, say Moscow, are still second-class citizens in Iran. They must rise in violence for their rights.

This makes Iran feel that unless placated, Russia may set up an 'Independent' Kurdish Republic embracing Kurds on both sides of the Russian-Iranian border.

WOODROW WYATT, *Reynold News*, 22/2/1959.

ARAB FEDERATION ?

The French Journal *L'Orient* published a report from its correspondent in Damascus on an alleged conversation between the Iraqi and Egyptian Governments to establish a Federal Union consisting of Iraq, Syria and Egypt on the basis of each country retaining a Parliament, a Government and Head of State and a national economy.

L'Orient said that the first contacts with the President Nasser concerned with the principle 'the right of people to self-determination' which Baghdad takes very seriously, the reply of the President of the United Arab Republic, the *L'Orient* continued, has fully satisfied the Iraqi Kurds and their leaders who are concerned with this problem in the first place. Nasser had explained his point of view to the Barzanis who visited him after their return from exile — before returning to Iraq. He agrees to and encourages the existence of a Kurdish State, but only after this plan becomes feasible, i.e. when the Kurdish regions and people in Turkey, Soviet Union, Iran become able to join this State. On this basis, *L'Orient* concluded, Nasser recognises the right of every people to preserve its heritage.

SUSPICIOUS

Anything connected with the Kurds at this moment is liable to awake suspicions. There are Kurds in Russia, as well as in Iraq, Persia, Turkey and Syria, and they have always been an element of instability in a sensitive region of the world though, admittedly, they have not always been themselves to blame. From the days when they harassed the March of Xenophon's Ten Thousand to the Black Sea, the Kurds have inhabited the mountains between the Caucasus and the Mesopotamian Plains, resisting by force outside interference of any sort.

. . . By the end of the first world war a new complication had arisen. On the primitive isolations of the tribesmen was added the more sophisticated claim for statehood. Racially and linguistically the Kurds stand apart from their neighbours, and

in numbers they easily exceed many peoples who have secured independence. In fact, in 1920, at a time when the future of the Mosul Vilayet was still undecided, provision was made for an independent Kurdistan — a fact which the nationalist leaders have never forgotten.

The Times, April 10th, 1959.

KURDISH EXILE'S RETURN

It is Iraq the Kurdish passengers (in the Soviet Ship *Gruziya*) are bound for — not Turkey, not Iran. In all three of these countries, the Kurds have, over many years, been subject to oppression, denied full citizenship, prevented from forming their own communities.

But in Iraq, since July of last year — now written into history as the 'July 14th Revolution' — the situation is changed. The Kurds play a part in the running of the country, have their own journals, schools, and in all ways are the recognised equals of their Iraqi brothers.

Such a position for the Kurds does not as yet exist either in Turkey or Iran. Understandably then, though many Kurds from these two countries have sought asylum in the Soviet Union, we don't hear of passenger-packed steamers chugging back to them.

The return of the Kurdish exiles to Iraq is seen by *The Times* as a Soviet manoeuvre — 'a nuisance value . . . a weapon against Turkey and Persia.'

The known desire of the Kurds for independence, expressed over the years in countless revolts and, since the war, in 15 legal representations to the United Nations is 'the bait dangled before the Kurds by Russia.'

No Short Cuts

Certainly the desire for Kurdish Independence is strong. But they realise there are no short cuts. In the 'Appeal to the Kurds,' issued by the Kurdish Committee in Europe in 1956, it is recognised: 'Our fate depends on that of our neighbours.'

The aim is to work for strengthening friendship and mutual co-operation with the decent elements of the Arabic, Persian and Turkish peoples.

The return to Iraq is a step in that direction. Meanwhile the Soviet Steamer *Gruziya* will berth and its passengers disembark to be reunited with their friends and families.

In the joy of reunion they will be warmed with the fervent Kurdish song of freedom:—

March on! March on! Forward you gay youths!
Tho' the lights are dim in distant tents

The torch of Kurdish freedom burns the brighter.

For the better times to come,
March on, oh gay youths!

EDDIE WOODS, in the *Daily Worker*,
April 21st, 1959.

KURDISTAN—DIVIDED LAND

The news that 835 Kurds from the Soviet Union are on their way to Iraq is certain to be interpreted in some quarters as a move by Russia to aid Brigadier Kassem, by sending troops of a stock which also exists in Iraq . . .

So called Kurdistan includes areas of Persia, Iraq, Iran, Syria and Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijan Republics of the Soviet Union. About 4,500,000 Kurds live in Turkey, 2,500,000 in Iran, 1,500,000 in Iraq, 400,000 in Syria and perhaps 80,000 in the Soviet Union. The Kurds are a pastoral, partly nomadic people, speaking an Iranian dialect . . .

The Kurdish minorities of the States indicated above have established a tradition of restlessness and a desire for independence, besides a reputation of tough fighters. Their loyalty is basically directed to tribal leaders, although a sense of nationalism has grown to the extent where the States in which the Kurds live have been apprehensive of Separatist Movements . . . the isolation of Kurdish tribes in mountain valleys has been largely responsible for tribal differences in opinion and has also led to considerable differences in spoken Kurdish.

Major Rebellions

The Kurds have conducted several major rebellions since the first world war. After a promise that following the war Turkish -Kurdistan would be established as an independent and autonomous Republic had been revoked . . . a revolt broke out in February, 1925, which took the Turks three months to crush . . .

Economic Reforms

In mid-1958 Iran was reported to be launching an economic development programme in its North-Western border area to be financed from fees the pan-American Oil Company had paid for its recently granted concessions. Iraq has been using its oil revenues for some time in its Kurd-inhabited areas. Mining and increased industrial activity has improved the standard of living of the Iraqi Kurds, and one of the latest industrial schemes was for a petro-Chemical plant at Kirkok. It is reported that further expansion schemes there include fertiliser and man-made fibre-factories.

At this early stage the purpose behind the despatch of presumably Soviet Kurds to Iraq is far from clear. It may well be meant as a gesture of Soviet support for Brigadier Kassem in an area of Iraq which has so far proved exceedingly troublesome . .

On the other hand assuming the Russian Kurds finally arrive in Iraq, the Iraq Government may find that its Kurd minority reacts sharply against the new arrivals, for even if the Kurds from Russia are of Iraqi origin, they may not be regarded favourably by the Iraqi Kurds.

Financial Times (an extended Summary),
April 10th, 1959

EDITOR:—the only economic reform we are aware of, carried out by the Persian Government in Kurdistan is the extensive building of military bases under the direct control of the United States militarists.

The Persian Government still deprives the Kurdish people of their elementary national rights, such as the right to use the Kurdish language in education and to publish books, newspapers and magazines in Kurdish. Why should a Kurdish child be forced to learn in Persian — a foreign language to him or her — at the age of seven? surely it is common sense that if education is the purpose behind attending the school, then it is better to learn in one own's language.

The Kurds returning from U.S.S.R. were all Barzani refugees, i.e. Iraqi nationals, who retreated to the Soviet Union to escape the persecution of the Iraqi and Persian Governments (it will be remem-

bered that those Barzanis were withdrawing from Iran after the suppression of the Kurdish Democratic Republic of Mehabad by the reactionary Persian Government and its American masters).

Among the 850 Kurdish citizens returning home were 108 women and 252 children. For the last 14 years there has been a persisting demand to grant them amnesty.

Following the 14th July Revolution in Iraq the great Kurdish leader, Mustafa Barzani was permitted to return home in freedom, together with two of his colleagues, Khoshawi and Mir Haj. The last two left after staying for a few weeks for the Soviet Union to bring back the remaining Kurdish refugees. This they have done. Incidentally, just before their return, the Republican Government of Iraq issued a general amnesty of the Kurds who took part in the Barzani Revolt of 1945, including the posthumous rehabilitation of the four patriotic Kurdish officers (Major Izzet Aziz, Captain Mustafa Khoshnaw, Lieutenants' Mehemed Kudsi and Khayrulla Abdul-Karim), who were executed in 1947 in Baghdad.

As to the kind of reception accorded them the correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* in Baghdad reporting on the gigantic demonstration at the conclusion of the Peace Congress in which one million people took part in favour of peace and Premier Kassem said that 'Two groups were the lions of the occasion. These were the heroes of the crushing of the Mosul mutiny and the first ship-load of Kurds who arrived here after their repatriation from Russia.'

A Crime and a Mysterious Death

Mr. Mustafa Akindji, Member of the Grand National Assembly in Turkey (Democrat, Diarbakir) demanded an inquiry in to the murder of 90 Kurdish peasants in Diarbakir at the instigation of Awni Doghan, the former Police Inspector in Turkey's Kurdistan. He also denounced a Bill restricting democratic liberties and then resigned, together with another 19 M.P's, from the ruling Democratic Party. He died later of a mysterious poisoning. No inquest or inquiry was held.

* * *

Leaflets were distributed in Ankara, Izmir and Adana, at the end of July 1958, by the 'National Liberation Committee' attacking the policy of the reactionary Turkish Government. Many Kurdish and Turkish youths were arrested. The Press was prevented to make any references to them. Their

whereabouts is not known. It is believed that they have been murdered by the Turkish authorities.

* * *

It is not enough to say that there are no Kurds in Turkey; we must eliminate them from existence.

AWNİ DOĞHAN in an article in *Watan*, Istanbul,
July, 1958.

* * *

Thirty armed Kurds from Turkey's Kurdistan crossed the Iraqi-Turkish border and joined in the fight against the Shawaf mutineers in Mosul.

PROTEST

102 Kurdish students in Istanbul sent a protest telegram to a Turkish Member of Parliament who called for the persecution of minorities in Turkey as a retaliation for the alleged persecution of the Turkmen in Iraq.

Conference of Iraqi Students in Germany

The Iraqi Students' Society in Germany held its first Conference in Mainz, W. Germany, recently. The K.S.S.E. Germany Branch sent its Secretary, Mr. Rajih Badrawi as a fraternal delegate. Addressing the conference, Mr. Badrawi said that all K.S.S.E. members, from the various regions of Kurdistan, appreciate the noble attitude adopted by our fellow Iraqi Students towards our national and student questions. The common struggle of the true fraternal nationalities was the result of imperialist persecution dictated to the corrupt Monarchist clique. The Kurds strongly supported the 14th July revolution and the Iraqi Republic and the Iraqi Kurdish students loyally support

their Republic and shall not permit any division in the ranks of the Iraqi people.

Mr. Badrawi scorned those who charge the Kurdish students with separatist tendencies and attack the leader of the Iraqi people, Abdul-Karim Kassem. He called for the further consolidation of the Arab-Kurdish brotherhood and ended his speech with 'long live the Iraqi Republic the Republic of the Arabs and Kurds.'

Replying, Mr. Sadiq Al-Biladi, on behalf of the Conference, said that 'we have defeated imperialism, through united Arab-Kurdish solidarity. We salute your efforts to consolidate the brotherhood and friendship between the Arab and Kurdish students.'

An Education Authority for Kurdistan

The Government of Iraq, guided by the recognition of the national rights of the Kurdish people in Article Three of the Provisional Constitution, has decided to set up an 'Education Directorate of Iraqi Kurdistan'. This is a historic event for the Kurdish nation. It is a major advance towards cultural autonomy in Iraqi Kurdistan, and a concrete step — a radical one too — in recognising the national structure of the Kurds. Commenting on the setting up of the Authority, *Ittihad Al-Shaab*, the influential and mass circulating newspaper of Baghdad said, 'this is a triumph for democracy in Iraq and another factor in consolidating brotherly ties between the Arabs and Kurds, and increasing the confidence of the Kurds in our Republic. The

fulfilment of this just demand will be a deadly blow to the Chauvinistic elements who doubt the possibility of rallying the Arabs and Kurds around their Republic.

This important gain, is a glorious characteristic of our democratic Republican regime. We trust that this step will be followed by others to achieve the other democratic national rights of the Kurdish people according to the articles of the Constitution and the will of our people."

Thanks to the Iraqi Government. No wonder the Iraqi people call their Republic the Republic of the Arabs and Kurds. Congratulations to the gallant Kurdish people on a magnificent victory.

Soviet Students Greet Their Kurdish Colleagues

The President of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe, Ismet Cheriff, received the following card from the Student Council of the Executive Committee of the Youth Organisation of the U.S.S.R.:—

"We greet you on the occasion of the New Year, and wish you success in your work for the happiness of the world, for peace and for the strengthening of friendship and co-operation between the students of all countries."

The President sent the following reply on behalf of the Executive Committee of K.S.S.E.:—

"Dear Friends,

The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe received with great pleasure the card which you sent on the occasion of the New Year. We thank you for that, and present in turn our greetings and good wishes for a happy, fruitful and peaceful year, to the Youth and Students of the U.S.S.R. and of all countries.

Our Society wishes to establish ties of friendship and co-operation more regularly with the Student Council of the Youth Organisations of the U.S.S.R. in order to serve the cause of the oppressed peoples who struggle for their freedom against imperialism, and to serve the international student movement and peace.

We are sending you two copies of the third number of our magazine KURDISTAN together with two copies of a pamphlet we published on 'the plan to bomb Kurdistan with atomic bombs.' We will be grateful if you could send a copy of the pamphlet either to the Student Council in Soviet Armenia or to one of the public libraries in the Alagoz region in Soviet Armenia, or to any other region where the Soviet Kurds live in conditions of peace, happiness and full respect for their national rights.

Hoping to hear from you soon, we repeat, dear friends, our best wishes to the students and youth of your great country."

Iraqi Students' Committee in Vienna

The Iraqi students in Vienna have formed a Committee. The Vice-President of the K.S.S.E. sent a letter to the Committee calling for co-operation. A reply was received which said: 'we support you and shall co-operate for the good of the student movement outside Iraq and in order to repudiate the slanderous propaganda levelled against our democ-

cratic Republic.' It praised the attitude of the Kurdish people adding 'the attitude of the Kurdish people beside their brother the Arab people in Iraq in consolidating our beloved democratic Republic is the highest example of the solidarity of these two peoples and their mutual affinity.'

Two Communications to Premier Kassem

Saadi Amin, Acting General Secretary of the K.S.S.E. sent, on behalf of the Executive Committee, two telegrams to Premier Kassem in support of his national democratic Government, condemning the Shawaf plot and demanding severe

punishment against traitorous elements.

The second communication was a letter requesting the withdrawal of Iraq from the Baghdad Pact. Iraq quit the Pact in the same day as the letter reached Baghdad!

Return of the Kurdish Refugees from the U.S.S.R.

852 Kurds, including many women and children returned from the U.S.S.R. in the Soviet passenger ship *Gruzia*. They were part of the Barzani Kurds who sought asylum in U.S.S.R. after the reactionary Persian authorities, at the instigation of their American masters, destroyed the Kurdish Democratic Republic of Mehabad and started a savage persecution of the Kurds. Many Kurdish leaders, including Qazi Mehemed, the revered President of that autonomous Republic were murdered.

We salute these Kurdish heroes and thank the Republican Government of Iraq, particularly its great leader, Premier Kassem. We assure him that these gallant Barzanis will be among the finest defenders of the Republic. Together with

their Arab brothers they will be the most loyal guardians of democracy.

The Egyptian propagandists' comments on the return of these beloved sons and daughters of the Kurdish people were quite crazy and utterly despicable. To them, these 852 refugees, Iraqi citizens who suffered much persecution and offered heavy sacrifice in their fight against reactionary regimes in Iraq and Iran and the prevailing foreign domination, were Soviet 'Kurdish volunteer guerrillas', who would occupy Iraq! Such cowardly attitude confirms the apprehension of the Kurdish people about the anti-Kurdish policy of the U.A.R. authorities. This is now quite clear in Syria where the Kurds are openly persecuted. This partly explains the role played by the Kurds in crushing the U.A.R. inspired Shawaf plot in Mosul.

Democratic Revolution

"What deepens the democratic content of our revolution is the fact that it is the revolution of two fraternal nationalities, Arabs and Kurds, and the fact that it materialised was due to the common struggle of the two nationalities on the basis of the recognition of their legitimate national rights. This was incorporated in the Iraqi constitution, which for the first time in the history of Iraq, recognises the national rights of the Kurds. Any basic step which determines the destiny of Iraq should be, undoubtedly, in harmony with the

aspirations of the two fraternal peoples, and in accordance with their wishes . . . this is a fact that distinguishes Iraq from other Arab countries . . .

If the Kurdish Question in Iraq is not clear, not understood, or is unimportant to a considerable number of Arab writers, it is to the Iraqis in the Iraqi Republic clearly understood and very important. If the slogan of Kurdish-Arab brotherhood is provocative to certain people, it is a dynamic force that inspires masses in Iraq."

AZIZ AL-HAJ in *Our Revolution*, Baghdad, 1958.

Iraqi Students Condemn Turkey and Iran

The Conference of the General Union of the Iraqi Students held during 18th-22nd February, adopted the following resolutions:—

"Our Conference considers the policy of national oppression against the Kurdish people in Iran and Turkey a violation of the United Nation Charter

and the Bill of Human Rights therefore it condemns the policy of oppression and national discrimination against the Kurdish Students and the neglect of their national and cultural rights and declares its support to the struggle of the peoples inhabiting these two countries for liberation and independence."

Correspondence

VIEWS ON 'KURDISTAN'.

I thank you very much for your willingness in sending me one number of your magazine, which has particularly aroused my interest and sympathy. I shall not fail to mention it in one of the next editions of *Africa and Asia*, in which, as you perhaps know, there is featured fairly regularly a bulletin on Kurdish Sociology.

I would be very grateful if it would be possible for you to send me two other samples of this magazine, so as to permit me to place it at the disposal of the readers at our library, and to circulate it amongst some friends.

I express the strongest wishes for the happy development of this movement of solidarity between the Kurdish students in Europe, which certainly promises the most happy results.

I beg you, dear sir, to accept the expression of my best and most sympathetic feelings.

PIERRE RONDOT,
13 Rue Du Faur, Paris VI.
4th December, 1958.

May I thank you most warmly for your kindness in sending me a copy of the Third Congress's special number of *Kurdistan*: I was extremely interested in this record of Kurdish activity.

Yours sincerely,
FRANK STOAKES,
St. Anthony's College, Oxford.
4th December, 1958.

I am much obliged to you for sending me the special number of *Kurdistan*, which I am very interested to see. I enclose P.O. for 2/6 to cover cost and postage.

Yours sincerely,
C. J. EDMONDS,
Heronden, Hawkhurst, Kent.
9th December, 1958.

I thank you very much for having sent me a copy of *Kurdistan*, giving interesting information about the III Congress of your organisation held at Munich in August. I am pleased to see that the

Kurdish students abroad keep together and prepare themselves to be useful to their countrymen. I also believe that Latin letters would help the expansion of Kurdish literature printed in Erevan. You mention in your bibliography my paper on the Kurdish problem, but in spite of it you would better put my French book *Les Kurdes, Etude Sociologique Et Historique*. Preface de M. L. Massignon, Professeur au Collège de France. 360 p. Paris, 1956, which is more important.

Sincerely yours,
B. NIKITINE,
7 Rue Bolleau, Paris, 16.
5th December, 1958.

Thank you very much for your letter. I have passed it on, with the journal, to Mr. A. Wedgwood-Benn, M.P., who is the Chairman of the Mediterranean and Middle East Committee of the Movement for Colonial Freedom. You will appreciate that I have to distribute responsibility in the vast field of colonial affairs among my colleagues and Mr. Wedgwood-Benn is specialising in this area. I know he will be very glad to hear from you at any time about issues which you feel he could usefully raise.

Sincerely yours,
FENNER BROCKWAY,
(Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom).
House of Commons, Westminster, S.W.1.
22nd December, 1958.

EDITOR:—A letter was sent to Mr. Wedgwood-Benn, M.P. on behalf of the Executive Committee of the K.S.S.E., requesting the Movement for Colonial Freedom to raise the Kurdish Question in the appropriate way, to declare support for the right of the Kurdish people to self-determination and condemn the denial of elementary national rights to the Kurds in Turkey and Iran.

The letter made it clear that only in Iraq do the Kurds enjoy national rights.

Mr. Wedgwood-Benn's reply said, in effect, that the 'Kurdish Question is outside our terms of reference.'

OIL

"General Kassem has offered a revolution a month and the foreign Oil Companies can hardly fail to have their place in the series."

DOUGLAS BROWN, *Daily Telegraph*, 6th April, 1959.

ADVERTISEMENT

Two young fully-qualified, experienced English School Teachers require employment in Iraq after September, 1959. Replies should be sent to this Magazine.

Neuroz und Kurdistan

VON KAMAL FUAD—Berlin

An diesem Tag, wo wir den letzten Wintertag verabschieden und einen neuen Tag erwarten, den ersten Tag des neuen Jahres im Kurdischen Kalender, möchte ich Ihnen kurz von der Entwicklung und dem Ursprung dieses Festes, dass bei den Kurden als Nationalfest gefeiert wird, berichten.

Das Fest wurde das erste Mal ungefähr 700 Jahre vor Christus begangen. Es ist geschichtlich bekannt, dass die Iranische Gruppe jedes Jahr den ersten Tag des Frühlings gefeiert haben. Indem sie in der letzten Nacht des Winters aus ihren Städten und Dörfern in die Berge gekommen sind, um Feuer anzuzünden, das bis zum nächsten Morgen brannte. Damit begrüßten sie den neuen Frühlingstag mit seiner Wärme und seinen schönen Farben, den sie mit grosser Freude erwartet hatten. Weshalb die Kurden NEWROZ als Nationalfest begingen und sehr stolz darauf waren, wird verschiedenes berichtet.

Viele hundert Jahre vor Christus lebte ein Tyrann (EJDEHAK), der sich König von Kurdistan nannte. Man sagt, dass er aus Palästina stammte. Er besass zwei riesige Schlangen, die er mit Kinderfleisch fütterte, und anbetete. In jener Zeit lebte der Schmied (KAWE) in der Stadt. Er hatte einst neun Kinder, aber acht hatte der König EJDEHAK seinen Schlangen als Futter vorgeworfen. Nun blieb ihm noch das neunte Kind, sein letztes, das am nächsten Tag geopfert werden sollte, am ersten Frühlingstag, an dem Tag, den die Leute feierten. In der Nacht, wo EJDEHAK, der Tyrann mit der königlichen Familie das Frühlingsfest mit Trinken und Spielen feierte, war KAWE, der Schmied traurig und verzweifelt und wusste nicht was er tun sollte, weil das letzte Kind ihm am nächsten Tag geraubt werden sollte, um damit die Schlangen zufüttern. Als KAWE erfahren hatte, dass EJDEHAK und der Hof mit Trinken und Spieles beschäftigt waren, um sich am Frühling zu freuen, da fasste er den Entschluss, sein letztes Kind nicht zu opfern, sondern alle Kinder vor diesem grausemen Schicksal zu bewahren. Er nahm seinen Hammer in die Hand, stürzte auf die Strasse und rief: "Oh, ihr Leute folgt mir, wir wollen das Schloss und den König EJDEHAK angreifen, um uns von seiner Unterdrückung und Ungerechtigkeit zu befreien!" Bald folgten sie ihm und griffen das Schloss an, töteten den König und seine königliche Familie und befreiten sich und ihre Kinder von diesem Tyrann. Sie wählten dann einen aus ihrer Mitte zum Herrscher, der im Volk sehr beliebt war. Von

diesem Tag an wurde NEWROZ Nationalfeiertag bei den Kurden, ausser, dass es auch ein Frühlingsfest war. An diesem Tag erinnern sie sich ihres Helden, des Schmiedes KAWE, der sie von der fremden Herrschaft befreit hatte. In dieser Zeit sind die Berge Kurdistan voller Helligkeit von den Feuern, das die Leute bei ihren Feiern auf den Bergen anzünden.

Als die Türken Kurdistan besetzten, hatten sie den Kurden verboten, ihr Nationalfest zu begehen. Dies nutzte aber wenig, da die Kurden sehr an Ihrem Recht hängen.

Nach dem ersten Weltkrieg bekam das Fest einen neuen Sinn. Die Kurden versammelten sich, um für Freiheit, Frieden und Demokratie zu kämpfen. Die letzten Versammlungen dieser Art waren im Jahre 1948, 1954 in Sileymania und in den anderen Städten und Dörfern. Hier versammelten sich die Kurden nicht allein, sondern viele andere arabische Freunde aus Basra, Amard, Kut, Nagaf, Bagdad und Mossul nahmen daran teil. NEWROZ war wirklich ein Fest des Friedens und der Freundschaft. Obwohl die alte Regierung das Fest verboten hatte, und viele reihheitsliebende Kurden ins Gefängnis gesteckt hatte, feierten die Kurden heimlich, und die Feuer leuchteten auf den Bergen Kurdistan. Die Versammlung dieser Festtage haben die Freundschaft und den Kampf für den Frieden, die Befreiung und die Demokratie gefestigt.

Ich möchte Ihnen von der Geschichte und dem Kampf unseres Volkes für die Freiheit und Selbständigkeit seit dem Osmanischen Reich bis zum heutigen Tag kurz berichten. Da ich Irakischer Kurde bin, möchte ich Ihnen nur vom Irakischen Teil Kurdistan berichten. Leider wissen wir überhaupt nichts von der Geschichte Kurdistan. Selbst wir Kurden wissen nur wenig davon, da diese Geschichte nie auf einer Schule gelehrt, oder in einer Zeitung gedruckt wurde. Ist das nicht eine Nichtanerkennung des Menschen? Das wird unseren Kampf aber weder verhindern noch hemmen, da wir wissen, dass entrechtete Völker oft revolutionärer und stärker waren als andere.

Die Kurden gehören zu den Indo-Germanischen Völkern, der Iranischen Gruppe.

Kurdistan wurde immer von den Kurden bewohnt, und ist eine ethische, historische und unteilbare Einheit. Im Jahre (800 vor Christus) haben ihre Vorfäter, die (MEDAEER) in diesem Gebiet geherrscht, Im südlichen Teil Kurdistan haben die Kurden bis Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts

einige Provinzen, unabhängig, frei und fern vom Türkischen und persischen Einfluss selbst regiert. Einige Provinzen davon waren: Provinz BABAN und MOHAMED PASCHA. Es gelang später den Türken diese Provinzen einzunehmen. Kurz danach haben die freiheitsliebenden Kurden Aufstände gegen die Türken veranstaltet, wie der Aufstand: ABDULRAHMAN PASCHA 1806, HEMEWEND und BARZAN, um ihr Land von fremder Herrschaft zu befreien. Hierbei zeigten die Türken ihre barbarischen Eigenschaften, indem sie die Städte und Dörfer verbrannten und die Führer aufhängten. Im Jahr 1914 wurde der Führer (SCHEICH ABDULSALAM BARZANI, der Vater von MUSTAFA BARZANI) mit drei anderen aufgehängt. Kurz nach Ende des ersten Weltkrieges haben die Grossmächte im Vertrag von (SEVRES) 1920, Artikel (62-64) die Selbständigkeit Kurdistans anerkannt, aber ein paar Jahre später folgte der Vertrag von (LAUSANNA 1923), indem nichts von der Selbständigkeit erwähnt wurde, da die Engländer und Franzosen wirtschaftliche Interessen in Kurdistan hatten.

Im Jahre 1918 kam der Aufstand von (SCHEICH MEHMUD) in Sileymania. Die Engländer haben die Selbständigkeit SCHEICH MEHMUDS anerkannt. Aber ein Jahr später versuchten sie Kurdistan zu beeinflussen. Dies war ihnen aber unmöglich, daher griffen sie Kurdistan an und nahmen SCHEICH MEHMUD am 19. Juni 1919 gefangen. Da die Engländer keine Ruhe in diesem Gebiet bekamen, brachten sie ihn (SCHEICH MEHMUD) zurück.

Aber er war wieder nicht mit den Engländern einverstanden, dass sie im Lande bleiben und die Kurden von ihnen beeinflusst werden. Daraufhin

haben britische Flugzeuge die Städte und Dörfer Kurdistans bombardiert. SCHEICH MEHMUD verliess die Stadt, um die Einwohner vor weiteren Angriffen zu schützen. Damals traf ein Reisender einen alten Mann, der sein zerstörtes Haus wieder aufbaute. Erstaunt fragte er ihn, warum er sein Haus wider aufbaue, wo er doch genau weiss, dass es bald wieder angegriffen wird. Darzuffin antwortete der alte Mann: "Es ist besser das Haus aufzubauen, als die Feinde glauben zu lassen, dass sie unsere Häuser zerstört haben."

Im Jahre 1924 wurde dieses Gebiet dem Irak zugesprochen und es nannte sich der nördliche Irak. In den dreissiger Jahren haben die Kurden gemeinsam mit den Arabern ihren Kampf fortgesetzt, als sie die Gefahr des Imperialismus erkannten, um ihr Land von den Imperialisten zu befreien und ihre Rechte wieder zu erlangen.

Revolution 1936, Aufstände: GURBAGHI, Januar 1948, November 1952 und am 14. Juli 1958 waren die Folgen des gemeinsamen Kampfes. Am 14. Juli ging die Herrschaft des Imperialismus zu Ende. Die Imperialisten haben ihre letzten Hoffnungen um das Land wieder zu beeinflussen vor einigen Wochen in (MOSSUL) aufgegeben.

Die Kolonialisten und alle denen es nicht gefiel, haben jede Kurdische Nationalbewegung als Trennung vom Irak bezeichnet, um die Araber gegen die Kurden aufzuhetzen, da sie selber im Lande bleiben und regieren wollten.

Die Kurden haben des öfteren versichert, dass sie gegen die Trennung sind und jederzeit für die Irakische Republik zur Verfügung stehen. Trotzdem hängen sie sehr an ihrem Recht.

Berlin, den 21. März 1959. I. NEWROZ 2571.

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 Syria: 'Hawar, Ronahi'—ceased publication.
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 Iran: Kurdish Publications are forbidden.
 Turkey — Kurdish Publications are forbidden.

KOMELEY XWÊNDIKARANÎ KURD LE EWROPA

KURDISTAN



Kurdish Students' Society in Europe

REPORT OF THE FOURTH CONGRESS

PRICE TWO SHILLINGS

KURDISTAN

Published by the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe

Editor: TAHSIN MOHAMMED AMIN

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KOMELEY XWÊNDIKARANÎ KURD LE EWROPA

Editorial

On August 10th 1956, a group of Kurdish students met in Wiesbaden, Germany. What they did then, is what we write about now. The meeting was convened on the initiative of a few zealous and inspired patriots, among whom prime credit goes to Dr. Nuraddine Zaza. In a city bustling with holiday-makers, this group sat for nine days of serious discussion and arguments. Out of their labour was born an organization of Kurdish students in Europe — actually the first of its kind, but for an experimental effort on the same line in 1949 discontinued following the birth of the new organization. It was given its present name, The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe, in 1958.

One should ask what was the spirit which inspired those founding members to this noble deed? It was no doubt the desire to bring Kurdish students together — for they cannot be together in their divided homeland — and protect their interests and further their welfare. But it was not only that, in fact the driving force was much more than that. Dormant fires have been living inside every Kurd for generations, storing a desire for the liberty and happiness of his oppressed people. At Wiesbaden the driving spirit was nothing more or less than the rekindling of these fires. The founders took the road of no return, a road that must inevitably lead to what is the natural due of every people, namely a self-determined free life. But what they set out to do was not the innovation of a movement, rather they followed the lead of past heroes and took up the task where they had left off. Yet in spite of this the Society was, and remains, a students organization, not political in any form. But it is in no way incompatible with the status of a student, that he should share the aims and aspirations of his people. That in fact gives purpose to all his activities.

Today the founders can be proud of their creation. Guided by the basic principles they set down, the Society has proceeded from success to success, with ever increasing zeal and determination. But the four-year life of the Society has not been all smooth and easy progress. An organization with, among other things, a national mission inevitably encounters opposition from without, and differences of opinion from within. Along the road from the Wiesbaden founders' Congress to the Congress in London (December 1957), and the Third Congress in Munich (August 1958), there were points of anti-climax. But that was no cause for alarm. In the free debate of ideas, the right cause need not fear defeat, for truth is on its side; and Thomas Paine said: 'Such is the irresistible nature of the truth that all it asks for is the liberty of

appearing'. Basic unity of purpose and oneness of aim was never lost, and was gradually reinforced. To the basic tasks and aims of working for the good of Kurdish students in Europe, and the Kurdish people and their national cause, the Society remained steadfastly loyal.

Nothing is a more telling testimony to the Society's progress than the Fourth Congress at Vienna (July 1959). The 'Spirit of Vienna' was a remarkable reward for four years of labour. Here in spite of the great numbers of participants, there was such unity and complete identity of views, such a burning urge for the realization of our aims, that the men of Wiesbaden could rightly echo the words of Count Camillo de Cavour, the architect of Italian unification, and say 'The die is cast and history is made'.

History is indeed made. The Kurdish Students of Europe have realized, in conformity with the climate of opinion in the fatherland, that there is no turning back or losing hope. To the public opinion of the world, and of Europe, it must be set out that the legitimate Kurdish case is no different from that of other nationalities. It is a natural right, and if the 'sacredness of all nationalities' is to be respected, then the Kurdish right to self-determination must be recognised. After the 1914-18 War, the hey-day of self-determination, states were made and liberated. But the vile interests of imperialism and local reaction and the mistakes of the Kurds themselves, deprived our nation of its natural right. Today, with world imperialism in defeat and the Kurds united in spirit and action, that error shall be rectified with the co-operation of all peace-loving and democratic peoples of the world.

Already in Iraq, following the glorious revolution of July 14th 1958, under the leadership of the hero of the people, Abdul Karim Qassem, the Kurds have regained many of their lost rights. In that country the eternal brotherhood of the Arabs and Kurds shall serve as an example to be followed by the neighbours of Iraq. With such an encouraging sign in Iraq, what is hope shall become reality.

What the public opinion of the world, especially that of Europe, is asked to note, is that the Kurdish Question is not just a sentimental revival of what most people have gone through in a more romantic age. In fact it is the desire of all Kurds to base their case 'more on reason than on sentiment' — to use the words of Alighieri Dante. Because it is through the application of reason that we realise that there is an abnormal situation in the Middle East which can benefit only imperialism. The good of the people of the area, and hence indirectly the

cause of peace requires a just solution to it. A liberated Kurdish nation in a happier Kurdistan, motivated by democratic principles, can only add to the stability of the area.

On the other hand the Kurdish people have every right to demand of the international community a positive response to their calls. Following a disastrous world war the United Nations was not founded to be merely a debating place. Its high purpose is 'to maintain international peace and security' as stated in Article I of the Charter. One of the best ways to maintain peace and

security is **definitely** the implementation of two other provisions of the Charter. The preamble speaks of 'the equal rights of men and women and of nations, large and small'. And Article I states that one of the purposes of the Organisation is 'to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples'. This being the case, we, on behalf of our people, cannot but persist in striving for what 'the peoples of the United Nations' have already reaffirmed.

Their Fourth Failure

On October 7th 1959, the tragic news of the attempt on Premier Abdul Karim Qassem's life was flashed throughout the world. To all the friends of Iraq and democracy this was a foul deed to be regretted. But to the people of Iraq, Arabs and Kurds alike, this was indeed an occasion for mourning, for anger at this shameful crime against themselves and their republic. Indeed that was so for in that wounded flesh the people find the symbol of their aspirations, and their guarantee for a peaceful and democratic future. But to the joy and exhilaration of all, Iraqi's hero survived and shall soon, to the consternation of the enemies of Iraq — both internal and external — resume his untiring and

relentless drive for the fulfilment of the programme of July 14th 1958.

But this tragic episode throws more light on the band of individuals who since October 1958 have been aiming at undoing the historic work of July 14th. In that autumn, again in December of the same year, then in the abortive Mosul mutiny of 7.3.1959, this band of ambitious power-seekers tried in vain to subvert the democratic regime of Iraq. This latest treasonable addition to that infamous record represents their fourth failure; with the pitiable following they have among the population these conspirators would have had no heart to translate into action the foul scheme



Premier Abdul Karim Qassem

which they harboured in their perverted minds. But encouragement from outside sources was not lacking. World imperialism, still trying to reassert its waning power, and some of Iraq's neighbours having their own schemes against Iraq; these coupled with the isolated forces of reaction inside, provided hope for the conspirators. A vain hope it was. Prime Minister Qassem is safe, and the people of Iraq are more determined than ever to unite and rally around their one and only leader and march undeterred to their destiny.

The public reaction to the attempted assassination is proof enough that the Iraqis, whatever their nationality, will not tolerate an infringement of their rights and a move against their beloved leader by any source whatever.

As far as the Kurds are concerned it is only fair to say that, as such, their stake is slightly higher, for their political and national rights are constitutionally recognized, and hence guaranteed, for the first time. So long as this policy persists, we are confident it will, our Society for its part, like our countrymen the Kurds in Iraq, pledges its support to the revered leader Abdul Karim Qassem.

Political assassination, or its attempt, has always been the weapon of those who have been driven to despair through their own helplessness and inability to achieve their aims by democratic and honourable methods. But those should bear in mind that while it is possible to kill a man it is not possible to kill an idea, and that while it is possible to remove a

symbol it is impossible to remove what it stands for if the 'general will' accepts it. Fortunately in Iraq both the symbol and the idea remain, and the joint enterprise undertaken by the Government and the governed shall reach fruition. In the words of Qassem himself the Iraqi Republic 'has become solid and her structure unshakeable.'

Talking about his country Premier Qassem said in a speech on September 26th 1959: 'Long live this nation as a free nation. Long live this great and triumphant people. Long live this Republic free, and with a consolidated structure'.

On our part we echo his words and wish him well.

N.B. Needless to say at its time, telegrams of support, condolences, and congratulations were sent to Baghdad by our Society and its branches in the United Kingdom, Austria, Switzerland and Germany. In addition our General Secretary sent a letter too, with copies to Baghdad Radio and the Iraqi press.

Text of Article 3 of the Interim — Constitution of the Republic of Iraq:

Article 3

"The structure of Iraq stands on a basis of mutual co-operation among all its citizens, and respect for their rights and protection of their liberty. Arabs and Kurds are considered partners in this nation, and their national rights within the Unity of Iraq are recognized by this constitution."

The Question of the Unification of the Written Kurdish Language Kurmanji or Sorani?

by ISMET CHERIFF VANLEY, SWITZERLAND.

The following article is a rough and rudimentary consideration of a subject which the writer discusses more fully, and in a rather different fashion, in a pamphlet that will be published separately. Nevertheless it can be considered an approximate summary of the subject of that pamphlet.

Some of my Sorani-speaking compatriots will be probably surprised in reading the question posed in the title, because, in the matter of the Kurdish written language, they have never considered the question in its true national proportions. For them, the musical Sorani dialect, as spoken in the Sulaimani town, and as written in most Kurdish Iraqi publications ever issued, is NATURALLY THE KURDISH LANGUAGE. They bring a question of high national interest to a regional posture. But within the limits of a single region, speaking the same dialect, such a question, indeed, cannot be posed at all. The Kurdish dialects spoken — and sometimes written — elsewhere, in Kurdistan of

Turkey, of Persia and of Syria, or even in the Kurmanji-speaking areas of the Mossoul department, are not even taken into consideration.

Other Sorani-speaking compatriots, more acquainted with general Kurdish problems, in their real national proportions, do pose the question indeed. But many of them still think that Sorani must be THE Kurdish language. They think that since political events were, and are today even more favourable to Sorani, which was able to make, and is still making, huge progress in its written transposition, and since Kurmanji did not benefit by such favourable conditions and could not advance

in consequence, the Sorani dialect must be the Kurdish language.

Of course, the Kurmanji-speaking Kurds of Turkey, Syria and U.S.S.R. think differently. I have no doubt that for most of them, Kurmanji is THE Kurdish language.

When a Sorani and a Kurmanji Kurd discuss the question together — and usually quite passionately — each one is led to emphasise his dialect's advantages.

The Kurmanji Kurd affords that Kurmanji is spoken by the great majority of Kurdish people, that it has very clear (and numerous) grammatical rules which were scientifically studied and fixed in many grammatical books printed in the Soviet Union in Syria (I) and in Paris (II). He affords too that these Kurdish grammars are written by specialists who know some other Indo-European languages well, and not by people lacking a full knowledge of the Indo-European languages' characteristics, of which Kurdish is one, might lead to imitate closely the Arabic grammar, which is absolutely different. This Kurd might also say that his dialect is already written (not everywhere) in well adapted Latin characters, while Sorani is only written with Arabic characters, which do not fit Kurdish phonetics. If he is fond of history, our Kurd would tell, as well, that Kurmanji is most probably the living speech which is nearest to ancient Aryan languages and especially to that of Zend-Avesta.

Our Sorani-speaking Kurd, in response, spreads out his dialect's advantages. He puts in light its high musicality, the simplicity of its grammatical rules and, lastly, the progress it was able to make after a thirty years' written literary experience in Iraq (3).

Posing the question thus, in a competition form, is a bad way to resolve it.

There have been already two important Kurdish Congresses to discuss the question of the written Kurdish language.

The first one took place in Erivan, Soviet Armenia, summer 1934, and was attended by eminent Kurdish, Armenian and Russian Soviet specialists in Kurdish studies, under the auspices of

official Soviet authorities. It was decided to choose Kurmanji, spoken, in the Soviet Union, as the single Kurdish national written language, because of its large diffusion in the major part of Kurdistan, and because of 'the high quality of its literary classical models, represented in the Ehmedi Khani school' (4).

The second one entitled 'Kurdish Teachers Congress', has just taken place in Shaqlawa, Iraqi Kurdistan, September 1959, attended by Kurdish Iraqi teachers. This is a very important event, as the first one was. It has decided that Sorani must be the single Kurdish national written language but that it must benefit from other Kurdish dialects.

It is evident that the resolutions of these two Congresses, to this effect, are, unfortunately, diametrically opposed. One is for Kurmanji, the other for Sorani. But it must be stated that both of them, however important and rejoicing, are not representative of the whole Kurdish nation. The first represented Soviet Kurds, the second, Iraqi Kurds. How much longer to the nation-wide thoroughly representative Kurdish Congress? Let us hope that the first two were just steps towards this one.

Doubtless, Kurmanji is the largest Kurdish dialect. On the basis that the total Kurdish population is about 13 millions (about 12,500,000 in Kurdistan itself, plus 500,000 in the Kutchan-Bujnurd region of Khorassan, North-East Persia), we find that this dialect is spoken by:

6,000,000	Kurds in Turkey (including the Zaza Kurds, about one million, who have a dialect of their own that is near to Hawrami, but who all speak Kurmanji too in their daily life);
800,000	Kurds in Iran (in Western Azerbaijan from Oshnou to the Soviet frontier, and in Khorassan);
650,000	Kurds in the 'Bahdinan' region of Iraqi Kurdistan (in the Kurdish districts of the Mossoul province and in some of that of Erbil, that is about one third of the Iraqi Kurds);
400,000	Kurds in Syria;
150,000	Kurds in U.S.S.R.
8,000,000	The total Kurmanji-speaking Kurds: that is about 62% of the whole Kurdish People.

The other (13-8) five million Kurds do not all speak Sorani. Out of these five millions, about

- (1) By the late Emir Celadet A. Bedir-Khan, and recently by others.
- (2) By Emir Dr. Kamuran A. Bedir-Khan, Professor of Kurdish in the French National School of Living Oriental Languages, Paris.
- (3) Usually Sorani Kurds find Kurmanji very beautiful, they like very much its letter 'V', very frequently pronounced as in French, and which becomes in the Sorani dialect a 'W', pronounced as in English. Kurmanji is not without resemblance to French.

- (4) For more details about this first Congress, see Basile Nikitine, 'Les Kurdes, étude sociologique et historique', Paris, 1956, p. 289 (in French).

1,500,000 speak Lori-Bakhtiyari, which is the most southern Kurdish dialect.

Of the remainder (5,000,000 — 1,500,000 = 3,500,000), the majority, living in Iranian Kurdistan chiefly in the Ardalan and Mukri regions, do not speak Sorani also. In fact, Sorani is spoken just by Iraqi Kurds who do not speak Kurmanji, nor Luri-Faili, that is by about 1,200,000 Kurds, or 9% of the whole Kurdish People.

But the Kurdish dialect which prevails in the major part of Iranian Kurdistan is, indeed, quite near to Sorani, and since the Sorani-written Iraqi publications can be easily read and understood by most of Iranian Kurds, it is generally considered that Sorani may be, or rather is (or must be), the written language of these Kurds too. As a matter of fact, the unique Kurdish paper published presently in Persia (5) is written in the Sulaimani Sorani dialect, exactly as in Iraq, which is a very good thing.

Thus widening the Sorani territorial basis, by adding to the Iraqi Sorani-speaking Kurds the majority of Iranian Kurds, the Luri-speaking being included too, it may be considered that this Sorani dialect is, roughly, the language of about five million Kurds representing about 38% of the whole Kurdish people.

As a matter of fact, and if minor local varieties are to be neglected, which is indispensable, it is generally admitted nowadays that there are two main Kurdish dialects:

- (1) The Kurmanji or, which is better called, the Northern dialect, spoken, as we have said, by about 62% of the whole Kurdish People;
- (2) and the Sorani or, which is better called, the Southern dialect, spoken, as we have said — subject to the reservations made — by about 38% of the whole Kurdish People.

Now, to be in the truth, we must admit that differences between the Northern and the Southern dialects are sufficiently important that each dialect is understood only with real difficulties, under present conditions, by those speaking the other. The fact that Kurmanji is written with cyrillic characters in the Soviet Union, with Latin characters in Syria, and presently not at all in Turkey, where Kurds, however, understand all these characters, and not at all in Iraq and Iran, while Sorani is still written only with Arabic characters in Iraq unfortunately widens their differences considerably or, at least, crystallizes them and hence complicates the question.

To resolve the question, I think it is basically wrong to pretend, in the present conditions, that any of these dialects is, or must be, THE written Kurdish language, for the whole nation. Practically disregarding dialect advantages, it is IMPOSSIBLE to impose, under the present political conditions, one of them on the whole Kurdish People.

It was possible to the Sorani dialect to advance as the literary Kurdish language in Iraq, because political conditions permitted those Kurds to have Kurdish papers and books. The same thing happened to Kurds in Syria, but to a much lesser extent, relating to Kurmanji. Kurmanji is also written in the Soviet Union, where it is related that about 1,500 Kurdish books have been published in the past thirty years. But these publications, unfortunately, because of their cyrillic characters, because they have not been available, for political reasons, to millions of Kurds in Turkey and elsewhere, because of the lack of cultural contact between the bulk of the Kurdish people and the little Kurdish Soviet community, have been of little or no help to Kurmanji, as a wide-spread national written language. The few Kurmanji Kurdish publications tolerated in Syria, and where the written expression attains a relatively high degree of perfection, have been probably of more help because, written with Latin characters, some of them are known in Kurdistan of Turkey. The Kurdish literature of Soviet Kurds could be available to the Kurdish People if written in Latin characters and if, naturally, political conditions permit it, but that is not the case unfortunately. In Syria, some Soviet Kurdish school books were freely put on sale in a few libraries, during the years immediately preceding the formation of the U.A.R., but since that event, this is no longer permitted. The Syrian Kurds complained of the cyrillic characters, and though their language is exactly the same Kurmanji as in the Soviet Union (and Turkey), they did not appreciate very much the style of these school books written, they said, too colloquially, without seeking any literary level. They boasted of being able to write much better, but, needless to say, they were very happy to find their language printed in Soviet Armenia. The complete lack of any reference to the Kurdish nation and to Kurdistan (replaced by references to Armenia and the Soviet Union) was also noticed (6). But the weakest point in the unhappy modern evolution of the 'Kurmanji Story', this old and bright 'Medes tongue', as it used to be called by

(5) This paper is entitled *Kurdistan* and is published in Teheran.

(6) To know more about the Kurdish literature in the Soviet Union, see Thomas Bois, O.P., *Les Kurdes*, Beirut 1958, and *Coup d'oeil sur la littérature Kurde*, Beirut 1955 (both in French).

Armenians in their Historic records (7), is represented by the huge Turkish hiatus. In this so-called democratic and free country of Turkey, where almost one half of the whole Kurdish People is living, but all Kurmanji speaking, and without any rights, any kind of Kurdish publications is strictly forbidden.

This doesn't mean that Kurmanji has no literature. In volume, the Kurdish classical literature composed in Kurmanji is naturally more important than that composed in the other dialects, because the Kurmanji-speaking Kurds are more numerous. The most outstanding and famous classical Kurdish poet, the most popular, too, nowadays among Kurds as well as among foreign specialists and observers, is Ehmedî Khani (8), the very literary father of the Kurdish national idea and whose style, composed in Kurmanji, is always considered as an example having grazed absolute perfection. If, because of the above-mentioned political conditions, Kurmanji has been hindered from pursuing a normal evolution in the domain of literary production and its diffusion, it must be remembered that political conditions are bound to change, likely much more rapidly than some people would like to think.

When Turkey will become more democratic and the Turkish Government will recognize at least the Kurdish People's cultural rights, there is no doubt that the six million Kurds in this country will write their language in Kurmanji, as did Ehmedî Khani three centuries ago, and as do the Kurds of Syria and their contemporary popular poet, Cegerxwin whose patriotic poems are very well known and liked among the Kurds of Turkey too (9). It is certain also that they will do it in Latin characters, as do the Syrian Kurds and the Turks themselves in writing their language. In this event of a democratic evolution in Turkey, implicating the recognition of legitimate Kurdish national and cultural rights, there will not be the least chance that Sorani would be adopted by the Kurds of Turkey as the written language. It has not been adopted by the Kurds of Syria, nor by those of the Soviet Union, it cannot be adopted by those of Turkey, either.

In these conditions, it is in vain and wrong to insist, as do, already, some of our Sulaimani compatriots, that Sorani is or must be THE written Kurdish language, for the whole nation. Of course, if we had to think not in national terms but only of Iraqi Kurdistan, the question would be different, reserve being made, however, regarding the Kurmanji-speaking Bahdinan region. But we are supposed to discuss a question which has genuine wide-spread national proportions, and not a limited regional one. Any confusion between a part and the whole, between Iraqi Kurdistan and the whole Kurdish fatherland (one part to seven or to eight) perverts the very basis of the question and cannot evidently be taken into consideration.

Let us notice that, since the beginning of 1959, the power governing in Syria tolerates, unfortunately, no more, any Kurdish cultural activity in this country. But here as well as in Turkey and Iran, Kurdish national and cultural rights will be, sooner or later, democratically recognised. It will be harder and harder, hereafter, to ignore the legitimate rights of our valiant Kurdish People. **The time has gone when imperialism and its Oriental agents in the Middle East can perpetrate, in silence and impunity, their misdeeds upon Kurds.**

In the event of a sudden and radical solution of the whole Kurdish national question, by the constitution of a unified State of Kurdistan for example, it is also reasonable to think that Sorani would not be chosen, by some general Kurdish academy or Parliament, as the single Kurdish national written language, because the majority of such an institution and of the Kurdish People would be speaking the Northern dialect and not the Southern. So in the two only possible aspects of the Kurdish national question, either in the event of a democratic and rather slow evolution, or in that of a sudden and rapid solution of the national question, there is no chance that Sorani would be chosen, as the written language, for the majority are Kurmanji speaking.

But on the other hand, it is evident too that the present Sorani literary movement must be continued in Iraq, and if politically possible, in the major part of Iranian Kurdistan also. Kurmanji must not be imposed upon the Sorani-speaking Kurds, as a written language, and vice-versa.

Does this mean that the Kurdish nation will have, or rather is having, its language written simultaneously in its two main dialects, the Northern and the Southern ?

Many Kurds might contest it, but this is the EVIDENCE: the Kurdish language is being written, and it will be written, at least for a long period not easily determined, simultaneously in both Sorani and Kurmanji.

(7) See (in French) *The most ancient Kurdish text* by V. M. (Vladimir Minorsky ?), in *Bulletin du Centre d'études Kurdes*, Paris 1950, No. 10.

(8) Ehmedî Khani, born in 1650 in Hakkari, died in 1706 in Beyazid. His most famous work: *Mem-u-Zin*.

(9) Cegerxwin (Wounded Heart) poet of social tendency and Kurdish patriotism, has published three 'diwan's' in Kurmanji and Latin characters, fled to Iraq after the U.A.R. constitution in Syria and the campaign against democrats and Kurds.

In the present conditions, it is basically wrong to think of imposing one dialect on the whole Kurdish People, because, as explained, this is simply IMPOSSIBLE.

The question must not be, and is not, what dialect Kurds are to choose as against the other, but how to proceed in order not to widen the differences existing between Kurmanji and Sorani, how to proceed to reduce these differences and to make the unification of the Kurdish written language not only possible but also more rapidly realizable. Because this question of unification is one that can be resolved only in THE FUTURE, with a thorough, scientifically prepared and progressive plan.

Norway, where two main dialects exist too, had faced a similar problem. The solution adopted to make knowledge available to all people was to write the national language simultaneously in both dialects. Now, each section of the population, each dialect, has its own publication. But for some time the authorities have endeavoured to create and to propagate a third, but COMMON, dialect, rather language, out of the two existing dialects, so that, in fact, Norwegian is being written in three different varieties. This evolution has not yet come to an end, it is still taking place every day, kindly and slowly, without any constraint. Maybe one day will come when the whole nation will write and read exactly in the same way, but the fact that three different dialects are simultaneously written has not affected the nation's unity. This is the modern way of resolving such problems, it is clever and democratic.

The old and non-democratic way of resolving it was to choose one dialect, naturally that of the reigning dynasty, and to make it the State's official language. After many centuries the dialect chosen becomes a national language, written by the whole nation. But the big question is that during all these centuries the masses speaking the other dialects remained completely illiterate, without any instruction, because they were attached to their regional dialects and were unable, and not willing, to learn the official one. Just some officials could read and write. But in our MODERN times, instruction must be made available to the masses.

Now let us come back to Iraqi Kurdistan where Kurds, thanks to the Kurdo-Arabic Iraqi July Revolution, are free to discuss and to decide such vital national problems.

If, as explained, it is impossible to choose, now, one dialect as a single Kurdish written language for the whole nation, it would be wrong to try to impose Sorani upon the Kurmanji-speaking Iraqi Kurds in the Mosul and Erbil departments.

It must be stated that, surely because of political considerations, only the Sorani dialect was officially written under the monarchist regime. The British mandatory power, and afterwards the reactionary Baghdad Governments, neglected intentionally the Kurmanji-speaking areas of Iraqi Kurdistan, economically and culturally, because of the immediate neighbourhood of the oppressed Kurmanji-speaking Kurdistan of Turkey, and according to some secret agreement within the 'Saadabad' or the 'Baghdad Pact' powers. The Kurmanji-speaking Iraqi Kurds used to attend schools (if ever) in Arabic, and since all Kurdish publications in Iraq were written only in Sorani, this dialect or Arabic was slowly becoming the literary language of those of the Kurmanji-speaking Iraqi Kurds who learned how to write. Needless to say, as explained above, these persons were just a handful, being slowly 'Soraniized', when not assimilated to Arabs. But the big mass of this Kurmanji-speaking populations remained out of reach of this process, entrenched in its splendid isolation of illiteracy.

If this was the situation under the old regime, it would be curious, regrettable, unjust and most harmful to the Kurdish People's high interests for it to continue under the new republican regime.

This is, of course, an 'internal' problem relating to Iraqi Kurds, the new regime does not intervene in such problems. The Revolution gave the Iraqi Kurds the liberty of expression and education in their own language. It is up to them to do it in the dialect they like.

It is said that the Iraqi Government has authorized the publication of some Kurmanji-written Kurdish newspapers, one of which is to be published in Mosul itself under the title of *Roja-Nu* (the NEW DAY). But as of now, I have no knowledge if this has come out.

It is clear that the Kurmanji-speaking Iraqi Kurds must be able to have their own schools and their own press in their own dialect, not in its very local and forcibly diverse varieties, but as found in Ehmedi Khani literary works and as written nowadays in U.S.S.R. and Syria and spoken in Kurdistan of Turkey.

Such a solution of the 'Bahdinan' cultural problem is necessary for five major reasons:

- (1) To avoid eternalising the injustice of depriving these Kurmanji-speaking Iraqi Kurds of their right to have schools and newspapers in their own dialect, an injustice caused by imperialism;
- (2) To make education available to the masses. This will be possible only if Kurmanji is taught in the region;

- (3) Because the dialect spoken in Bahdinan is not an isolated little one that might be neglected, but is precisely Kurmanji, the biggest dialect on a thorough national level;
- (4) To remedy, as it be possible, the complete lack of Kurdish publications in Kurdistan of Turkey. To compensate the fact that Kurmanji was unable to progress normally under Turkey's present reactionary regime. For all Iraqi Kurds, whether they speak Sorani or Kurmanji, this I think, should be a national aim, a patriotic duty. Only Kurmanji publications could be understood in Kurdistan of Turkey;
- (5) Finally, since both Northern and Southern dialects are spoken and widely represented in the free Iraqi Kurdistan, to make possible the above-mentioned progressive solution of the unification of the written Kurdish language on a truly national level. Comparative studies between both dialects would thus be possible.

One primordial condition to make possible this unification in the future, is to write both dialects in the SAME CHARACTERS.

It is practically impossible to conceive Kurmanji being written with Arabic characters, because of the Kurds of Turkey who know only Latin characters, because of the Kurds of Syria who already write their language in Latin characters. The Sorani-speaking youth also think of adopting the same Latin characters. The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe encourages very warmly this tendency and invites its members to popularize Kurdish Latin characters, because only these characters will permit the future unification of our beloved Kurdish language.

Needless to say, this question of Latin characters is quite a technical one, has nothing to do with politics and cannot affect the brotherly union between Arabs and Kurds in Iraq. Iraqi political considerations, on the other hand, must not constitute an obstacle against the use of these characters by Kurds. Latin characters can be introduced progressively in Iraqi Kurdistan, to begin with elementary schools, then higher schools and the press.

Let us conclude, concerning the situation in Iraqi Kurdistan:

- (1) To continue the present Sorani literary movement in Iraq;
- (2) To create and encourage a parallel literary movement in Kurmanji wherever the Northern dialect is spoken, and this to be done in Latin characters, as used by the Kurds in Syria (their experiences might be very profitable);
- (3) To begin to write Sorani also, progressively, with Latin characters;
- (4) Then, and only then, to study seriously, scientifically and patiently how to reduce the differences existing between these two main written dialects.

Any other solution implicating the teaching of Sorani in the Kurmanji-speaking areas of Iraqi Kurdistan means that education cannot attain a wide-spread basis and cannot reach the areas' population, that evident realities prevailing in the other parts of the Kurdish fatherland, especially in Kurdistan of Turkey, have not been taken into consideration, and that the question has not been thought of nor resolved, of course, on a national level relating to the whole nation.

Naturally, it is up to the Kurmanji-speaking Iraqi Kurds, who were rather culturally idle under the old dead regime, to ask the Iraqi authorities to have schools and newspapers in the Northern dialect, and it is up to their Sorani-speaking compatriots to understand and to encourage them.

The Iraqi Kurds have the honour and the merit of being free before the other parts of the Kurdish People. They will have, henceforth, not only the delightful opportunities of realizing more and more progress, but also the heavy responsibility of thinking for other Kurds, a responsibility which must not suffer the error of bad or half-solutions, and which implicates that the whole Kurdish interests must be always present in their mind.

The new 'General Directorate for Public Instruction in Kurdish', created recently by the Iraqi Government, has a very wide field of action before it, and also a big responsibility, to that effect.

I didn't say how exactly the two dialects may be unified. This is a most technical philological problem, and can be resolved only after patient scientific studies, within a long, well prepared programme, by a highly specialized body, representing the Northern and the Southern dialects.

Report on the Fourth Congress

The Annual Congress of the KURDISH STUDENTS' SOCIETY IN EUROPE was held in Vienna from July 23rd to July 25th 1959.

The Congress was opened by the President's address. In it the President, Mr. Ismet Cheriff dealt with various important topics comprehensively. Because of their importance a rather 'long' summary of the speech is necessary and shall follow.

The President's address:

"Honourable Guests and Observers,
Dear Sisters and Brothers,

With this word I wish to announce open the Fourth Congress of our dear Society, the KURDISH STUDENTS' SOCIETY IN EUROPE. First of all I would like to say a word of welcome to each and every guest.

In the name of the Society and this Congress I joyfully greet His Excellency the Iraqi Consul in Vienna. I ask him, in the name of all, to convey our deep gratitude to the Iraqi Chargé d'Affaires, for whom he is deputising, so that the latter can in his turn convey it to the Founder of the Republic of Iraq, its beloved hero and leader Abdul Karim Qassem.

We are profoundly proud that Abdul Karim Qassem has looked upon our Society with kindness and approval. Is not the exchange of letters between his Secretary and our Society, the weekly supply of Government publications received by our Branches, and the letter of appreciation sent by the Iraqi Ministry of Education, all a sign of this? While we express this to his Excellency the Consul, we at the same time raise the hope that in future Congresses we shall see, in addition to the representative of the Democratic Republic of Iraq, the representatives of Turkey, Iran and the United Arab Republic when these have become democratic too. When, one might add, they have recognised by word and deed and in their constitutions, like the Government of Iraq has, the rights of our struggling Kurdish People, whose greatest numbers are in Turkey and Iran. We do not say this as a mere result of momentary jubilation. This in fact is a cherished hope proclaimed by all democratic Kurds in the process of solving the Kurdish problem justly, peacefully and in brotherhood with the neighbouring peoples. It is a hope that we like those three Governments to be aware of, and thus know that the land trampled upon by the hoofs of their horses and the iron of their American arms is Kurdistan, stained by the blood and sweat of the Kurdish People. I feel confident that sooner or

later, our wish will be heeded for the good of these countries themselves and for the good of all the Middle Eastern Peoples, including the Kurdish People.

Now, may I in the name of the Society, welcome the Secretary of the Iraqi Students' Union in Austria, and the Secretary of the Jordanian Students' Union in Austria. I hope this will be the beginning of an era of further co-operation between the various Iraqi and Arab students' organizations and our Society and its Branches.

It is now our pleasure to greet those who are, so to say, one of the family. To Dr. Emir Kameran Bederkhan and his wife we express unanimous and most sincere gratitude and joy at their presence. Dr. Cameran Bederkhan is an Honourary Member of our Society. I do not think it necessary to introduce him to the Congress or to any Kurdish organization for his mere name speaks for him, let alone his deeds. But I take this opportunity to salute, in the name of the Society, the memory of his great grand-father — Prince Bederkhan — who so gallantly struggled to wrest the Kurdish fatherland from the yoke of the Ottoman Empire, between the years 1833-48. I propose that now we give a standing ovation to this present bearer of our spirit in appreciation of a lifetime of work for the Kurdish cause, both in the political and cultural field.

Last, but not least, I welcome another Honorary Member of our Society, the prominent Iraqi Kurd, Mr Rasheed Arif. He has been often a source of help and support for our Society. For that we are deeply grateful. His help to many national organizations in Iraq, is too well known to need comment.

The Society, I repeat, wishes to thank Mr. Rashied Arif for his moral support and extensive material aid accorded to us. Through such examples we acquire the feeling that we are not alone.

Brothers,

Some of us here have attended former Congresses, and it is a joy that we meet again. But what is an inspiring observation is that we see so many new members. This is the first congress they have attended. For our Society this is not only a source of joy, but a bright sign of hope. There is absolutely no doubt that the Society shall progress evermore, and from them it shall get a new inspiration. Their contribution, in co-operation with their brothers, to the Society's mission, which is the welfare of the Kurdish Students in Europe and the struggle for the national aspirations of the Kurdish People, shall be profound.

But there is, here, an occasion for regret. Many of our members from the Kurdistan of Turkey, Iran and Syria (U.A.R.), victimised by political circumstances, have been unable to come. The Governments to which they are subject are notorious for their savage treatment of Kurds who take part in the Kurdish liberation movement — which means in essence all the Kurds. Another cause to arouse the wrath of these is that the World Festival of Youth is being held in Vienna immediately after our Congress.

To those who are not present, then, we send our salutations. We promise, as our Society is democratic and all-embracing, to give the fullest consideration to the views and opinions of our absent members in drawing up the Society's policy for the coming year. This is a Society of Students from all parts of divided Kurdistan. Everyone concedes that national liberation is the right of every people. But this cannot be done without struggle. We shall not forgo that struggle and we shall conduct it, in spite of difficulties as above, as one people indissolubly united. To those non-Kurds who have misgivings about our movement we say: we extend to you the hand of friendship and assure you that we are as loyal in our friendship as we are stubborn in the defence of our rights. Our struggle is not a digression from, but part and parcel of the struggle of our friends against imperialism.

One example will show how some friends have unfair misgivings. I tell this because I believe that real friendship must be on a truthful and honest basis. The Third Congress of our Society directed the Executive Committee to apply for membership of the International Union of Students. The Committee did this, in fact I personally wrote the letters. But only after trying many times did we get an answer from the International Union of Students; yet in the answers there was absolutely nothing about the question of our membership. Because of our good relations with the International Union of Students, this caused considerable surprise. After making thorough inquiries in Prague, through some friends, it became known that the International Union of Students will be happy to accept us as members if the delegate of the Iraqi General Students' Union voted in our favour. We then thought this obstacle a very easy one to overcome. Confident of our good relations with the Iraqi General Students' Union, and because of our common efforts in the interests of the Republic of Iraq, we said they will be only too ready to vote for us. We wrote a letter to the Iraqi General Students' Union, and then four more following it. Yet we received no answer. This gave a heavy heart to all our members. Our Society stands well

with the people of Iraq, its Government, and its entire press, both Kurdish and Arabic. Quite often we have done our share, and shall continue to do so, in defending the Iraqi position abroad. Yet the Iraqi General Students' Union chose silence towards us. Thus the fact remains that perhaps only because of this our Society cannot get into the International Union of Students. Now we propose again that our Society be made a member of the International Union of Students.

The Iraqi General Students' Union claims to represent all Iraqi Students, Arabs and Kurds. For this to be consistent with Article 3 of the Interim-Constitution it should recognise our Society as it does Arab Students organizations outside Iraq. We sincerely hope that this problem will be solved in a spirit of brotherhood. Its liquidation is the more desirable since our Society, we are proud to claim, is the only Kurdish organization outside the fatherland that represents the Kurdish People. It has their support, and it is from this that we draw our inspiration.

It has been said that if our Society were an Iraqi organization then such an incident as the one with the Iraqi General Students' Union, already referred to, would not arise. I take this opportunity to say emphatically to everybody who cares to know, that indeed our Society is not an Iraqi organization. The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe is a Kurdish Society, representing Kurdish Students from Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria. But Iraq has indeed a special place in our hearts. Since the day that democracy came to stay in Iraq, namely July 14th 1958, the Kurds there, have seen the realisation of a hope. They are considered equal citizens and have been proclaimed partners in the Republic, and their national rights have been recognised. May this Arab-Kurd brotherhood be a glowing example testifying to the need for a similar bond between the Kurdish and Farsi People in Iran and the Kurdish and Turkish People in Turkey. The will of the people thus considered, the Middle East can then become a haven of peace and prosperity. To this end, and for its sacred mission of struggling for the Kurdish national cause of liberation, our Society shall continue its efforts, as a Kurdish organization. Presently, in Iraq, they decided to dissolve the Kurdish organizations such as the Students' Union of Kurdistan of Iraq and its Democratic Youth Organization. This is a matter of internal politics and does not concern us. The rights and wrongs of the steps can only come out in time. But, we shall continue proudly with our 'Kurdish' identity and work according to our constitution. Is this not a right that we can justly claim? In the past the Kurds have been deceived often by world imperialism, as in the treaties of

Sèvres and Lausanne, and by local leaders like the fascist Kamal Atatürk, the hired Nuri Said, President Nasser's officials in Syria, and the Shah of Iran and his ruling clique. With this in mind one can never be too cautious.

Dear brothers, let us glance together at the condition of the Kurds in Iran. There, about four million Kurds live. In spite of the immense size of their land, the Iranian Government restricts the name 'Kurdistan' to a small county. In fact the Kurdistan of Iran extends from, and includes, Luristan in the South to the Southern and Western regions of Azerbaijan in the North. In between lie places like Kermanshah, what is called Kurdistan, Saqiz, Bana, Mariwan and Mahabad where the Republic of 1945 was centred. What was a unified geographic unit since the days of Sultan Sinder in the 11th century, has now been divided into bits by the authorities. Some Iranians like to say that the Lurs are not Kurds. But the mere fact that so many Faily Lurs are present in our Congress, participating as members of the Society, is a testimony to the fact that the Lurs are a dear and an integral part of the Kurdish nation.

We must bear in mind that there is a historic tie between the Kurdish people and the Farsi people. Their languages belong to the same group of Indo-Iranian languages. Though they are independent of each other. On the other hand the Kurds are the descendants of the Medes who established the first Iranian Empire. And the Farsi people are the descendants of those who inherited that Empire from the Medes. Because of these connections the ruling circles of Iran claim that the Kurdish language is only a dialect of Farsi. Whilst in fact Kurdish is the older of the two. But their flights into fancy cannot be verified by facts. The relation between the two peoples, philologically or ethnologically is similar to the relation between the French, Italian and Spanish people. In spite of the oppressive conditions under which the Kurds live in Iran, we appreciate the publication of a newspaper — *Kurdistan* — in Teheran in the Surany dialect which recognizes the existence of a Kurdish nation. Of course this can hardly cause overjoy in the light of the fact that the Kurds are deprived of every conceivable national right.

In Turkey, one needs say regrettably little. For there about 45% of the Kurds, that is about six million, live under a system of complete savagery, with pressure and terror prevailing always and everywhere. But in spite of that barbaric rule of the Turkish Government, we see among us today the representative of Kurdish Students and Youths in Kurdistan of Turkey. To show him our joy at his sight let us all give him the ovation that he

deserves. To him we say that no soul shall rest in peace until our people in Turkey are liberated.

In Syria, the Northern region of the U.A.R., the condition of the Kurds has been getting progressively worse. Hundreds are imprisoned, others are dismissed from their work, officers are expelled from the Services, children are prevented from attending school, etc. Our Executive Committee sent letters of protest to the U.N. Human Rights Commission and organized a press-campaign on the subject. This regrettable state of affairs can only benefit imperialism to the detriment of both the Arab and Kurdish People. Our Society as always demands that an end be put to such undemocratic activities.

As to the Soviet Union it is well known that the Kurds there enjoy national rights. These are recognised in the constitutions of the Soviet Socialist Republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia. I am happy to say that our Society exchanges publications with the Students Council of the Committee of Soviet Youth Organizations.

Ladies and gentlemen, I beg forgiveness for the length of this talk. I thought a detailed consideration of the whole situation necessary. To conclude, I ask every member to use his rights to the fullest, to shape the future of our Society, for as you know according to our constitution the Annual Congress is the highest authority. Through your efforts we can rest assured that our Society shall play its role in the Kurdish national liberation movement.

Long live the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe,
Long live peoples solidarity for peace,
Long live Arab-Kurdish, Farsi-Kurdish, Turkish-Kurdish brotherhood."

* * *

Following this important speech some of the guests addressed a few words of greetings to the Congress.

His Excellency the Consul of the Republic of Iraq said: "I am indeed happy to be among you. The spirit of the President's speech is a clear indication of the brotherhood of Arabs and Kurds. A bond that shall last forever."

Then Dr. Kameran Bederkhan addressed the Assembly and said: "This is the best day of my life. Seeing you here I feel assured of Kurdistan's rosy future. You will, I feel confident, fulfil the task that will bring our people to victory". Then speaking about Iraq he said: "Iraq is to the East as Rome is to Europe. The name Qassim is dear to our hearts, for that I cry: Long live Abdul

Karim Qassem, Long live Arab-Kurd brotherhood."

(Among the guests were Journalists from Paris and Vienna, come to report on the Congress.)

TELEGRAMS OF GREETING

The guests having spoken, the Acting General-Secretary read the following telegrams and letters of greetings addressed to the Congress from various quarters.

A telegram from the Greek Anti-Colonial League:

"Wishing success for Conference and fair settlement national problems."

* * *

Telegram from Kurdish Students in Turkey:

"Hearty salutations. Regret our representative could not take part in your Congress. Your Society has place of honour in our hearts. We vow with you to struggle for a free Kurdistan." Committee of Kurdish Students in Turkey.

* * *

"I am with you — great success — Hearty greetings."

I. BURGUET,
Cuba.

* * *

"We support your proceedings and wish you great success."

ROUSHAN BEDIRKHAN.

* * *

"With the wish and hope that the Kurdish People will derive benefit for their interests and goals from our Congress — I greet you in anticipation."

GUELGIN,
Germany.

THE HERO OF KURDS, MUSTAFA BARZANI SALUTES THE FOURTH CONGRESS

"Honourable Sisters, dear Brothers, participants of the Fourth Congress of the K.S.S.E.:

Salutations to the struggle for the people and the nation.

I received your letter with pride and joy, and deeply regret that, due to the pressure of work and the necessity of my staying in the country at this juncture, I could not participate in your Society's Fourth Congress. But nevertheless I convey to you my complete support for the steps which you

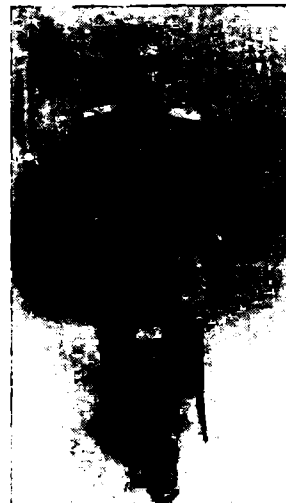
take in the course of making our peoples' voice heard among the nations, bringing that voice to the notice of the people of Europe and the world, revealing the justice of our cause, and clarifying the true attitude of the Kurdish people towards our democratic Republic — the Republic of Arabs and Kurds. Here your democratic Kurdish brothers in the Kurdistan of Iraq struggle with all their powers for the preservation of the Republic and its evolution under the direction of the leader and hero of Arabs and Kurds, Abdul Karim Qassem. Personally I have the honour of being a loyal soldier of the Republic and its leader, Abdul Karim Qassem, and of struggling, within the ranks of our free people, for the people and the nation.

I feel confident that your struggle, which is an inseparable part of the struggle of the masses of Kurdistan for peace, liberation and democracy, shall continue on its correct course. Consequently all honourable citizens and myself are prepared to extend all possible aid to this struggle of yours.

While I greet your invitation to me, I wish you victory in your struggle, and wish your Congress all success in fulfilling its tasks, tasks of improving and extending the techniques of your struggle and activities, and the discharging of national duties incumbent upon you while you are outside the fatherland, at the same time I ask your forgiveness, and a full consideration of my situation, so that I can be excused for not participating in your Congress, which I was longing to attend.

Sincerely,

MUSTAFA BARZANI."



EXTRACT FROM IBRAHIM AHMAD'S LETTER OF GREETING

"I deeply regret not being able to attend your Congress, I warmly wish you success in your blessed struggle for good of the Kurdish people, and against imperialism and its agents. I also support your efforts for safe-guarding our democratic Republic — the Republic of Arabs and Kurds — under the leadership of Abdul Karim Qassem.

Forward for democracy, liberty and peace.

Sincerely,

IBRAHIM AHMAD."

N.B.—The Editor not being in possession of the text of this letter, thus apologises for not printing it in full.

Since the Congress, by unanimous decision, decided that the letters of Mustafa Barzani and Ibrahim Ahmad should be officially answered it is appropriate to publish the text of the replies written by the General-Secretary, Kamal Fuad.

"To the unvanquished guide and hero of Kurds, Mustafa Barzani;

Warmest Salutations,

Your letter of greetings and support to the Fourth Congress was received by the participants with profound delight. It brought the utmost of joy to all, and the prolonged applause that followed its reading reflected that. The Congress consequently adopted a unanimous resolution that this answer should be in the name of all.

While we express our sincere gratitude, it is our confident belief that you, the revered leader of the Kurds, shall triumphantly persist in your service to the Kurdish cause, the hopes and aspirations of the Kurdish People, and the safeguarding of the beloved Republic of Iraq — the Democratic Republic of Arabs and Kurds.

Long live your efforts for unifying the struggle of all the divided parts of our beloved Kurdistan, and your movement along the road to a united and free Kurdistan under the banner of democracy and peace.

Long live the Democratic Republic of Iraq — the beloved Republic of Arabs and Kurds."

General Secretary,

Kurdish Students' Society in Europe, Berlin.

"To our veteran struggler, Mr. Ibrahim Ahmad,

In the name of the Society I convey to you our sincere gratitude regarding your valuable letter to our Fourth Congress.

We were overjoyed and exhilarated by the support accorded to us by the Kurdish People and its struggling leaders. To all we proclaim that in fulfilling the 'basic aims' of our Society our efforts have met with increasing success. In the struggle for the solution of the Kurdish national problem, and in enlightening the people of Europe on Kurdistan and its people our Society has done the possible.

The struggle of the Kurdish Students in Europe is an inseparable part of the struggle of the whole Kurdish nation in all the divided parts of Kurdistan. We join our people at home in the crusade for liberty, peace and democracy, so that in the near future, with the support of all peace loving peoples of the world, we can all happily unite in a free and united Kurdistan.

Forward for the good of the Kurds, and for safeguarding the democratic Republic of Iraq — the Republic of Arabs and Kurds."

General Secretary,

Kurdish Students' Society in Europe,

Berlin.

GREETINGS FROM KIRKUP

"Brothers and Sisters,

We convey to you sincere greetings coupled with best wishes for your success.

From Kirkuk — the heart of Kurdistan of Iraq—we support your Congress, convened under the auspices of your great Society to voice the aspirations of the Kurdish people.

We, on our part, and no doubt many other honest and democratic Kurds, would have been happy to partake in this August Congress. But distance separates us. Nevertheless in spirit we share your thoughts and ideas and eagerly await your concluding resolutions.

We are confident that you shall never discard the historic task which you have assumed and shall always step heroically forward. May you succeed in communicating to all the peoples of Europe the voice of the Kurdish People.

Forward for peace, democracy and a liberated Fatherland."

KAKAMAM BOTANI,

Democratic Youth, Kirkuk.

MOHAMAD JALAL,

Students' Committee, Industrial College,

Baghdad.

HASAN HAMA ALI,

Medical College, Istanbul.

"The Fourth Congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe.

I am honoured to send you these words of greetings in the name of your Kurdish brothers in Istanbul. We deeply regret our inability to send a delegation. The reasons are perhaps obvious to you all. But we too, like many other honest Kurds pledge to you our support, and declare ourselves ready to undertake any duty that might fall upon us.

Long live the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe,

Long live the struggle of the Kurdish People for liberty and peace."

JABAR SHAIK TAHIR,

For the Kurds in Istanbul.

* * *

From a member of the Society in England:

"Congratulations on the convening of the Fourth Congress. While I deeply regret not being present to share with you this national task, I wish you success in strengthening the unity of the Kurdish Students in Europe, elevating the name of Kurdistan, and informing the public opinion of Europe and the world of the efficacy of the Kurdish case."

NAUZAD AL-MUFTI,

England.

* * *

The letter of the Iraqi Students' Society in the United Kingdom:

"Dear Sisters and Brothers,

Sincere brotherly greetings.

On the occasion of the Fourth Congress of your Society — the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe — we convey to you most friendly salutations and wish your Congress all success.

Our Society which has in it Arabs and Kurds among Iraqi Students in Britain, is profoundly happy to have most cordial relations with your Branch in Britain.

We are absolutely confident that our solidarity and brotherhood will be progressively strengthened to the benefit of our peoples who are marching towards liberty, democracy and peace.

Long Live Arab-Kurd brotherhood.

Down with imperialist conspiracies aimed at breaking the united ranks and the liberating movements throughout the world."

D. AL-EQABI,

General Secretary, London.

From Portsmouth:

"The President of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe,

We salute your Congress, and wish you continuous success in your work for the Kurdish People.

We Iraqi students are well aware of the sufferings of the Kurdish People in Turkey, Iran and Syria, under fascist dictatorial regimes. Also we are happy indeed to see our Kurdish brothers in Iraq, hand-in-hand with their Arab brothers, labour for stabilizing the bases of democracy in the country and safeguarding the Republic from all danger.

We wish you all success in your struggle to liberate the remaining parts of Kurdistan and eradicate imperialism.

Long live Arab-Kurd brotherhood,

Long live the struggle of the Kurdish People for their freedom and independence."

KAHTAN AL-MALLAK,

For the Executive Committee,

Portsmouth Branch of the Iraqi Students' Society in U.K.

* * *

From the Iraqi Students' Union in Switzerland:

"Vienna,

The President of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe.

The Iraqi Students' Union in Switzerland takes pleasure in greeting your great Fourth Congress now convened in Vienna. We wish it success in all its tasks. Further we wish you success in your support of our democratic Republic — the Republic of Kurds and Arabs — and in your work for peace and democracy in the Middle East for the freedom and good of all its peoples, including the great Kurdish People.

We hope that the coming year will be marked by even closer co-operation between your Society and our Union.

Please, accept our good wishes.

Long live Arab-Kurd brotherhood,

Long live the solidarity of Iraqi Students in Europe,

Long live our Democratic Republic."

AZIZ MUNIM AL-MULA HAMADI,

General Secretary, Lausanne.

* * *

'PROFESSOR KURDO WRITES TO OUR SOCIETY'

An English translation of the letter received from Qanate Kurdo. It was written in Kurdish, with Latin letter used. Qanate Kurdo is a Kurdish Professor at Leningrad University.

"Dear Friends and Brothers,

Thank you for your telegram. Being ill I unfortunately could not come to Vienna.

Your meeting in Vienna is invaluable for the progress and march of the Kurdish People towards independence, for friendship and brotherhood among the peoples of the world, and for the peace and freedom of all peoples.

Inquiring into the formation of an acceptable Latin Alphabet for the language of all the Kurds is both necessary and valuable. In my opinion the alphabet used in the magazine *Hawar* should now be made the basis of a new Kurdish alphabet. With the provision that the following letters be added to it: K', P', t', z, G, e'. These sounds do exist in the Kurdish language, but they are not in the alphabet of *Hawar*.

It is necessary that you recognise that a start should be made in using Latin letters in cultural and scientific magazines and periodicals. But the Latin alphabet should replace the Arabic one only gradually for the Kurds in Iraq and Iran use the Arabic letters. Thus until the Kurds and Kurdistan are united it is hard to spread the new Latin letters among all the Kurds. At the moment the Latin alphabet is good for the Kurds of Turkey and Syria and for scientific research on Kurds.

Long live Kurdish Youth,

Long live the Unity and solidarity of Kurdish youth for Kurdistan and the Kurdish People.

Long live the Iraqi Republic — the Republic of Arabs and Kurds.

Long live the Hero of Iraq, Abdul Karim Qassem, Down with colonialism and imperialism."

QANATE KURDO,

Moscow, 27.7.59.

Next on the agenda of the Congress was the Report of the Acting General Secretary, Mr. Saadi Amin Dizayee. In his informative report the Acting General Secretary gave the members a detailed survey of the Society's activities since the Third Annual Congress. Whereas space does not permit publication of the whole text, the following is a summary of the most important parts of it, stating only some of the Society's activities over the past year.

"Mr. President,

Dear Sisters and Brothers,

I welcome you most cordially. What a magnificent sight it is to see so many of my brothers here at this Congress, which only goes to prove our

unity of purpose in the service of our people. No doubt, the number would have been even larger if many of our countrymen had not been prevented from attending by the reactionary policies of their Governments. But it is sufficient that we know that their hearts lie with us.

Perhaps it is better that I indicate from the outset that I assumed the responsibilities of General Secretary only six months ago after the General Secretary returned to the homeland. Nevertheless I shall try to inform you of the things done over the whole year.

The concluding communique of the Third Congress was circulated far and wide, in Kurdistan and abroad. It was sent to the newspapers of Iraq, Greece, Morocco, Tunisia, Syria, Egypt and Czechoslovakia. And a copy was sent to Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld the U.N. Secretary-General.

A message of thanks was sent to the Government of the United Arab Republic for initiating broadcasting in Kurdish from Cairo.

A letter was sent to the International Union of Students, expressing gratitude at the stand they took on the question of the condition of Kurds in Turkey, at their Congress in Peking, and for their publishing the concluding communique of our Third Congress in one of their magazines. But on the point of our membership in the International Union of Students we are still at loggerheads.

A message of greetings, on the occasion of our New Year, was received from the Students' Council of the Committee of Soviet Youth Organizations. It was, needless to say, promptly replied to.

Letters were sent to Premier Abdul Karim Qassem, expressing our profound gratitude on the return of, first, Mustafa Barzani, and then the other Kurds who were with him, after 12 years exile spent in the Soviet Union. To our leader, Barzani and to his colleagues we sent letters of welcome.

For a certain period the Western newspapers were printing reports that the Kurds in Iraq were on bad terms with the Arabs. Our Society saw fit to expose this lie and emphasise Arab-Kurd solidarity in Iraq. Thus a circular was put out by us emphasising Arab-Kurd brotherhood. Following its circulation we received a letter from President Jamal Abdul Nasser, thanking us for what we had written. We took this opportunity and put out another circular, more or less in answer to President Nasser, stating our devotion to the Republic of Iraq, and asking the Government of the U.A.R. to change its adverse policy towards the Kurds in Syria and allow the use of the Kurdish language in schools for Kurds. After a time a telegram of protest was sent to President Nasser for the arrest and persecution of Kurds in Syria.

Perhaps now is the best time to state that our relations with the Government of Iraq are on most cordial terms. We have received letters and publications from it continuously. And every time that the situation had warranted we had expressed to it our support and gratitude. On numerous occasions, to mention only the treasonable Shawaff mutiny in Mosul, we have stated our devotion to, and support for, the hero of Iraq: Abdul Karim Qassem.

During the past year our Society's ties with many Kurdish Students have been strengthened and some created. This applies especially to our students in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Syria, and those in Cairo.

At the time of the 'Zurich Conference' on Cyprus, our Society took the opportunity and sent a letter to Adnan Menderes, Prime Minister of Turkey, demanding an end to the oppressive policy towards the Kurdish people, and asking for attempts at a real improvement of the various aspects of their life. A copy of this was sent to Mr Karamanlis, the Prime Minister of Greece.

When the Shah of Iran visited London in May 1959, we sent him a letter, and circulated its text among the press, in which we reminded him of the inhuman conditions under which the Kurds in Iran live, and demanded that they be accorded their due rights and freedoms. As a result of this we received a reply from Mr. Asfandiary, the first Secretary at the Iranian Embassy in London, telling us that the Kurds in Iran are happy and equal citizens. To prove him wrong the Executive Committee sent a delegation of four to the Iranian Embassy in London. The delegation was received by the Iranian Minister, Mr. Qewam, and it put to him the following reasonable proposals:

- (a) That the Kurdish language be used in schools in Kurdistan of Iran, and it should become an official language there.
- (b) The replacement of military rule in Kurdistan by a civil administration.

To these limited demands the Minister only replied that in Iran there is only the Farsi language and Kurdish is a dialect of it. But when the delegation refuted his arguments with scientific and factual evidence, he finally said that he could not remit our proposals to his Government. No wonder, for escaping with wishful thinking is much easier than facing reality. But what they forget in Teheran is that this is a very dangerous practice for its practitioners.

When Fukry Abatha wrote in the Cairo magazine *Al-Musawar* things which did not conform to fact about the Kurds, our Society replied to him in a refutation sent to him and to various newspapers.

The Society, with the co-operation of our Austrian Branch, put out a pamphlet in German,

exposing to European opinion the Kurdish case. Of course this in addition to the normal publication of our organ *Kurdistan*. The Society further has prepared a booklet in French, on the Kurds of Iran, which is now with the printers, and a press interview between our President and the Greek journalist, Mr. Sakatos, which covered a wide range of questions and answers on the Kurdish Question, is now being printed in Greek and shall be translated. *

On the first anniversary of the July 14th Revolution in Iraq, the Society printed and circulated over a thousand greeting cards.

We received a letter from Mr Fenner Brockway, the British Labour M.P. asking that we should, now and then, get in touch with him, so that he can expose the Kurdish case to the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

Sisters and Brothers this is my report and in conclusion I say:

Long live the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe."

The above by no means covers all the valuable details that the Acting General Secretary read out. But it is a representative summary.

* * *

As the Congress progressed, always lively discussion of various items on the agenda was taking place.

Next, the Treasurer, Mr. Saadi Disayee read his report about the Society's finances over the past year. His Balance Sheet was an indication of the growing activities of the Society.

Following him the Editor of *KURDISTAN*, Mr. Sallah Saadalla read his report concerning the magazine. From what he said, everybody gathered that *KURDISTAN* had reached a position of eminence. It was now the turn of the Society's various branches to state their progress. The Secretaries of the branches in: Austria, the United Kingdom, Federal German Republic, Democratic German Republic and Switzerland; Messrs. Omar Amin Dizayee, Tahsin Mohammad Amin, Dara Adib, Jalal Baytooshi, and Hassan Sulaiman, respectively read their reports which were all a proof of progress and intense activity throughout the past year.

To acquaint us all with the general situation, now four representatives, one from each part of divided Kurdistan, delivered a short speech. The speeches were an explanation of the condition of the Kurdish People, and a testimony to their undying spirit and unity. Perhaps a quotation from each will indicate their content:

* These two publications have now appeared and are for sale.

"In Turkey savage oppression reigns over us. We must not repeat the mistakes of the past . . . United, we must follow the road of our forefathers and cry: liberty or death".

The Representative from Turkey.

"Though they may use thicker chains to bind us, we are and shall remain Kurds. The day of liberation is near if we do not allow ourselves to be deceived as we often have been".

The Representative from Iran.

"The authorities deprive us of every right. But rest assured that all the Kurds in Syria want to struggle for the Kurdish cause."

The Representative from Syria.

"Before July 14th 1958 we were denied rights, but since the glorious Revolution, under Qassem's leadership, our efforts have brought us close to realising most of our national rights."

The Representative from Iraq.

* * *

On the last day of the Congress, 25.7.1959, the Society's constitution was discussed and amended.

Following the discussion of other general points, elections were held for the new **Executive Committee**. As a result the following were elected to the **Seven-Man Committee**:

Ismet Cheriff, *President*

Kamal Fuad, *General Secretary*

Woria Rawanduzy, *Vice-President*

Saadi Amin Dizayee, *Treasurer*

Tahsin Mohammad Amin, *Editor of KURDISTAN*

Najib Khaffal, *Member*

Fuad Rashced, *Member*

N.B.—Mr. Fuad Rasheed has since resigned.

P.S.—The Congress decided that a three-man Editorial Committee, headed by the Editor, be set up. Presently it consists of the Editor and Mr. Saadi Amin Dizayee, with the third member yet un-nominated.

The Congress was successfully concluded with the song:

'Ey Rqib Her Mawe Qewmi Kurd Zuban
Nayskene Daneyi Topi Zeman'.

Constitution of the K.S.S.E.

Following are the 'Basic Aims' of the K.S.S.E. embodied in its constitution, as amended in the Fourth Congress in Vienna:

(1) Strengthen the relationship of Kurdish Students in Europe, and organise meetings between them.

(2) Facilitate mutual aid between Kurdish Students in Europe.

(3) Promote the Kurdish national culture, and work towards the good of the Kurdish people and

its national question.

(4) Enlighten the world on the culture, country and condition of the Kurdish people and its national question.

(5) Strengthen the spirit of co-operation and friendship between the Kurdish students and the students of other countries, and contact student and non-student organizations, both national and international, and co-operate with them within the scope of our mutual aims and interests.

The Concluding Communique of the Fourth Congress of the K.S.S.E.

Following is an extract from:

The concluding Communique of the Fourth Congress.

"The Congress:

(1) Supports, unhesitatingly, the Iraqi Republic, its democratic system, and the leadership of Prime Minister Abdul Karim Qassem. It calls on the Iraqi Government to continue pursuing a policy opposed to imperialism and reaction, based on Arab-Kurd solidarity and respect for the rights of nationalities.

(2) Welcomes the decision of the Iraqi Government to set up a Directorate of Education for Kurdistan, and urges its speedy execution. *

(3) Urges the Iraqi Government to execute the policy of regional autonomy — administrative and cultural — for Kurdistan of Iraq, and notes the necessity of inserting relevant articles to that effect in the Republic's new constitution.

(4) Salutes the Iraqi Students' Society in the United Kingdom, and wishes to express gratitude

(2) This has been done though under a different name.

to this courageous Society for its services to the people of Iraq, and its co-operation with our Society.

(5) Believes that the final solution of the Kurdish national problem lies in the liberation of the remaining parts of Kurdistan from imperialism and reaction, and in the formation of democratic Governments, in the states that share Kurdistan, which recognize the Kurdish people and their legitimate rights — the most important of which is the right of national self-determination.

(6) Salutes the struggle of the Kurdish Students in Turkey in combating imperialism and local reaction, and for national liberation. It demands the recognition of the national rights of the Kurds, the denial of which is a form of racial discrimination violating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Charter of the U.N.

(7) Protests at the behaviour of the Iranian Embassy in London in answering our letter and our

delegation the way they did. It rejects and deplores both their written and verbal replies.

(8) Demands of the Iranian Government a reversal of its policy towards the Kurds in Kurdistan of Iran, and the release of their freedoms and rights. It further demands the withdrawal of Iran from the Baghdad Pact which is counter to the interest of all the Eastern Peoples, including the Kurdish.

(9) Deplores the racial persecution to which the Kurds in Syria (U.A.R.) are subjected and demands an immediate end to it; simultaneously with the release of their democratic rights. It deplores too the activities of U.A.R. against the security and safety of the democratic Republic of Iraq.

(10) Urges the release of the Kurdish national Poet Kadri Jan (Abdul Kadir Aziz) from prison in Syria, and asks for the return of Dr. Nureddine Zaza's withheld passport.

'Focus on Kurdistan'

From the various parts of divided Kurdistan comes encouraging news of activity. This is a brief account of some of it, which though taking place within separate political entities is nevertheless directed towards a common end: That of serving the entire Kurdish nation.

Iran

(1) For some time past a national political Kurdish weekly paper, called *Kurdistan*, has been appearing in Teheran. It is printed in the Sorani dialect under the Editorship of a Abdul Hamid Badia Al-Zamani.

This fact, though surprising in itself, is nevertheless encouraging given the notorious anti-Kurd attitude of the Iranian authorities.

(2) In September 1959, the 14th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic party of Kurdistan, in the part of Kurdistan forcibly annexed to Iran, was held. On that historic occasion, 'reflecting the great triumph of our Kurdish People in its long struggle,' the party put out a declaration.

The declaration states how the party was formed by a Congress of the representatives of the masses held at Mahabad in 1945; and how following this a new Congress was held at which the participants agreed to found the Kurdish Democratic Republic with its capital at Mahabad — (The first President of this Republic was the late Qazi Mohammad, a

hero and dedicated servant and leader of the Kurdish People in his lifetime, and a source of strength and inspiration to the nation in his death. He was hanged by the Government of Iran.)

Then the declaration refers to the fall of the Republic under the brutal superior force of combined Iranian and American troops. It goes on to say 'our nation shall not be defeated by killings, terror, detention, or uprooting its members. Perhaps the best sign of the solidarity, strength of purpose, and determination of our nation is the presence of the large number of troops, nearly half the population, stationed in the districts of Mahabad, Sardasht, Bana, Wormey and Kasser Shereen. This large force, under American officers, betrays the desperate fear in which the rulers of Teheran live.'

Of the way that the Kurdish national liberation movement should be conducted, the party's declaration says: 'Experience has shown that the best road that will bring our nation to its goal is that of unity of the masses, guided by the Democratic party of Kurdistan, and joint struggle with the Farsi and Azerbaijani Peoples against imperialism and for the liberation of all nationalities of Iran.'

The declaration then calls on all parties and national organisations in Iran to unite their efforts so that at least the following minimum can be achieved:

(1) Formation of a broad united front to combat imperialism.

(2) A national Government that will pursue an independent national policy and adopt in its foreign affairs the policy of positive neutrality.

(3) Withdrawal of Iran from the former Bagdad Pact (now the Central Treaty Organization), and the abrogation of the bilateral treaty with the U.S.A.

(4) Release of democratic freedoms, such as freedom of organizations, of parties and other freedoms.

The party subsequently calls on all Kurds to intensify their liberating struggle in order to obtain:

(1) Recognition of the Kurdish nationality, as such, in the Iranian constitution, and the adoption of Kurdish in Education and official correspondence.

(2) Recognition of the Kurds' right to autonomy within the borders of Iran. This to cover all parts of Kurdistan, from Lurstan to Macco, under a local administration responsible for all the Kurdistan of Iran.

After greeting all parties and organizations, specially the **Kurdish Democratic Parties in Iraq, Syria and Turkey**, the declaration ends with the following words:

'Greater strength to the front of peace and democracy. Long live the Republic of Iraq the haven of peace and democracy. Salutations to the Algerian people, in arms to liberate their country. And may peace reign in the world.'

* * *

Iraq

A congress of Kurdish teachers was held during September 11th-13th 1959 in Shaqlawa, a resort in Kurdistan of Iraq. Following is an account of its proceedings based on a Broadcast by Baghdad Radio on September 13th 1959, and a report appearing in the Kurdish daily, *Khabat*, of September 22nd 1959.

First, our Society sent the following telegram to the Congress:

"We heartily support the Congress of Kurdish teachers. Hope for early realization of Directorate of Education for Kurdistan."

Kurdish Students' Society in Europe,
8.9.1959.

The purpose of the Congress was: to look into problems connected with Kurdish culture and studies; and naturally to find solutions where necessary. About 300 female and male teachers participated.

The Congress adopted the following recommendations:

- (a) to be held annually;
- (b) the Sorani dialect to be the basis of the Kurdish language in Iraq, and the other dialects be grafted on to it;
- (c) to prepare a History of Kurdish culture and start teaching it in schools throughout Iraq;
- (d) a special Kurdish College be founded at Baghdad University;
- (e) Kurdish History be compiled on a broad scientific and realistic basis. This to be done in a humanitarian, national and progressive spirit to reflect the struggle of the Kurdish People, and its common struggle in league with other peoples, and to make the Kurds aware of their own past, and make known to other people their history. This will serve to create a spirit of brotherhood between the Kurds, their neighbouring peoples, and the people of the world.

The Congress in conclusion adopted the following Resolutions regarding general Education and the question of creating a special body for Kurdish studies in Kurdistan of Iraq, a proposal submitted to the Government of Iraq some time ago:

RESOLUTIONS:

- (1) A Directorate of Education be created for the district of Bahdinan, with its centre at Dohawk.
- (2) Creation of a Directorate of Education for Kurdish studies in Kirkuk, to supervise Kurdish Schools.
- (3) Appointment of assistants to the Directors of Education in Diala, Koot, Amara, and Baghdad, to supervise Kurdish Schools in these districts.
- (4) All Kurdish teachers to be transferred from various parts of Iraq to the Kurdish regions so that they can be of benefit there.
- (5) Study centres with boarding houses be set up in the mountainous regions to spread education.
- (6) Award of Scholarships for studying abroad, and admittance of students into Baghdad University be proportional to the proportion of Kurds to the total population of Iraq.
- (7) Kurdish language and literature be taught in Secondary Schools in the regions under the Directorate of Kurdish studies, in conformity to a curriculum set by the Ministry of Education.
- (8) In the first three grades of Primary Education, in Kurdish schools teaching in Arabic, the Kurdish language should be used from the present session.

- (9) The Kurdish language be gradually introduced into the other grades, where Arabic is being used in teaching.
- (10) As Secondary Education in Kurdish will come gradually, a start should be made now in providing facilities for a greater output of Kurdish teachers.
- (11) Since the Directorate of Kurdish Education is going to draw up the necessary programmes from now, it is imperative that all Kurdish Schools in the provinces of Sulaimani and Arbil, and in the districts of Aqra, Shekhan, Dohawk, Zakho, and Amadia; and the schools in Kirkuk, Diala, Tellaafar and Senjar that will be classified as Kurdish, be attached to the Directorate.
- (12) Correspondence between the Directorate and the areas it covers be in Kurdish.

* * *

On September 21st 1959, a delegation from the Teachers' Society presented the above resolutions of the Kurdish Teachers Congress to the Minister of Education, H. E. Bregadier Mehiadin Abdul Hameed. The Minister accepted the resolutions and emphasized the necessity for the speedy execution of various points.

* * *

The Body often referred to in the above resolutions is the recently created 'Directorate General for Kurdish study'. Dr. Sediq Al-Atrooshi has been appointed the Acting Director General of the above body. Our Society congratulates him and wishes him complete success in his new duties on which the Kurdish People base many hopes for the future. And as the creation of this body is a magnificent demonstration of the democratic nature of the Government of Iraq, we feel proud to express profound gratitude.

ED.

* * *

Turkey

(1) Some time ago the daily *I leri Yurt*, appearing in Diyarbekir — a city in Kurdistan of Turkey, published a Kurdish song in Latin letters. The paper is a Turkish language daily, for in Turkey the Government prohibits the use of the Kurdish

language by the six million Kurds in that country. But its owners and editors are Kurds.

As a result of the publication, cries of anger were raised by many Turkish papers. The Istanbul Turkish diehard daily *Yeni Sabah* published an article on the incident — with a picture of the relevant page of *I leri Yurt* — and demanded that the director and editors of the paper be punished for committing this 'crime'.

(2) It is significant to add that, even before publishing the above song, the director of *I leri Yurt* 'had been accused of 17 crimes' of a similar nature. The Turkish Authorities had detained him and he was to be prosecuted. But scores of Kurdish barristers from various Kurdish cities — Van, Bitlis, Diyarbekir, Ourfa, Maden and others — rushed to his defence. The Turkish government, seeing this surge of solidarity, and fearful of a general outcry — with possible significant repercussions — released him and buried the case.

(3) In a recent purge of active and patriotic Kurdish elements — a normal exercise in "democratic" behaviour of successive Turkish Governments — 80 Kurdish Nationals have been arbitrarily put in prison, without trial and without adherence even to the pure formalities of the rules of law. This is the more revolting, for these men never acted in any form contrary to the interests of the people or the Republic of Turkey.

* * *

The above items of news, though repulsive to any democratic spirit, are nevertheless highly informative. First they indicate the nature of Government in Turkey. Under the guise of a theoretical democracy, a collection of despots — not even comparable with the enlightened despots of the 18th century — rule Turkey in a fashion that is the very negation of democracy. Second to testify to the fact that, in spite of the efforts of successive Turkish Governments since 1920's to deny the existence of a Kurdish nationality and in spite of the policy of 'Turkinisation', the world cannot accept such baseless claims, and that reality cannot be hidden by any measure of a mortal. And Third, they proclaim that a people, in this case the Kurdish people, never die and their sufferings at one stage are only a source of strength for their future struggle for liberation.

ED.

Letter from Syria

There are in Syria, about 400,000 Kurds, and part of divided Kurdistan is now a part of Syria (U.A.R.). Below is an account of their life addressed to the Fourth Congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe.

"The Kurds in Syria, noticing the assembly of Kurdish youth in Vienna, send their blessings and wish the Congress complete success.

We take this opportunity to lay before you an account of the oppression under which we live in our own homeland. Some reactionary opportunists, dedicated to evil work, are bent on creating enmity between us and our Arab brothers in the United Arab Republic. It is their aim, that by sowing the seeds of dissension and driving a wedge between the various forces they can undo the unity achieved — a unity which we, on our part, never dreamed will turn to our disadvantage.

The barbaric deeds, past and present, perpetuated upon the Kurds by some Governments of the Baghdad Pact *, like those of Iran and Turkey, are not unexpected by the Kurdish People, for what they have suffered, and are suffering, under those two Governments is too well known to need explanation.

Until the recent past we Kurds in Syria used to extend our hand to our brothers in those two countries in a modest effort to alleviate their misery. But never for a moment did we imagine that in Syria we would receive like treatment — and possibly worse.

We do not recall the Kurds of Syria (now the Northern region of the United Arab Republic) ever creating trouble or spreading discord and dissension in their part of Kurdistan which fate made a part of Syria. We, a minority constituting 10% of the population, always felt with our Arab brothers a common sentiment and desire to work united for the progress of Syria. When the authorities denied the Kurds the most elementary right — the right to study in one's mother tongue — even in private schools which cost the exchequer nil — the latter did not even attempt to redress the wrong by unlawful means. They accepted the reality of the situation, till things were settled to the satisfaction of all. When Syria was a League of Nations mandate, the mandatory authorities tried to create dissension through discrimination by, for example, giving the Armenians their own schools. But this did not bring the Kurds to playing imperialism's game. Those Armenian Schools are still looked

upon favourably by the present authorities (something to their credit) in spite of the very small number of Armenian refugees in Syria. We say refugees for in fact they emigrated to the country from their own land, which is not divided like ours is—a fate which brings us to the present position of being scattered among states of varying political systems. It is not that the Kurds did not feel the injustice of the situation. They did. But they restrained their emotions so that the imperialists would not have the chance to fish in troubled waters.

Life persisted in this pattern, with the Kurds deprived of schools and broadcasting, of writing and publishing in their own language. But their spirits were sustained by the hope that, when the Arabs achieve their true and full independence they will turn to righting wrongs and thus guarantee to the Kurds their inalienable rights. There were at first encouraging signs to justify this hope. For example Egypt included in her broadcasting system from Cairo a special Kurdish section *, in spite of the fact that there are only a handful of immigrant Kurds in Egypt. But, surprisingly, with the dawn of Union — formation of U.A.R. — which the Kurds blessed and rejoiced in, evil-doers with a wanton desire to estrange the Arabs from the Kurds, spared no treacherous trick to bring to fruition their satanic plans. This was not very unexpected. What was totally unexpected was that the newly constituted authorities should lend these opportunists a receptive ear. Consequently from the new 'Leviathan's' wrath oppression engulfed the life of every Kurd in Syria. Accusations were flung around like fireworks, accusing the Kurds of treachery, deceit, and even treason — qualities totally alien to the nature of the Kurd.

Kurdish officers, and others of junior and private's rank, were summarily dismissed from the armed services, so that today these hardly include a Kurd of even the smallest rank. Then in the dismissals from the Civil Services the dispensable were predominantly, if not totally, Kurds. No reason can be conceived for justifying these discriminatory steps except that the victims were, by nature, of a special nationality. Kurdish school children of not more than 10 years of age were scared away from the schools by pressure, intimidation, and even physical force. Members of the Baath party, in the regions of Jezera, Jabal Akrad (Kurdish mountain), and Ein Al-Arab (Arab spring), volunteered for this task, this infamous

* Now the Central Treaty Organization — CENTO.

* This was before Union with Syria, and it is still on the air.

campaign of violence to the point of kidnapping. All this brought back the memory of yester-years when imperialism, then master of this land, used the same policy of restricting education to those allied to its enslaving mission. What is bewildering is how human beings, possessed of reason, can bring themselves to subject others to an injustice which they themselves suffered and struggled against for years, when the wheel of fortune puts them in a position of power? Yes, man is liable to forget. But it is not normal for a man to forget the sufferings of his past, for whatever the circumstances they leave a permanent mark.

While the enlightened conscience of mankind has come to the support of Algeria and Oman to save them from the hell of imperialism's presence, we see the prisons of the Northern region of the United Arab Republic flooded with Kurds whose only guilt is that they were born into a specific nationality. The prisoners themselves cry for a trial. If the authorities agree to this and bring them before the justice of law, then upon the proof of guilt, even the sentence of death shall be ungrudgingly accepted, for in the Kurd's conception of honour a man accepts the consequences of his action. But if the law finds them innocent, will not that put the tyrant in a disgraceful position? If they knew that these prisoners are the only breadwinners of countless miserable families, then perhaps even they would be moved against such manifest injustice. Could this, and the fact of the prisoners' innocence, be why they do not bother to find out?

An old Arabic proverb says: 'A learned enemy is better than an ignorant friend'. While the opportunists stand in between the Kurds and learning, then how can the U.A.R. Government expect only the best to come of them? To be benevolent to this Government we now tell them: in fact this cultural campaign is not the ideal way to exterminate a people whom even the barbarism of the Turks has not been able to kill. To this Government we say: The whole world is engaged in building a stable universal civilization; and conducive to that where do your negative, irrational, and pre-enlightenment policies stand?

The Kurds, for the time being, swallowed the bitter pill of not using their own language at school. But now fortune has taken a harsher turn and they are not allowed to study even in the Arabic schools. This revolting technique is not applied against the Kurds even in Turkey and Iran.

In fact, dear friends, it is impossible to put down in writing the extent to which your countrymen suffer in the Northern region of the U.A.R., especially since the beginning of 1959. Even the simplest member of the Baath party proclaims that

the Kurds no longer have any place in this region, and their only due is emigration or torture and death. They vow that they will carry this out whatever the means, and no matter how dishonourable.

For all that has been said above the Kurds in Syria cry out to your Congress, and build upon it the highest hopes for the future. We ask you to consider the following propositions and strive for their fulfilment so that your countrymen in Syria can enjoy a measure of just life. Your brothers are not refugees, or immigrants in Syria, as some would like to believe. But it was world imperialism which carved up our dear Kurdistan and part of it became incorporated in what is termed Syria. The rich land of the Kurds is well known, and to steal its abundant resources, ambitious forces are prepared even to exterminate its people.

The points we ask you to consider are:

- (1) Since Arabs and Kurds are subject to the same duties, then they should enjoy equal rights.
- (2) To labour for the release of innocent prisoners, and only those proved guilty should be punished.
- (3) In our desire that the name of the U.A.R. should not be tarnished with accusations of tyranny and oppression, innocent dismissed officials should be re-employed.
- (4) Kurds should be admitted to the Police schools and the Military Academy, like their Arab brothers, if they possess the required qualifications, which should depend on merit.
- (5) The dismissed Kurdish officers should be re-engaged in the armed forces, and censorship lifted upon them so that they can play their part in serving the Republic.
- (6) An end be put to removing the Kurds from their own country in an attempt to scatter and assimilate them.
- (7) The Kurds should be accorded the basic and accepted human rights of using their language freely, should be given a fair proportion of broadcasting time, and efforts should be made to raise their standards, in various fields, in parity with the rest of the population.
- (8) So that the two racial entities can live in harmony and peace discriminatory policies should be reversed.
- (9) A Kurdish newspaper should be allowed so that the Kurds can feel more assured.

These points are not all, but a part of what every Kurd feels must be done. Every Kurd, who through misfortune, past blunder, and the dismal policy of imperialism, finds himself a subject of the U.A.R. We ask your Congress to consider and study them,

for they are a reflection of what is lacking in our daily life. We depend on you to do your part in lifting this curtain of misery from over the Kurdish nation, so that we too can live the kind of life that is every people's due in this age of the triumph of right and justice."

From the KURDS IN SYRIA.

The Congress did study these proposals and the Society is pledged to do everything in its capacity to realize them.
Ed.

Letter from U.S.S.R.

As is well known there are over 100,000 Kurds in the Soviet Union. In an exchange of letters between a Soviet Kurd and a Kurd from Syria studying in East Europe, this is what the former writes:

"Brother Semko,

God bless your days. You do not know me. I am your Kurdish brother, pursuing my studies at the Eastern Institute — Leningrad University — to specialize in Kurdish studies. I heard of you from Qanatê Kurdo. So I write you this letter to get to know you. I think you will answer me. The Kurdish blood is, then, the real cause of our acquaintance."

In another letter, an answer to one written to him by the Kurd from Syria, the Soviet Kurd writes:

"Kurd Brother Semko,

God bless your times. I received your letter with profound happiness. It shows that our aims and ideas are one, namely the liberation of our nation from imperialism and the oppressive black hands of the enemy. To achieve this we need the efforts of all our friends. Therefore it is the duty of Kurdish

youth to educate themselves, to help each other, to think as one mind, and feel with one heart.

God willing, we shall see the day when the Kurdish People rule themselves by themselves, and prove their presence by their determination. I heard that the Kurds publish a magazine KURDISTAN in Europe. Please send me all issues.

My regards to all your friends who are true Kurds, and who burn with the desire for the liberation of the Kurds."

We are grateful to our brother from the Kurdistan of Syria for giving us these extracts.

The Kurds in the Soviet Union enjoy national rights. It is therefore a sign of the remarkable spirit of the Kurd, that in spite of that this young man burns with a desire for his fatherland which is still under alien rule. His ambition is the liberation of Kurdistan, and to him Unity of Spirit, oneness of purpose and united action are the means to that end. It would be indeed a great achievement if every Kurd thought like that.
Ed.

Letter from Iran

Kurdistan of Iran is the second largest part of our divided nation. The authorities in Teheran try to deny that Lurstan is part of it. To support this foul tactic they have not the slightest shred of evidence. Following is the text of what a Kurd from Lurstan has written to us.

"Lurstan is part of the Kurdish nation—

It forms the Southern part of Kurdistan. It includes the Baktiar — or Great Lur — region, and the Lur-Amala and Peshtkooh-region inhabited by the Faily Kurds.

This territory suffers the same evils that beset the other parts of our land under the reactionary imperialist allied Government of Iran. There is terror and persecution, there is the denial that Lurstan is not part of Kurdistan and is not in-

habited by Kurds *, and there is the tragic lack of health, education and welfare facilities. The territory is under a repressive military administration whose chief pre-occupation is combating the growing national movement in this part of our country.

Needless to say by every conceivable test the sons of Lurstan are original Kurds. Their chief pre-occupation in this part is agricultural — tobacco, wheat and barley — and husbandry. Politically their preoccupation is the struggle for Kurdish self-determination, and are confident that soon this right shall be exercised.

* The weekly Teheran Kurdish paper KURDISTAN — which cannot continue without the grace of the authorities — has recognised that Lurstan is part of the Kurdish nation.

Many youths from Lurstan participated in the Fourth Congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe, the standard bearer of the Kurdish cause abroad. We are determined to participate with greater number in the future, because we are convinced of the righteousness of the Society's mission and have full confidence in it.

Long live the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe.

Long live our struggle for self-determination.
Long live our brotherhood with the Farsi People."

SHAWAZ BAKHTIARI,

From Lurstan.

A Voice from Turkey

The following is taken from *Yeni Hayat* — a Turkish language Bulgarian magazine — issue No. 7 1959. The article was written by a Kurd from Kurdistan of Turkey and translated into Kurdish by Mr. Omar Dizayee. This is its English translation:

"The condition of the Kurds in Turkey.

In the Eastern districts of Turkey live over four million Kurds. In Iran, Iraq, Syria (and U.S.S.R.) there are a large number too. The Kurdish population in those countries totals about nine millions. The Kurds are of the Aryan stock and their language is a branch of the Indo-European group.

When, after the first World War, the Western imperialists divided the Ottoman Empire among themselves, the Greeks were marching into Anatolia (Asia Minor). The Turkish people were, as a result, roused to a struggle for independence. For this purpose Mustafa Kemal Atatürk tried to get the Kurds on his side. His efforts brought him to Eastern Anatolia, where the Kurds live, and he busied himself making fiery speeches. He wrote articles, denounced the imperialists and talked of Turkish-Kurdish brotherhood. In his speeches, Atatürk profited from the national consciousness of the Kurds. He gave them his word of 'honour' that if they assist the Turks in these critical times, then afterwards the Turks will even extend the boundaries laid down for the Kurds by the treaty of Sèvres 1920, which recognised their right to independence. Upon this promise the Kurds put their might in Atatürk's hand. Under the name of 'Kurdish volunteers' they fought the Greeks, and thus they helped in expelling the invaders from Anatolia.

For a short while after, Atatürk treated the Kurds well, but his old friendship did not last long. When the occupying foreigner was expelled from Turkey, Atatürk turned face and disgracefully disregarded his pledges. He tore up the treaty of Sèvres and forced the imperialists to conclude the treaty of Lausanne (1923). Because the treaty of Lausanne had no provision for safe-guarding Kurdish rights, the Kurds started demanding them.

But the Kamalist Government did not listen to the clamour. When finally the Kurds observed this, they mobilised all their efforts and in 1925, under the leadership of Shaik Saaid, they lighted the torch of Revolution in the districts of Diar, Bakir, Orfa and Mardin. This rising was bloodily squashed with the assistance of the French. As a result Shaik Saaid and 45 other Kurdish leaders were executed. This did not break the determination and resistance of the Kurds, for in 1927, under the leadership of General Ihsan Nuri, another rising was started this time in the mountain of Agry Dag which is on the Turko-Iranian frontier. Because the Turkish Army was helpless in putting the revolt down, it asked for the assistance of the Iranian Army. The Iranian Army, fully equipped, moved towards Agry Dag and the Kurds were thus caught in a crossfire. After a long and heroic stand the revolutionaries were vanquished.

In 1937 the Governments of Turkey, Iran and Iraq signed the Charter of Saad Abbad (the name is one of the Shah's palaces in Teheran). This charter became 'THE' obstacle in the way of Kurdish liberation. Singly the Governments could not cope with the fire of Kurdish Revolution, so they grouped together for the purpose.

In 1937, in the district of Derseem the third rising was kindled. To defeat this one the Turkish Government employed all barbaric methods, even the use of poisonous gas.

In all these struggles over 1.5 million Kurds perished. The Turkish Government used an army of 300,000 for the purpose.

Yet in Iran and Iraq the struggle of the Kurds was continuing. Ever since 1925 the Kurdish districts in Turkey have been under military rule, and all foreigners are prohibited from visiting that region. In this manner, today the whole region is confined in four walls like a prison and no voice from the outside world can be heard. The guards of this huge prison are the Turkish soldiers and its inhabitants are a people deprived of all human rights. In this region no Kurd is permitted to speak

his mother tongue, and until two years ago it lacked a single high school.

To implement the policy of 'Turkinisation', to this day the authorities uproot the Kurds and send them to Anatolia. With every such move the fascist mentality of the Turkish bourgeoisie grows. Turkey claims that anybody living in Turkey is ipso facto a Turk, and thus the Kurds are called the 'mountain Turks'. At the same time as the Turkish bourgeoisie are denying millions of Kurds their natural rights, we see the prophet of Turkish Fascism — Jalal Nuri — rise in Parliament and

say: 'The Kurdish question is finished. By BOMBS we turned the savage Kurds into civilized people.' The fascists of Turkey have erected a tomb on mount Agry Dag and have inscribed on it the following in Turkish *Here the Utopia of Kurdistan is buried.*"

But whatever the capitalist rulers of Turkey do, it is in vain. The liberty loving Kurdish People shall continue their struggle for a brighter tomorrow. And there is no doubt that its result shall be victory.

A.H.



Kurdistan, Kurdistan, Nîştumani Cwan Her Biji Be Sadî Serbestî w Azadî.
Kurdistan, Kurdistan, the beautiful land long live in happiness, in liberty and freedom.

All communications regarding the Society should be addressed to:

The General Secretary,
Berlin-Halensee, ■
Johann-Sigismund Str. 2
bei Kaminski
Germany.

All communications regarding KURDISTAN should be addressed to:

The Editor of KURDISTAN,
14 Manson Place,
London, S.W.7.

'Innocence in Absentia'

Some time ago the Republican Government of Iraq, in a post mortem order, declared innocent the four Kurdish officers who were hanged by Nuri Said's regime on June 19th 1947, for offering their services to the Kurdish Republic at Mahabad.

On this occasion, in honour of their memory, we print part of their message to the Kurdish People, written one hour after they were convicted to die.

Baghdad, 18th June 1947.

From Ezat Abdul Aziz, Mustafa Khoshnaw, Khairalla Abdul Karim and Mohammad Mahmood,
To our Brothers the beloved Kurdish People:

We find ourselves fortunate that in our national duty we did not slacken. Our only advice is that

Kurdish youth and the guardians of our land should forget all selfishness, and make unity their weapon for breaking imperialism's grip and liberating all oppressed peoples.

Brothers,

We are a sign of the Kurdish People's struggle in 1947. You who remain are struggling along the path of honour, and with God's backing our people shall be liberated. We, like free soldiers, tried to the end of human capacity, and thus the gallows—are our end.

Forward then to Unity and to Liberty.
Long live the Kurds,
Long live Kurdistan.

Signed by all four.

Press Comment

This is a translation of the German original of a report on the Fourth Congress of the KURDISH STUDENTS' SOCIETY IN EUROPE. We are grateful to Mr. Omar Dizayee for translating the original into Kurdish.

"Meeting Place of Kurds—Vienna"

At a time when Viennese are happy to be spending their Summer holidays in the country-side, and prominent parties leave the city, only the Cabinet and the Political Offices, which always continue to zero hour, remain.

At this time, a small group, who are fanatically attached to their political aspirations, took over the leadership of the Austrian capital from all sides. These strugglers were Kurds, mostly students in the Universities of Europe. These, together with their compatriot students studying in Vienna, and Kurdish politicians who had already arrived, met last week in a patriotic congress which they hold annually after the Summer semester. Two years ago it was held in London, last year in Munich, and this year it is the capital of Austria.

A black-haired Kurdish youth roared at the delegates: 'Let us struggle hand-in-hand for the Kurdish cause, that cause which is coloured by the blood of our forefathers. By their sacred graves let us swear: 'liberty or death'. It is apparent that the Kurds too, like most of the Middle Eastern Peoples, and like the peoples of Europe, in the past, are heated with their own brand of nationalism.

On the map 'Wild Kurdistan' does not form a political unit akin to the modern state. Its 10 million population are a scattered, but stubborn people, divided between Turkey, Iran, Iraq, the Soviet Union, and the Syrian region of the United Arab Republic. Thus we observe that Kurdistan is in the cross current of varying political influences, such as Western democracy, Soviet communism, and Arab nationalism.

Mulla Mustafa Barzani is the symbol of Kurdish ambition, who has been living in the house of Faisal's Premier, Nuri Said — both killed — since the Iraqi Revolution.

This 56 year old Kurdish General, exercises influence not only in the street, but also in the Cabinet rooms and among the Iraqi officers' groups. He returned to Iraq last year after spending 12 years with the Soviet forces with the rank of 'OBERST'.

Many expected that Barzani, indoctrinated in Moscow, will act against Qassem's Revolution through Soviet aid. But this proved wrong, since he has sent a telegram of solidarity to these young Kurds assembled in Vienna, saying 'I want to be considered a soldier of Qassem'.

After a lengthy discussion the Kurds in Vienna were heated up. Besides that the atmosphere was made heavy by the smoke of Middle Eastern cigarettes. The only drink allowed to cool them off was water. It was apparent that the Kurds were

making obvious attempts to keep away from Communism and were associating themselves more with the leader of Iraq, Abdul Karim Qassem. Up to date Qassem is the only person who has, through Article 3 of the new Iraqi interim-constitution, accorded the Kurds a political right. They are all hopeful that Qassem will protect them from Nasser's Arab State."

'Die Wochen Presse,'
Vienna, August 1st 1959.

We wish to point out that, first Mustafa Barzini did not go to the Soviet Union to join the Soviet forces. He was a welcome exile from the terror of Nuri Said.

Secondly our Society is not a political organization and whatever 'isms' the individual member believes in is a personal matter. Ed.

* * *

"It began (the Kirkuk disturbance of last July), with the brutal murder of a cafe owner by Kurdish tribesmen in the Iraqi oil centre of Kirkuk. Before order was restored by the arrival of Army reinforcements, Kirkuk had been subjected to a long night of terror by the pro-communist Kurds in league with blood cousins who had mutinied from Army units stationed there and units of the . . . people's Resistance Force.'

'Life'—September 14th 1959.

A reputed magazine like *Life* no doubt is aware that reporting of news must either conform to fact, or be an analysis based on reason. The above item is a fabrication, based on the whim of an apparently ignorant reporter, which does unjust harm to

the Kurdish People. We hereby most vigorously protest. What on earth, one might ask, have the Kurds, as such, to gain from killing in their own country? How, in the name of reason, will they turn against a regime which has for the first time constitutionally recognised their national rights?

Mr. Keith Wheeler of *Life* could have at least born that in mind in writing his report. Ed.

* * *

"In the mountainous North of Iraq, fierce Kurdish tribesmen are ready to fight for their dream of an independent Kurdistan."

'Newsweek'—October 19th 1959

The Kurds indeed have their own legitimate and realistic aspirations, but their actions are never prejudicial to the interests of Iraq. Ed.

* * *

The French language magazine *Europ-Orient*, devoted a special issue — No. 156, July 29th 1959—to full and favourable coverage of the Fourth Congress at Vienna.

The African French language newspaper *Fraternité* published in Ibadan, Nigeria, had a special article on the Fourth Congress and the Kurdish Question in general, in its issue of July 31st 1959.

The well known French quarterly magazine *Orient* published a special article on the Fourth Congress and its resolutions in its Autumn 1959 issue.

In addition some Greek papers published news of the Fourth Congress too.

The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe and the International Union of Students

Since the Third Congress of our Society in 1958, official efforts have been directed towards securing our Society's membership of the International Union of Students. The latest development of this episode is the letter of our President sent to the International Union of Students concerning the same issue of membership. Below is the text of the letter:

Executive Committee, I.U.S. Vocolova 3, Prague.

"Dear Friends,

In 1958, the Third Congress of the 'Kurdish Students' Society in Europe' had asked its Executive Committee to present to you a request for the admission of our Society to the International Union

of Students, as an affiliated member. We wrote you to that effect on 14th August 1958, 11th December 1958 and 16th January 1959. Unfortunately, up to date we have received no answer to our three applications.

Our Fourth Congress, held recently in Vienna from 22nd to 25th July 1959, having expressed the same desire, we are happy to renew the same request, hoping, as mentioned in one of the resolutions adopted by this last Congress, 'That our Society will be admitted to I.U.S. before the next Congress'.

We consider as very important that the I.U.S. accept our Society's membership in this period

when our Kurdish People needs us in its huge battle against imperialism and for national liberation, when we really need you in our battle for the satisfaction of our people's legitimate aspirations, and when you certainly need us, too, as you need the collaboration of all democratic youth in the world, in your fight for a better life, peace and democracy. We need you now much more than when the Kurdish national question has been resolved. Students organizations of dependent peoples deserve more help than those of free ones. You know that our people are not free, except in Iraq, that our country Kurdistan has been politically divided by imperialism, and that a strong Kurdish national liberation movement does exist.

You have already admitted, as affiliated members, several students organizations of non-independent peoples, many of which are African. We ask you to do the same with us.

Let us remind you, on the other hand, that our organization groups together only the Kurdish students ABROAD — living in Europe — whether they originate from Kurdistan of Turkey, of Iran, of Iraq, or that of Syria; that it is not a Turkish, nor Persian, nor Iraqi, nor Arabic organization, but just Kurdish; that our relationships with the General Students' Union of the Iraqi Republic are most intimate and friendly, and that you have nothing,

in the I.U.S. Constitution, that might hinder our admission, the contrary is in fact more likely.

Lastly, let us inform you, please, that the fears some I.U.S. Executive Committee members seem to have, concerning some objection of the General Students' Union of the Iraqi Republic to our admission to the I.U.S. seem to have, fortunately enough, no ground.

With the hope of receiving a positive reply soon, please do accept, dear Friends, our most democratic salutations.

On behalf of the Executive Committee of
Kurdish Students' Society in Europe,

THE PRESIDENT.

N.B. This letter will be published in our periodical magazine, KURDISTAN.

Annex: The Resolutions of the Fourth Congress of the K.S.S.E.

P.S.: We are sending you the last publications of our Society:

- (1) 'Aspects de la Question nationale en Iran', by Perez Vanly, Paris, July 1959;
- (2) 'Interview on the Kurdish national question', by Ismet Cheriff Vanly, Athenes, June 1959 (in Greek).

The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe and the General Students' Union of the Republic of Iraq

On August 4th 1959, a delegation of three from our Society, consisting of the President, Vice-President, and the Editor of KURDISTAN, met the President of the General Students' Union in the Republic of Iraq, Mr. Mahdi Abdul Karim.

Many points of mutual interest were discussed, and the relations of the two friendly organizations were reviewed. Satisfaction was expressed by both sides that their relations were good, and both expressed determination to further that bond of amity.

These are some of the specific issues raised:

(1) On the question of the admission of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe to the International Union of Students.

Mr. Mahdi Abdul Karim said: 'If the International Union of Students makes the admission of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe subject to

the approval of the Iraqi Union, and that if they receive a letter from the International Union of Students to that effect, they will not object to the admission.' (It is notable here that Mr Abdul Karim did not say they will actively encourage our admission.)

He further said when the issue actually comes under consideration it will be a matter for their Secretariat to decide.

(2) When asked why the Students' Union of Kurdistan had been dissolved, Mr. Mahdi Abdul Karim replied: 'It was done in the interest of the "Unity of the Students movement" in Iraq.'

The delegation of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe replied that though we favour Kurdish bodies in general, such matters are internal to the Iraqi Union and we have no wish to interfere.

(3) Mr. Mahdi Abdul Karim agreed that our Society is not an Iraqi body, but a Kurdish one with its own independent policy.

(4) The basis of co-operation to be in general and

not specific terms.

The meeting, though not producing hundred per cent. agreement, cleared away many misunderstandings and ended in an atmosphere of cordiality.

Miscellaneous

'Iran Insulted'

The Kurdish daily *Khabat* in its issue of September 4th 1959, reports two crimes committed by Americans in Iran.

Both concern the rape of Iranian women.

The first is as follows: Around August 1959 the wife of a Said Mala, from the village of Qom Qalla was returning home with her brother. On their way they met a car load of Americans. The latter offered them a lift. When the woman got in they sped away leaving her brother. They kidnapped her for four days, at the end of which they brought her back to the spot where they kidnapped her, and dropped her in a state of near insanity.

The second incident is as follows: Some Americans took a young girl, just over 10 years, as a maid. One night a group of them, like savage animals, or like 'civilized' Americans without a cent of honour raped the helpless creature.

The families of the two females in question protested to the Iranian Government. But the cowards of Teheran, the hirelings of imperialism, dare not take action against their masters.

For people, or maniacs, reared on Hollywood films and brought up in the Rock 'n' Roll civilization of U.S.A., such sadism must be habitual. But even habit cannot excuse this animal behaviour. This is one of the 'benefits' that the people of Iran get from this hated Government's alliance with the imperialists. People have no objections to have relations with the U.S., as such, but if such people are her ambassadors and such habits her chief export, then one would rather deal with the devil.

Even the stones of Iran, let alone the conscience of its entire people, could rise in protest against such barbarity if they had a tongue. We on our part protest in the strongest possible manner against this crime, this insult to the people of Iran. As one of the victims seems to be a Kurd this makes it even more our duty to protest. From the Government of Iran we demand full protection of our people. If it cannot give it, then the people will be glad to see them go.

To the Authorities in Teheran and to their allies the imperialists we say: the wheel of history is turning, and when shortly it takes its full turn in Iran and the people are liberated, you shall pay the price of your deeds. To be convinced of this inevitable course, you have only to look at the world around you. Ed.

* * *

A book has recently been published in the Soviet Union called:

'KURDISKIE SKAZKI' (KURDISH STORIES)
by I. FARIZOV and M. RUDENKO.

The authors have translated Kurdish stories from the following sources:

- (1) The Book: 'FOLKLOR KERMANJI.' Published in Yarıvan in (1934) ?
- (2) The Kurdish magazine *Hawar*. Published by the Bederkhan family.
- (3) Story tellers in Teflees (Georgia) personally interviewed.

The authors state in this work that there is proof that Kurdish literature is at least 1,000 years old.

And the following two books on Kurdish literature — in French — are of great value to everybody seeking knowledge on the subject.

They are both by R. P. Thomas Bois, O.P.

- (1) 'Coup d'oeil sur la littérature Kurde' Beyrouth, Libanon 1955.
- (2) Les Kurdes, Histoire, Sociologie, Littérature, Folklore'. Beyrouth, Libanon 1958.

* * *

'The Big Lie'

On June 23rd 1959, the so-called 'Radio Free Iraq' — the voice of traitors and their neighbouring allies — broadcast a declaration in the Arabic language in the name of our Society denouncing Qassem and the Iraqi Republic in most vehement terms.

This fantastic, shameful and groundless fabrication, this biggest of big lies, could not have been thought of even by the 'father' of the big lie Dr. Goebbels himself. Such dishonourable techniques

cannot affect the loyalty of the Kurds to Qassim's democratic regime.

In reply to this fabrication our General Secretary, Mr. Kamal Fuad, put out an immediate declaration, pointing out the utter falacy and baselessness of such wishful thinking. In it he said: 'While we rest assured that everyone who is familiar with the policy of our Society cannot believe such lies, designed to harm the Republic of Iraq, the Republic of Arabs and Kurds, we draw the attention of all — and those crowing for Radio Free Iraq — to what our Kurdish brothers in Syria suffer. Deprived of the simplest of human rights, they live under a rule of oppression, torture and deprivation Denying such voices of evil we take the opportunity to re-affirm our faith in the democratic policy of Iraq and the leadership of Abdul Karim Qassem.' The declaration goes on to say: 'If we had any reservations towards the Republic of Iraq we would voice them freely and courageously without resorting to cowardly means. And we hereby protest most vigorously against the policy which the controllers of that Radio, the men of Cairo, use towards our people in Syria'.

We also learned that the magazine *Kulhu'Shai* (Everything) — in Arabic — in its issue of September 19th 1959, claims that an Iraqi correspondent in London wrote to it accusing the Iraqi Students' Society in the U.K. of co-operating with our Society.

We like to say, as our General Secretary pointed out in the above declaration, 'We are proud of our close ties with the Iraqi Students' Society in the U.K., for we both uphold the same basic common principles and aims which are to the benefit of our two peoples not only in Iraq, but also in all parts of the Arab world and Kurdistan'.

And one can safely say that this feeling is mutual.

We have been informed that Mr. Othman Ozairy has dedicated the proceeds of his recently published book to our Society. The book is a translation from Arabic and its subject is: 'The History of Teachers Movements in Poland'. (Regret that we have not detailed information about its title or contents. Ed.)

On the second page of his book, Mr. Ozairy, we are told, refers to the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe and the part it is playing in the national movement. He says: 'The Kurdish Students in Europe are those who unhesitatingly struggle for the realization of immediate and future aspirations of Kurdistan and its people . . . To the limit of their means and ability they have done their utmost in acquainting the people of Europe with Kurdistan

and its people . . . I am grateful to all members and organizers of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe for what they have done, and wish them success.'

To Mr. Ozairy we say: that it is our pleasure to express the deepest gratitude for your patriotic and kind gesture towards our Society. We do not consider ourselves self-sufficient. It is through the material aid, and primarily the moral encouragement, of people like you that we find ourselves able to overcome obstacles in our way. Our supreme satisfaction is the knowledge that our people at home consider our efforts as part of their own liberating movement. In such support we find the purpose to lead us on. Ed.

The following compatriots from Kurdistan of Iraq have sent gifts and letters of support and appreciation to our Society: Miss Anjum Abdulla Zuhdi, Haji Mala Mohammad, Mr. E. askander Hamawandi from Sulaimania and Khanaqin.

For this valuable gesture of solidarity and appreciation the Society wishes to extend their sincere gratitude. From it the Society shall derive the morale to sustain it in its efforts. When a nation is thus united, there is no force that can stand between it and the realization of its aspirations.

Reply of U.N. Human Rights Commission to the letter of protest, concerning the condition of Kurds in Syria, submitted to it by the K.S.S.E., dated 8th June 1959.

Messieurs,

Je suis chargée d'accuser reception de votre lettre du 8 uijn 1959.

J'ai le regret de vous faire savoir que la Commission des droits de l'homme n'est habilitée a prendre aucune mesure au sujet de communications emanant d'un particulier ou d'une organisation privée.

Conformement a la procedure normale, copie de votre lettre a ete transmise au Gouvernement de la Republique Arabe Unie sous le couvert de l'anonymat. Ce gouvernement est seul juge de la suite a donner a votre reclamation.

Vouse trouverez ci-joint, pour votre information, les passages pertinents de la resolution 75 (V) du Conseil economique et social. telle qu'elle a ete modifiée.

Veuillez agreer, Messieurs, l'assurance de ma consideration distinguee.

DORIS M. MAY,

Division des droits de l'homme.

Books on Kurds and Kurdistan

- D. Bedir-Khan—Grammaire Kurde. Damas 1933.
- K. Bedir-Khan—Livres Scolaires, Kurdes. Damas 1937.
- H. Binder—Au Kurdistan, en Mesopotamie et en Perse. Paris 1887.
- C. Bitlisi—Cheref-Nameh Au Fastes de la Nation Kurde. Saint-Petersbourg 1868-1875.
- Th. Bois—L'Ame des Kurdes à la Lumière de leur folklore. Beyrouth.
- W. G. Elphinson—The Kurdish Question (International Affairs). London, January 1st 1946.
- Delegation Kurde—Memorandum sur la situation des Kurdes et leurs revendications. Paris 1948 (Available also in English).
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- A. M. Hamilton — Road through Kurdistan. London 1937 (New edition 1958).
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- V. Minorsky—Kurdes, Encyclopedia de l'Islam, t.II. Paris-Leyde 1927.
- B. Nikitine—Les Kurdes, etude Sociologique et Historique.
- By the same author: Probleme Kurde, Politique Etrangere. Paris Juillet 1946.
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- E. B. Soane—To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise. London 1926.
- By the same author: The Southern Kurds: Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, vol. 9, 1922.
- M. Sykes—The Caliph's Last Heritage. London 1915.
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- A. Safrastian—Kurds and Kurdistan. 1948.
- W. A. Wigam—The Cradle of Mankind. 1922.
- W. O. Douglas—Strange Lands and Friendly People. London 1951.
- N. Dersimi—Dersim Tarihende. Aleppo.
- C. J. Edmonds—Kurds, Arabs and Turks. London 1952.
- James Aldridge—The Diplomat (novel). The Bodley Head, London.
- S. S. Gavan—Kurdistan: Divided Nation of the Middle East. Lawrence & Wishart, London 1958.
- Shakir Khasbak — The Kurds and the Kurdish Question (in Arabic). Baghdad 1959.
- Kurdistan Auf Dem Weg Zur Freiheit. K.S.S.E. Publication 1959.
- Paréz Vanly—Aspects De La Question Nationale Kurde En Iran. K.S.S.E. Publication 1959.
- Interview on the Kurdish National Question (in Greek). K.S.S.E. Publication 1959.
- Emir K. Bedir-Khan—La Question Kurde. Paris 1959.
- R. P. Thomas Bois, O.P.—Coup d'oeil sur la littérature Kurde. Beyrouth, Libanon, 1955
- By the same author: Les Kurdes, Histoire Sociologie, Litterature, Folklore. Beyrouth, Libanon, 1958.

Kurdish Journals

- Iraq: 'Azadi,' 'Şefeq' — Kirkok; 'Hêwa,' 'Khabat,' 'Rizgari,' 'Rojani' — Baghdad; 'Hetaw' — Erbil; 'Rastî' — Mosul; 'Jîn' — Sulaimaniya.
- Lebanon: 'Roja Nu, Stêr' — ceased publication.
- Syria: 'Hawar, Ronahi'—ceased publication.
- U.S.S.R.: 'Rêya Taze, Kovara Qefqasê'.
- Iran: 'Kurdistan'—a weekly journal.
- Turkey — Kurdish Publications are forbidden.

KOMELEY XWÊNDIKARANÎ KURD LE EWROPA

KURDISTAN



Kurdish Students' Society in Europe

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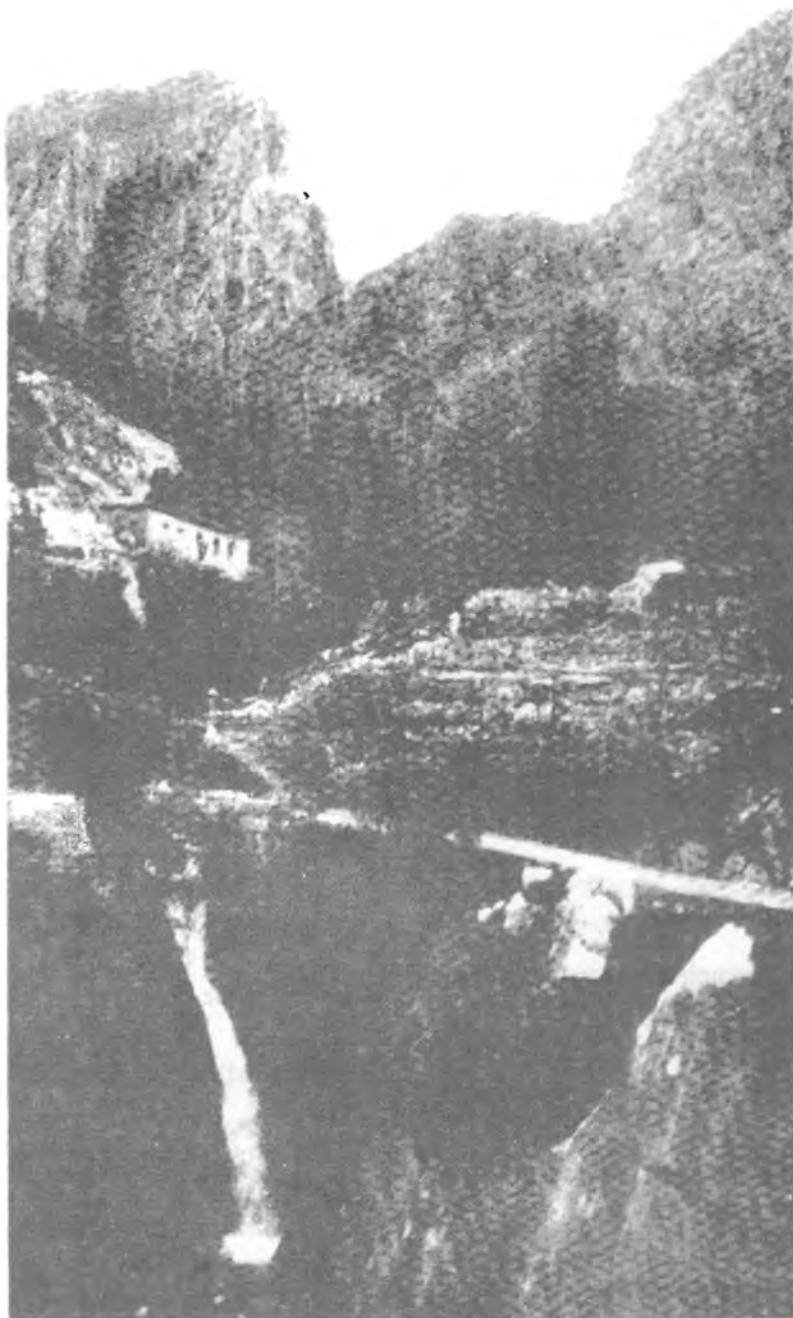
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KOMELEY XWÊNDIKARANÎ KURD LE EWROPA

I

منتدى إقرأ الثقافي



KURDISTAN

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Opinions and statistical data submitted by
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Editorial

On 'peaceful change'.

The subject of peaceful change has always been central to any consideration of international affairs. In fact it is almost 'the' problem of international relations, for it is always the lack of agreement on some method of peaceful change that ultimately leads to conflict among nations. The importance of the problem was recognised by the framers of both the League of Nations and the United Nations. After both great wars the imperfections of the world were recognised and so it was felt necessary to provide 'an instrumentality for peaceful change'.

Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations stated that 'the Assembly may from time to time advise . . . the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world'. Presently the charter of the U.N. contains two provisions for making peaceful change possible. Article 10 states that 'the General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present charter . . . and . . . may make recommendations to the members of the U.N. or the security council or to both on any such questions and matters'. Further article 14 states 'subject to the provisions of Article 12, the General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of the present charter setting forth the purposes and principles of the U.N.' The above provisions show us that peace depends on the ability and willingness of nations, and the international organisations set up by them, to resolve questions and situations of potential danger. In the inter-war period the League could do nothing under article 19. And as we know now, besides the fact that from 1933 onwards Hitler was simply bent on war, the twenty years from 1919 to 1939 were not really a period of peace, but one full of friction and conflict. The lessons of that period and of the second world war should be enough to make the nations more ready to make changes that will ensure peace.

We must bear in mind, always, that peaceful change does not mean only that specific disputes between states should be solved by pacific methods, it also means the adjustment of dangerous situations. For example the general problem of colonialism, so far as present international law is concerned, is not a dispute between two parties that can be resolved in a court or by arbitration. Yet

the gradual liquidation of colonial empires, though not yet complete, has been one of the strongest factors making for peace, for only free and equal people can co-exist in peace. The opposition of the colonialists to this inevitable change sometimes led to conflict, a further indication of the dangers of preventing peaceful change. But just because colonial empires are crumbling that does not mean that peace is no longer in danger. True that only a conflict involving the Great Powers will lead to a general conflagration, but to-day even the most casual observer can see how easy it is for the Great Powers to get involved. And on the other hand so long as the rights of human beings and of nations are violated peace is still in danger.

Today the world has a number of situations which are clearly likely to 'impair the friendly relations among nations', and their continuation is definitely a violation of the purposes and principles of the charter. Examples of these are many today. To mention some one can sight the Congo, Cuba, Algeria, South Africa and Kurdistan. There are of course, other and more dangerous issues in the world, but the peaceful resolution of any one problem will mean so much less danger and a less tense atmosphere. These cases are not exactly similar, but they are all topical problems that need a change to the better if an explosion is to be avoided. The Belgian conspiracy on the Republic of Congo, the American pressure on the Cuban Republic, the war in Algeria, are all cases of the defenders of a dangerous status quo trying hard to prevent a change that will strengthen world stability and peace. The cases of the African population of South Africa and the Kurdish People in Turkey, Iran and Syria are somewhat different, but nevertheless definitely of potential danger. In South Africa the rightful population, and the preponderant majority are denied every right and savagely treated. If this continues the Africans will have to seek some way, even a violent way, of changing it. In Iran, Turkey and Syria over 10 million Kurds (6 in Turkey, 4 in Iran and 400,000 in Syria), occupying their own country Kurdistan, are also denied every right and persecuted. The importance of the 'Kurdish question' is not new. In 1920 the Allied Powers did see an abnormal situation in the Middle East regarding the Kurds. Hence the provision in the treaty of Sevres of that year that the Kurds have autonomy, with the right of independence within one year. And further the abnormality of the situation was recognised by the League Commission, instituted by the Council resolution of September 30th, 1924, to study the question of

the Mosul Wilayat on the spot, when in its report it said that the inhabitants of the disputed Wilayat, predominantly Kurds, wanted to live on their own, in a state of their own. All this came to nothing, thus the question is still alive. Today the Turkish and Iranian authorities, and the U.A.R. authorities regarding the Kurds in Syria, are guilty of every offence against the Kurds including, in the case of Turkey, the denial of nationality which is a violation of article 15 (1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The two governments, like the South African government often does, can hide behind paragraph 7 (article 2) of the charter and say this is an internal matter. That is absolutely absurd. It is the responsibility of all members of the U.N. to promote and encourage 'respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as

to race, sex, language, or religion'. Clearly a change is needed, and it will come, in Kurdistan, in South Africa, or anywhere else where man is denied his natural due. The change in Kurdistan, if it is to be peaceful, can be brought about and guaranteed by the U.N., or by the governments themselves if they only recognise that the interests of Turkey, of Iran, and of the U.A.R. are better secured by promoting harmony among the nationalities by letting them develop side by side in complete freedom and equality. The example of Iraq best illustrates this point. There Kurds and Arabs are equal and work together for the better progress of Iraq.

If the nations of the world, through the U.N. or through common-sense, will not facilitate the changes needed then we oppressed peoples can only say 'instead of leaving injuries to be redressed by God, we have a natural right to relieve ourselves'.

A Study in Contrast

A kurd compares the four inheritors of his land :—

Turkey

THE INCOMPLETE VICTORY

On May 27th 1960 a happy event took place in Turkey. A Revolution deposed the Menderes regime. The movement was a direct result of the courageous sacrifices of the Turkish students, and other people, who fearlessly faced the bullets of Menderes' police. It is now bootless to analyse the many wrongs of the Menderes regime. And the new regime is too new for one to be able to comment with any sense of certainty. But as this change is what the people of Turkey want then the rest of the world should only bless and help it. And there is no doubt that the Turkish people did joyfully greet their Revolution and are determined to defend it. A great step forward has been taken and may it bring good to Turkey.

We as Kurds, seeing that this Revolution was a direct result of the demands of the Turkish people for democracy and justice, welcomed it at first. We still welcome it in so far as it can bring benefits to Turkey. We were prepared to hail General Gursel, we were prepared to 'call out a holiday . . . and strew flowers in his way' for we considered his movement to be one for genuine democracy. Then came the disappointment and the tragic step backwards. In a press conference in Istanbul, General Gursel was asked about the Kurdish problem in Turkey (where six million Kurds live) and his answer was 'there is no such thing as Kurdishness, we are all Turks'. Thus a great opportunity was missed to turn a new leaf in Turkish history and start a life based on justice, equality, mutual

recognition, and harmony among the Turkish and Kurdish nationalities in Turkey. And the answer leaves the victory of Turkish people incomplete, for they want democracy for all the citizens of Turkey, including the Kurds. One cannot say that 6 million Kurds do not exist, or that they are 'mountain Turks', for they are a fact, a reality, they are people, and they have and will forever remain Kurds. Is it not better not to waste time and energy on denying a reality, but to recognise it and proceed from there to reap the benefits of your realism? But General Gursel, unfortunately, chose to go back to the old policy which has been in operation since Ataturk's days. Would it not have been better to live up to the age, recognise the Kurds as free and equal citizens and as people with a distinct nationality? It so happens that the world is full of different nationalities, and many states contain more than one nationality. The example of Turkey's neighbour Iraq is close enough to indicate that a solution can be found, and for the greater good of the country as a whole.

In Turkey, allow us the impertinence General Gursel, there is 'Kurdishness'. Here is the opinion of a learned scholar, Mr. Frank Tachau, who wrote on 'the face of Turkish Nationalism' in the *Middle East Journal* (Summer 1959). He says, when the Republic was established the 'National Pact' was not enough as the basis of unity for 'there were Muslim non-Turks who were fully as suspicious of Turkish rule as were the non-Muslim Communities. The most prominent of these were the Kurds of eastern Anatabia'. This suspicion was not a natural

habit, it was the result of centuries of oppression suffered by the Kurds. Was not the Revolution of May 27th 1960 a good chance to dispel this suspicion? The Kurds are brothers of the Turks; why not create an atmosphere where this brotherhood can blossom? The above writer, speaking of the policy of assimilation of nationalities says: not all groups have been 'assimilated' today. 'Those groups which have not been successfully assimilated are also the ones that have maintained their own language or some other such distinctive feature. The Kurds again are the most prominent of this type among the Muslims'.

We do not need to prove that there are Kurds in Turkey; we have never needed proof. We just thought it better to quote an independent source. But the whole world knows there is a problem in Turkey, and solving it is not by ignoring or denying it. The Kurds in Kurdistan of Turkey are loyal citizens of the Republic and will defend what the Turkish people will benefit by. But they will definitely reject and oppose to the bitter end such racial and undemocratic policies which General Gursel refuses to abandon. Let us hope, on the other hand, for it is never too late, that the new government will recognise the harm done to the interests of Turkey by this situation and find enough courage to do away with harmful relics of the First Republic.

From what has been said the position of the Kurds in Turkey can be deduced. The oppression and denial of rights is so complete that a Kurd is even forbidden to speak his language in public. He cannot write it either. If this elementary right of speech with the mother tongue is denied to a person what other conceivable right can be enjoyed? And what is the result of this? Only bitterness and conflict. In fact Gursel's government has not even released the Kurds imprisoned, without trial, during Menderes regime. Here is a list of some of them for the world to know.

Name	Profession
Ziya Serefhan Oglu	Lawyer
Salim F. Oghlo	Captain in the armed forces
Seuket Turunli	Colonel in the armed forces
Dr. Naci Kutley	Physician
Musa Anter	Lawyer (Editor of the paper <i>Ileri Yurt</i>)
Abdulrahman Efem	Owner of <i>Ileri Yurt</i>
Said Kirmiji	Student (medical college)
Fauzi Ausan	Student (law college)
Meded Yas	Student (law college)
Said Bingol	Businessman

There have been reports of torture of the prisoners. We ask those who care about their

fellow men, as most people do, to protest against this and demand that either they be released or charged and tried in a proper court.

Having said this, we hope that our readers and our friends will understand the situation better and can come to their own conclusions. In Syria (U.A.R.) the Kurds are no better off than they are in Iran or Turkey. But President Nasser's security system is so tight that we could not get adequate new information for this issue, beyond the fact that things are definitely not improving. (The interested reader can see our issue of November 1959 for the situation in Syria).

* * *

The following letter was received from the Executive Committee of the 'Kurdish Students' Society in Turkey', another indication that no force can break the bonds that hold the Kurds together. And further a sign of the tragic lack of awareness among the Turkish leaders that it was the peoples desire for democracy that brought them to power.

Dear Friends;

We salute you all as worthy sons of our unfortunate nation. With your efforts, and with the efforts of the youth of Kurdistan, we shall achieve liberty and put an end to this servitude and prolonged misery.

Our organisation here has many enemies, as it would be expected in this country, so beware of opportunists who disguise themselves as one of us.

We are writing to you to tell you something about the recent coup, and its bearing on the Kurds. General Gursel, head of the movement, is from Arzenjan, and he is known there as Jamal Agha — the title the Kurds use there. But he seems to be no different from Ismet Inono, also a Kurd by origin but who made it his duty to do them every savage harm he can. Inono's past part in persecuting the Kurds is well known. (Such individual perversion for personal ends is not unknown in the history of most peoples.) The coup has brought no favourable change for the Kurds. Their nationality is still not recognised and they still are not allowed to speak their language. Many of the more active Kurds sent petitions and telegrams to the leaders of the 'coup' imploring them to release the many Kurds imprisoned and tortured during Menderes' dead regime. But with no avail; in spite of the fact that many, or all, of the other prisoners detained by Menderes, have been released. But it seems that though bad for us the new regime aims at giving freedom of the press and of writing. If so then our young men here might benefit by being able to express their opinions to a limited degree. The people who executed the 'coup' have some Kurds

among them, but they are helpless in the face of the strong authoritarian and Fascist tendencies which are manifest in the identity of outlook between the 'coup' leaders and the peoples Republican party of Inono, which was the party of the dictator Mustafa Kemal.

To be exact seven of our comrades have been released. But there are still 27 people in jail. The condition of these is to be pitied. No one can visit them. They are tortured, and their financial condition is desperate. We and some of our friends did something, within our limited means and abilities, to relieve their condition, but how much can we do? Originally it was intended to release them on June 14th, but the new authorities have shelved that idea.

What we ask from you is to do your utmost, whenever and wherever possible to protest to the world (governments, international organisations, people) the denial of our rights. And keep us informed of what you do.

Dear friends, have the spirit of forgiveness with each other and always be united, for in this lies victory for our cause. Forward brothers to liberty for Kurdistan; the future is on the side of right and justice and those who seek peace. Eternal life to a free Kurdistan and to the struggle of the Kurds against tyranny and oppression. God grant us victory in our mission.

signed
for the Executive Committee,
Turkey, 11.6.1960.

* * *

Iran: 'for whom the Bell tolls'

The sum total of what the Shah and his government (we say 'his' for on one occasion Dr. Eghbal, premier, told parliament, 'I am not interested in your criticism and your complaints. I don't depend on your votes. The Shah has ordered me to serve, and I am his servant'.) are doing for the people of Iran is: **nothing**. That is nothing positive. But plenty negative is done (or not done). Iran's independence is not preserved, for Iran is full of U.S. military personnel and bases. Iran's constitution is not respected by the rulers for the constitution says the Shah shall not meddle in the affairs of state, which under **article 45**, are the sole responsibility of the Prime Minister and the council of ministers, (who are presumably 'servants' of the people and of parliament and not of the Shah). And **article 28** directly prohibits the Shah from interfering in the affairs of parliament and the government. All freedoms are denied, the military and secret police rule the country, and the education, economy, health and the social services of the country are totally ignored. Parliamentary opposition is but a mockery, for both the opposition MARDOM (people) party, and the

majority MILIYON (Nationalist) party are the Shah's parties, accusing each other of not fulfilling the Shah's wishes adequately.

Before we say more, lest people accuse us of propaganda, let us quote from a source that will not be suspect as anti-Shah, the American magazine *Time* of July 18th 1960, supporter of the Eisenhower administration — the ally of the Shah — has this to say about the Shah and his government: 'ever since the Shahanshah ousted . . . Mossadagh in 1953, he has ruled with an unabashed if benevolent absolutism'. We think the word benevolent is out of place. Further the magazine says: the Shah 'has lavished much of the oil revenues of Iran in a build-up of the 200,000 man army . . . there is ample cause for unrest in the Shah's Kingdom . . . in his shabby capital of Terehan a minority lives in splendour while the rest exist in the squalor of centuries . . . Iran's growing body of intellectuals, admiring liberty, are humiliated by the servility of their parliament, taught to respect honesty they are disgusted by the pall of corruption that hangs over the Shah's court . . . his secret police are all too often inclined to treat any outspoken critic of the regime as a subversive'. If the situation is such that even *Time* says this, then we need not elaborate.

It is necessary for Kurds to say the above for the Kurds in Kurdistan of Iran have a duty, as loyal citizens of Iran, to join the rest of the population to improve the intolerable rule of the Government of the King of Kings. It must be remembered by all that it grieves a Kurd to see Iran in this situation as much as it grieves any other Iranian.

But let us see what of the Kurds, as Kurds, in Iran. Their nationality is not recognised. The recognition accorded to the Kurdish nationality and language is that they are Iranian and Farsi respectively, and there the matter ends. (This is a huge distortion of the fact that the Kurds, like other Persians are, Aryans, and their language is of the same group as the Farsi). No Kurdish party is allowed. There is only one Kurdish paper and that is in Teheran—named ironically *Kurdistan*—and its primary duty is praise of the Shah. The use of Kurdish is not permitted in schools in Kurdistan, and Kurdish literature is consequently suppressed. Kurdistan is under a form of military 'occupation' and at the slightest suspicion force is used (at the moment there are hundreds of Kurds who have sought asylum in Iraq). In short, every technique is used to make life unpleasant. Recently, under a wave of arrests more than 600 Kurds were imprisoned. They included people from Mahabad, Salmas, Sena (sanandaj), Mariwan, Sardasht, Shno, Boka, Bana and Saghiz — all Kurdish towns—and Teheran.

So that world opinion can judge itself here is a list of names, chosen at random, who have been savagely deprived of life and freedom:

Name	Kind of sentence	Profession
Aziz Yusifi	Death	Writer
Ghani Blurian	Death	Writer
Rahmat Shariati	Death	Civil Servant
Ismail Qassimlo	Death	Student
Dr. Ali Maolawi	Life	Surgeon
Mohammad Karimi	Life	Police Force
Mula Mohammed Surini	Life	Theology teacher
Karim Wethoghi	15 years	Shop keeper
Majid Ahamadi	15 years	Land owner
Khalil Ahmad	10 years	Shop keeper
Ismail Sarshew	10 years	Trader

And so the list goes on. Their 'trials' were held in secret and by Military tribunals. **We ask the decent opinion of the world to voice its abhorrence of this denial of justice.** If the Shah's government has the courage we challenge it to hold these trials in the open, under the due process of law, and with the right of the accused to proper defense guaranteed. But alas if this were possible under the Shah's absolute rule, then one would not be able to tell him that if this state of affairs goes on, then some bell definitely 'tolls for thee'.

N.B. — As this issue of Kurdistan was at the printers, this news was received: that the four death sentences sited above have been commuted. We express our gratitude for this humanitarian step. And hope the Teheran authorities will further heed the 'wind of change'.

Our Society received the following letter from Mahabad, Kurdistan of Iran, as another expression of solidarity from the homeland to its youth in Europe. In fact most of the 'letter' is a poem composed about the four patriots who are so unjustly sentenced to death, and dedicated to our Society. We hope the authorities in Teheran will recognise in it a token of Kurdish solidarity.

The Executive Committee,
The Kurdish Students Society in Europe.

We are most grateful for all your communications with us. Your speedy and courageous work, your sincere and valuable efforts for saving the four struggling sons of our people from the gallows, inspire admiration, respect and profound gratitude. As an expression of these emotions we dedicate this poem to you. (Then follows the long poem — a fine 'funeral oration' of the fallen heroes of Mahabad from Qazi Mohammad, the president of the Kurdish Republic in 1946, to date.)

This is for you, O sons of the fatherland, for you ambassadors of Kurdistan; a thousand and one greetings to you, you the Kurdish students society in Europe.

signed

Mahabad, 3.6.1960

* * *



Kurds, arbitrarily exiled from Kurdistan and Iran, demonstrating their cause in their country of asylum, Iraq.

This being the condition of our people in Turkey and Iran, our society has long considered it its duty to speak out on their behalf whenever that is deemed necessary. In this connection the executive committee, on February 8th, 1960, dispatched two detailed memoranda to the governments of Turkey and Iran. In both, resolute protests were included against their oppressive policies towards the Kurds, policies contrary to the spirit of the age to International Law and to all moral norms accepted by civilized people, and in violation of the obligations which the two governments have undertaken by being parties to the United Nations Charter, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Turkish government was reminded of its gross neglect of all civilized standards by, forceably and deliberately trying to change the nationality of the Kurds, and by denying them even the barest rights (as Kurds) that are the natural due of every people and arbitrarily imprisoning 80 innocent Kurds. The Iranian authorities had, on the other hand, recently imprisoned 600 Kurds, on fabricated charges, under a campaign led by the notorious Brigadier Zebaa'i of the Security Department. This illegal act, resulting only from the fact that the Kurds had insisted on being Kurds (yet loyal citizens of Iran), was strongly deplored in the memorandum.

On the same day, that is February 8th, 1960, parallel memoranda were sent to the Human Rights Commission of the U.N. bringing to their attention the atrocities of the Turkish and Iranian authorities and reminding them that those actions were contrary to everything that the World organization stood for.

But more recently the government of Iran has sentenced to death four Kurds, who are again 'guilty' of desiring to remain Kurds. **Our Society hereby appeals to world opinion, to all bodies and organizations whose task it is to see justice done; to all individuals who do not want humanity to degenerate to a degree that in our 20th century a dictator King can play with the lives of innocent Iranian Kurds as he pleases, to do everything they can to save these four lives.** Our Society on its part has sent a letter to the Shah of Iran on this matter, and has also brought the matter to the attention of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights by a letter of June 6th, 1960. Because of the gravity of the question below is the text of the presentation to the Shah of Iran, and we ask all our friends to add their voices to ours in demanding, at least the commutation of the death sentences.

To His Majesty the Shah of Iran — Teheran

The executive committee of the Kurdish

Students Society has the honour of laying before your Majesty the following facts.

On November 3rd, 1959, the Iranian security authorities arrested 600 Kurds in Iran. Their only 'guilt' is that they happen to be Kurds and good Iranian citizens. As good Kurds they were asking for improvements in the social, economic and health conditions of the regions inhabited by Kurds, and which constitute Kurdistan of Iran. In the cultural field they were asking for schools where Kurdish could be taught and officially used. As is well known Kurdish is among the oldest and most beautiful of the languages of the Iranian family of languages.

As good Iranian citizens they were grieved by the chaos and corruption of the administrative machine throughout Iran, by the bribery prevailing among high and minor officials, by the backward economic, cultural and health conditions of the people in general, and by the lack of individual and political freedom in the country, except for a tiny minority of favourites. None of this feeling constitutes a violation of any law. And we are confident that our arrested brothers were, and still are, filled with love for Kurdistan of Iran, and for Iran as a whole, and that they desire that Iran should both regain her past glory and march forward to progress.

We have learned that a **military tribunal has sentenced four of our comrades to death.** They are: Aziz Yusifi and Ghani Blorian both writers from Mahabad, Rahmat Shariati a civil servant in Teheran, and Ismail Qassemlo from Redhaaia. And the same tribunal sentenced thirty other Kurds to terms varying from life imprisonment to ten years.

These men were all illegally arrested and likewise sentenced. Such disregard for law and for the rights of citizens of Iran does not conform with some of the pronouncements of your Majesty. On occasions you have expressed your wish to turn Iran into a modern progressive state, a united nation in which all nationalities live on a basis of equality and individuals dwell in peace and prosperity. Permit us then to emphasise to your Majesty the extensive damage that will be done to Iran as a result of the activities of some of the departments and officials of State who have high-handedly arrested and severely sentenced our people. And if these irresponsible authorities continue to be free to abuse the power of their office, or use it for personal ends, that will definitely lead Iran and the Institutions of Iran to a state of utter chaos. To forestall this, and before it is too late, we ask you to exercise your authority and prevent those circles from doing greater harm.

For the same reasons, and in the name of justice, we ask your Majesty to free the detained persons, the prisoners serving various terms, and above all to save those who are under the sentence of death. And on the general plane we hope that the just national demands of the Kurds in Iran; for better economic, social, health and cultural conditions, and for Kurdish schools for their children, will be met.

Fulfilling the above modest wishes will not only win the gratitude of the Kurdish people in Iran but also that of the entire Kurdish nation, which is divided between several states. It will at the same time strengthen the unity of Iran and the unity between its various nationalities.

But if the death sentences are carried out and the other people are kept in prison that will certainly estrange the Kurds in Iran from the government in Teheran, it will alienate Kurdish opinion outside Iran, and arouse a cry of condemnation from the enlightened public of the world.

Our society, representing students from all parts of Kurdistan, be it from Iran, Turkey, Iraq, or Syria (U.A.R.), feel confident that in this communication it is reflecting the wishes of the entire Kurdish nation. The fate of the four men condemned to death is in your hands. We feel sure that if your Majesty reacts favourably to this petition you will be taking a step forward in helping Iran towards the progress and freedom which we wish for her.

Please accept our highest respects.

president, Kurdish Students Society in Europe.
Lausanne, 6.6.1960.

* * *

Iraq: Reality testifies

July 14th, 1958. On that historic day the army, with the full and active support of the people, under the leadership of Iraq's hero Abdul Karim Qassim, put an end to forty years of tyranny, of corrupt and opulent monarchy, of servile submission to a ruthless imperialism, of political economic, and social stagnation — except for what came naturally with the passing of the years — due to corruption, feudalism, police rule, and the consequent evils of a 'sick' body politic, and, it is hoped, to the mood of pessimism and the lack of vitality that had gripped the country.

Iraq has just celebrated the second anniversary of that day. Above we said it had put an end to so much. But what has it put in place of that destroyed? First there are factors, which though not tangible to the casual observer, are of supreme importance. The country is truly independent now, with its foreign policy based on the principals of positive

neutralism, the U.N. Charter, and the Bandung principles, rather than on the interests of alien powers. Internally there is a national government headed by the revered leader of the country Abdul Karim Qassim, whose only aim cannot possibly be any other than the furtherance of the interests of Iraq and its people. Then, being free and independent, there is a mood of optimism and hope prevailing in the country. This must be qualified by a certain lack of vitality consequent upon the incessant trouble, external and internal, created by the enemies of Iraq and their local allies. This, though unfortunate, is only a passing phase for with the consolidation of national power no force can cause despair in the people. To continue there is freedom in Iraq: of the press, of expression, of writing, of political and trade union association, and there is equality of all before the law. In fact the government itself can be criticized, and this is a healthy sign for if democracy is to take root no government should put itself above criticism.

Of course it would be dishonest flattery to say that all is perfect in Iraq. It is not. But where on earth, is it? The Republic is young, difficulties and unfortunate political distractions caused by some Iraqis with no sense of public responsibility, have diverted attention from public needs, and experience is still to be gained. There is still much to be done, and no doubt one can point out instances for which a better approach could have been found. But nevertheless the revolutionary change is so profound nothing can stop the tide of progress. In the West, so-called 'experts' on the Middle East often foreshadow doom for Iraq and Iraq's Abdul Karim Qassim. But they have been confounded; and the people of Iraq shall prove them wrong again.

The above consideration has been necessary because it is the duty of every Kurd, from whatever part of Kurdistan, to hold Iraq dear, and explain the truth about it. But what of the Kurds in Kurdistan of Iraq? Article 3 of the Interim-Constitution proclaims them partners in the Republic. They speak, read and write in Kurdish. There is a special Kurdish section in Broadcasting and Television services. They have papers of their own, for example *Khahet*, *Jin*, *Azadi*, and others in which they can express their opinions and voice their grievances. There are periodicals like *Hewa*, *Roj*, *Nuri* and *Hetaw*. Needless to say that it is through such media, and through the freedom of expression, that a people can develop its culture, its language, and preserve its customs and traditions. Further the Kurds can freely declare their support for the struggle of their compatriots in other parts of Kurdistan, or protest to the responsible governments against atrocities perpetrated against them.

In fact, following the recent campaigns of arrests and savage sentences passed on Kurds, in Turkey and Iran and Syria, the Kurds in Iraq did voice their protest. And in fact the other sections of the population, the press in general, and many democratic organizations in the country joined this protestation. This is of vital importance for it means that the Kurds in Iraq enjoy the support and goodwill of the rest of the population except for a few extremists. And on the governmental level Prime Minister Abdul Karim Qassim has always taken personal interest in Kurdish problems. This rough outline is only indicative of the harmony that exists, due to the democratic policy of toleration and partnership that is pursued as the foundation of Iraqi national solidarity and progress. We hopefully expect that the Permanent Constitution will contain better guarantees for this happy development. In fact it must, for the Kurds, as partners, have an irrevocable right to that.

Some tell us all this sweet talk of Iraq, and bitter attacks on Turkey, Iran, and U.A.R. are unjustified propaganda. That we totally reject. But we are prepared for challenge. The facts speak for themselves, and we will be happy to meet our challengers to investigate them together. If we have reservations or complaints we voice

them freely, for we believe the government of Iraq welcomes sincerity. For example the 'Directorate of Kurdish Studies' that was set up last year has been, up to now, something of a dead letter. First this body lost its original name, we hope not intentionally changed, and now its implementation is casual at the most. As a consequence of this the use of the Kurdish language in schools in Kurdistan is still far from complete. Further, what has come of some of the resolutions of the congress of Kurdish teachers of September 1959 which were approved by the then Minister of Education? In addition there has been a notable disregard of the spirit of partnership in many official pronouncements, and in the writings and words of unofficial bodies and organisations. All this is unfortunate, and we humbly draw the attention of the government of Iraq to it. If the Kurds are partners, as we know they are, that must be in reality too not just in theory. But nothing will shake our confidence on the good intentions of the government of Iraq, in the leadership of the leader Abdul Karim Qassim, and in the brotherhood of Arabs and Kurds. Such questions that are outstanding can be solved, given goodwill, for the benefit of all Iraq.



H.E. Premier Qassim at the Newroz (Kurdish New Year) Celebrations. Behind him is a poster depicting the Ancient Kurdish Hero Kawa.

In sharp contrast to our relations with the authorities of Turkey and Iran, our communication, printed below, is indicative of the good intentions of the government of the Republic of Iraq towards the Kurds, and of our devotion to the duty of serving that Republic, the Republic of Arabs and Kurds.

To the Leader and Founder of the Republic of Iraq,
Abdul Karim Qassim,

Your Excellency,

Our Society is proud to have received a reply letter on the occasion of your recovery from the criminal attempt on your Excellency's life. Then, your kind oral greetings were conveyed to us and that profoundly exhilarated every one of us. In fact we are always proud of the kindness and patronage that your Excellency shows towards our society, and towards students in general. We are, in our humble way, grateful for the just and rightful stand that your Excellency takes towards the Kurdish nation and its problems. Our nation is a true sister of the great Arab nation. The Kurdish people, whose rights are usurped in Iran, Turkey, and the United Arab Republic, are happy in Iraq — the Iraq of Arabs and Kurds, the Iraq of Arab-Kurd brotherhood, the Iraq of the glorious revolution — may God protect it under your Excellency's effective and popular leadership.

At the very hour when your Excellency led the blessed Revolution, and hence freed the courageous people of Iraq — its Arabs and Kurds — from imperialism, feudalism and tyranny, our Society, with all its branches, surged for its defence from the conspiracies of imperialist and allied sources. We defend the Revolution and shall continue to do so

with all our power be it on the student or international plane, in memoranda, books, publications, circulars, speeches, festive occasions, or in our magazine KURDISTAN. Many a time have we cited the policy of the Republic of Iraq, under your leadership, in our memoranda to the United Nations as 'the' democratic method for the peaceful resolution of the Kurdish question. And many a time have we invited the governments of Turkey, Iran, and the U.A.R. to look at Iraq and its Revolution and thus settle the Kurdish national question in the same brotherly fashion. But will tyrants heed the lesson of history?

The scope of our activities is continuously growing and we have branches in most of the countries of west and socialist Europe. Even this is partly due to the practical policy of Iraq, for the majority of our members are from Kurdistan of Iraq, though our society does represent all Kurdish students in Europe. But your Excellency can rest assured that all of them, be they from Kurdistan of Iraq, or that of Iran or Turkey or Syria, have the same warm affection for Iraq.

What the hero of Islam and the East, Salahadin Al-Ayub (a Kurd), did is a debt, preserved for centuries, which the Arab nation owes the Kurds. How happy we and our people are that the hero Abdul Karim Qassim is discharging it.

Long live as the hero of Arabs and Kurds, as the liquidator of imperialism and reaction, as the benevolent leader of the Republic of Iraq and its people.

With Respects,
for the Executive Committee of the K.S.S.E.,
the President. 25.3.1960.

On Kurdish Literature

This is a very condensed summary of the central theme of the famous Kurdish tale '*Khaj and Siyamend*', translated, with some variations, from Professor Stig Wikander's '*Recheil de Textes Kourmandji*' by Omar Dizayi.

KHAJ AND SIYAMEND

The story of *Khaj and Siyamend* is one of the most famous old fairy-tales in Kurdish Literature, and is known by all the Kurds. Like many other authors of Kurdish 'Romances' its author is unknown. He wrote it in two styles: in prose and in narrative poetry. Briefly this is its theme.

Khaj and Siyamend were two lovers; but Khaj's family, far from blessing this romance

forced her to consent to marry another man whom she did not want. But on the Wedding day, Siyamend carried her off from her fiancé and her seven old-fashioned brothers. He took her to the high sipan mountains where nobody could find them and disturb the amorous atmosphere of their hide-out.

Indeed the lofty mount sipan was friendly and sheltered them kindly. For a time they lived in its serenity, happy and gay. One day, under the cool shadows of the mountain side, Siyamend was asleep in the tender arms of his lovable Khaj. While her arms were holding her dearest, her beautiful black eyes fell upon a far away herd of stags coming towards a nearby brook. As the herd

came closer she saw that it was composed of seven stags, a young powerful stag and a Hind. The young stag was continuously forcing the seven away from the Hind, yet they were attempting to approach her again and again. But with no avail; as the young one kept them evictively away, and the Hind tranquilly grazed by its side. Seeing this scene tender Khaj could only remember one thing: the day her Siyamend abducted her from her seven brothers. Being sensitive she wept and her warm tears fell upon the sleeping Siyamend's face. Waking up he looked at her and enquired: "O, light of my eyes, my dearest Khaj, why art thou weeping? Till now thou wert joyful and happy. Why feelest thou sad now and what changes thee thus? Tell me what be the matter?" Khaj refused to tell, but as he persisted she gave in and said: "O, my Siyamend, a while ago a herd of stags came to yonder brook. There was a Hind, a young stag, and seven other stags, the one and the seven were in continuous struggle over the Hind. Thus I remember that day on which you abducted me. The thought came to me; what will be mine end if my love were killed? And for that I wept."

Proud Siyamend could not bear seeing his Khaj so unduly disturbed. He grabbed his arch and went to kill the stag that had caused Khaj's tears to flow. But she begged him and cried — "no, do not do that". He, not hearing her pleas, went undeterred to the brook where the animals were drinking. The young stag was beside the Hind and, unaware of the intruder, received a fatal wound. It circled around and then fell to the ground. Siyamend hurried to it and like a proud hunter held up its horns. But, though in its last breath, the stag was not dead and with a shake of its powerful neck it

tossed Siyamend away. Away and down the deadly depths of the foggy valley below. The fall was fatal for Siyamend fell upon a dry sharp branch which like a dagger mercilessly pierced his body, but leaving him yet alive.

Khaj patiently awaited her love's return. Gradually she grew restless and then proceeded to the brook. There she saw the dead stag, but no Siyamend. Through the silence an anguished voice came to her ear from the depth of the valley. She went up to the edge and looked down. And there she saw what she had feared: Siyamend, her precious love, lying helpless far below.

Here the tale becomes a passionate dialogue between the two. Khaj poetically mourning her lost love from above, and Siyamend muttering his last words to the 'light of his eyes'. At last Khaj calls out to him:

Siyamend, hold out your arms and abide

Here comes Khaj to you, dearest, as thy bride. Then she throws herself down to where her love lies. Thus, refusing to part, they die together.

Legend has it that every springtime red tulips grow on the spot where the two met their fate and two doves fly over symbolising the sweet tragedy of two innocent hearts. The village folk further relate that two bright stars above Mount Sipan always shine to throw light upon the tombs of the two lovers.

(Needless to say translation, and a brief summary at that, never does justice to a work of art. Translating Shakespeare or the Arabian Nights can never convey the beauty and richness of the works. This tragedy of Khaj and Siyamend is truly a classic of the Kurdish language.)

The Branches

Over the past few years our Society has grown steadily. The scope of activities has been widened, membership has increased many fold and new branches have been formed. At the moment of writing the Society has duly constituted Branches in the following countries: The United Kingdom, Switzerland, Austria, the Federal German Republic, The German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Besides this we have members in Roumania, Italy, France, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, though their numbers are not yet large enough to warrant the formation of an official branch.

Whereas the success of the Society depends on the co-operation and effort of its members, and on its being able to include the largest possible number

of Kurdish students in Europe, this wide coverage is conclusive proof of the fact that all Kurdish students are united in joining it as a step to restoring their people's usurped rights. And whereas the activities of the Branches are a vital part of the general effort of the Society, in this issue we put the **spotlight on our Branch in the Federal German Republic** for having been the most active branch over the past year. This is not to belittle the efforts of our members in the other Branches, but on the contrary it is to spur them on to more intensive efforts. And for the less active Branches this can be an example to follow.

The following report was supplied to 'Kurdistan' by the Branch Secretary Mr. Fadhil Ganja Ali. In it he enumerates some of the more important

activities and gives a general picture of the life of the Branch over a period of time.

"1. A most impressive and successful celebration of Nawroz was staged in Munich last March. Among the many attractions was an **Exhibition of Kurdish Handicrafts** which very much impressed the guests. And on this occasion the Munich Branch of the Iraqi Students Society in Federal Germany and Berlin made available to us financial assistance as and if we require it. We sent them a written expression of our gratitude and solidarity.

2. Two delegations interviewed Dr. Kamuran Bedir-Khan, and Dr. Omer Dezi, separately. The result of each was a valuable exchange of ideas.

3. A general Branch meeting was held on 22nd March 1960, and the proceedings were sent to the few members who were not present and to the local and home press.

4. The Branch Library is completely re-organised and put in the care of Dara Yawar.

5. Funds were collected and sent to Berlin to meet the cost of printing of the German language edition of the Society's magazine '*Kurdistan*'. It was duly published and distributed.

6. Some non-Kurds were accepted as associate members.

7. True to article one of our constitution, which provides for mutual help, assistance was given to those of our members who were in financial difficulties.

8. Kurdish students newly arriving from home were met and assisted regarding the academic, social and other aspects of their life. Further they were given adequate information regarding the Society.

9. To establish a more direct link with the homeland and its neighbours, a committee is set up to study the possibility of publishing a periodical in Munich, called '*Voice of Kurdistan*', to be written in Kurdish, Arabic, Persian (Farsi) and Turkish.

10. Adding our voice to that of the other Branches, and to that of the executive committee, a protest telegram was sent to the Turkish government, last February, against the arbitrary arrest and imprisonment of innocent Kurds.

11. An official delegation of ours attended a social function of the Greek Students Society in Munich, upon their invitation. The benefit of such contacts is quite obvious.

12. Our delegation successfully participated in the W.U.S. 'summer night' in Munich. The occasion was invaluable for communicating our case to the participating delegations from all continents.

13. A fund, to which all members contribute is established to assist one of our comrades from Kurdistan of Turkey.

14. Various efforts to establish and maintain cordial relations with German organisations (hence the German People) are being met with success. These are a few examples of press interest in our problem. The *Sddeutsche* published a fine article on the Kurds (deriving it from our Society's Memorandum to the Turkish government), and so did the *Stuttgarter*. Further in the near future the paper *Acht Uhr*, in consultation with us, is to publish an article entitled *The life of the Members of the Kurdish Students Society in Europe, in Munich*.

15. On June 15th 1960, our Branch, in association with W.U.S. and other students organisations, organised a 'Kurdish Evening' in which entertainment and formal discussion of national questions were effectively mixed.

16. On June 7th 1960 an urgent letter was dispatched to the Shah of Iran protesting against the intention of his government to carry out the death sentences passed on four Kurds in Iran. The Shah was petitioned to commute the sentences. This was of course done by every Branch, supplementing the intensive efforts of the Executive Committee to bring the cases to the attention of the world.

Members are always kept informed of all activities so that, in the fulfilment of its mandate the Branch Committee is never isolated from their will, or deprived of their effective co-operation."

* * *

Here is a list of the names and addresses of the Branch secretaries, and members of the Executive Committee, so that people and our friends in the various countries of Europe will know whom to communicate with. For there have been cases of uncertainty in which our friends have found difficulty in contacting us.

Communications with Branches should be with the following secretaries:

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| 1. Austria: | RAUF AHMED FATTAH
Perinet Gasse 1/5
Wien 20
Austria |
|-------------|--|

2. **Federal Germany:** FADHIL GANJA ALI
Marburg/L
Postlagernd
Germany (DBR)
3. **Switzerland:** HASSAN SULAIMAN
Poste Restante,
Geneve
Switzerland
4. **German Democratic Republic:** AZIZ AHMED AMIN
Berlin-Prenzlauer Berg
Kollwitzstr. 76
Germany (DDR)
5. **Czechoslovakia:** RAMZI KHALEEL SHABAN
D.Z.S. 3187
Stara Boleslav
Czechoslovakia (CSR)
6. **The U.S.S.R.:** K. N. QEFTAN
D 315, bin SA TNNCKNN
Nep 6/2/
Moscow, USSR
7. **United Kingdom:** TAHSIN MOHAMMAD AMIN
16 Taswell Road,
Southsea, Hants,
England

* * *

**Communications with the Executive Committee
should be addressed to:**

Kamal Fuad
(General Secretary)
Johann-Sigismund Str. 2
Helensee, b/Kaminski
Berlin
Germany

Further, communications can be with other
members of the Executive committee:

Ismet Cheriff
(President)
10 Ave. Dickens
Lausanne
Switzerland

Woria Ramanduzy
(Vice President)
Gonzaga G. 3/5
Wien I
Austria

Saadi Amin
(Treasurer)
16 Taswell Rd.
Southsea
Hants, England

Tahsin Mohammad Amin
(Editor of 'Kurdistan')

See Page 2.

Constitution of the K.S.S.E.

Following are the 'Basic Aims' of the K.S.S.E.
embodied in its constitution, as amended in the
Fourth Congress in Vienna:

(1) Strengthen the relationship of Kurdish
Students in Europe, and organise meetings between
them.

(2) Facilitate mutual aid between Kurdish
Students in Europe.

(3) Promote the Kurdish national culture, and
work towards the good of the Kurdish people and

its national question.

(4) Enlighten the world on the culture, country
and condition of the Kurdish people and its
national question.

(5) Strengthen the spirit of co-operation and
friendship between the Kurdish students and the
students of other countries, and contact student
and non-student organisations, both national and
international, and co-operate with them within the
scope of our mutual aims and interests.

NEWROZ IN MUNICH:

From the Album of our branch in Federal Germany



Shekhani' Dance



Sueskavee' Dance'

NEWROZ IN MUNICH:

From the Album of our branch in Federal Germany



Folk Singing



Handicraft Exhibition

Press Page

The purpose of this section is, as will be guessed anyhow, to give the reader an idea of what the press of various countries says about the Kurds, their country, or their problems.

Extracts from an article by **Hans-Wilfrid von Stockhausen** in the monthly *Journal Politische Studien*, No. 117, January 1960 — published by the College of Political Science, Munich.

"Oil and Mohammad, Kurdish Problems

... The restive tribes of 'wild Kurdistan' were in continuous struggle against the beastly suppression of their regional rights by the Ottoman Empire... According to the treaty of Sevres of 1920, Turkey was to renounce her claim to territory along the Syrian and Mesopotamian border, and along the northern border of Turkey, in favour of an autonomous Kurdish government. Kurds do not live in Iraq only. But there are 9 to 11 million Kurds: of these about five million live in Eastern Turkey, 3 to 4 million in West Iran, 100,000 in Soviet Azerbaijan, and a large number live in northern Syria... When Britain, by resolution of the League of Nations, acquired a 25 year mandate over Iraq, she found that the autonomy she had promised (the Kurds) under different circumstances, was now an unpleasant burden... the Kurds suffered under the Hashemite governments in Iraq. On the other hand Mustafa Kemal savagely dealt with them. Countless villages and tribes were destroyed and uprooted by Ataturk and his successors Inono and Menderes. Even today in Akara they deny the existence of a Kurdish problem, which is a fact before their eyes. They call them 'mountain Turks' so that they can disregard law and the rights and promises that were first made to the Kurds. The Kurds in Iran are not better off at all. If a Kurdish tribe asks for the simplest of rights or claims the right to preserve its own customs and traditions, the government of Teheran will uproot it and transfer the population to the Farsi districts of North East Iran. The Soviets in fact claim that the 'Cento' pact contains a secret clause specifically directed against the Kurds... Quassim did his best to fulfil for the Kurds what is contained in Article Three of the Interim-Constitution of Iraq."

* * *

"In many of the cities in Kurdistan of Turkey, like Moosh, Slevan, Orfa, and Arzanjan, Kurdish children are not allowed to go on to intermediate school... In nothing are the Kurds allowed to have an opinion or the right of opposition. They

are imprisoned without trial, and even killed without trial... But in spite of all, the Kurdish nation, in its search for liberty and freedom, has never lost hope and never shall."

By a Kurd in Bulgaria, writing in the paper *Halk Gencligi*, No. 46, December 13th 1959.

"Lately Turkish police have made a wide number of arrests among Kurds in the Turkish capital. About 80 people have been arrested, and it is said these are accused of having had relations with Kurds in Iraq... But the Turkish press only reports that some individuals have been detained because they work with foreign elements (not with a foreign country) and have political meetings which are against national interests."

A.F.P. (French News Agency),
21st December 1959.

By way of comment on the above Agency report:

"By orders of the government, the Turkish press was to keep the matter silent... the detained persons are nationalist Kurds... they work in an organisation spread all over Kurdistan of Turkey, and its aim is to get 'cultural rights' for Kurds, for according to a Turkish law passed in 1932 Kurds are forbidden to write in their language... this law is still operative... the caution of the Turkish authorities is not exaggerated if we think of the fact that the population of the region goes up to 2.5 million or 10% of the total population (of Turkey) according to official estimates; but up to 6 million according to Kurdish national sources."

Le Monde, 26th December 1959.

The French periodical *Orient* in its issue No. 13, Spring 1960, had extracts from the two memoranda of our society to the U.N. Human Rights Commission concerning the conditions of the Kurd in Turkey and Iran. And also, in its documents section, had the programmes of the Iraqi political parties, among them the Democratic party of Kurdistan of Iraq.

In its issue No. 12, Autumn 1959, the periodical has an article about our society. Here are some extracts.

(See overleaf)

"The Kurdish Congress of Vienna"

"The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe held its fourth Congress in Vienna from 23rd to 26th of last July (then there is a history of the origins of the society in 1956, and its development). It is not bound to any party, different tendencies co-exist in it . . . It is activated by a dynamic committee . . . it carries out an active propaganda by (various) means . . . the positions which it adopted constituted a particularly clear indication of the state of mind of the young Kurdish intellectuals on the problems of the present and of the future . . . they exercise also an influence, not negligible, in Kurdistan itself . . . the motions noted by the Congress in Vienna are of great interest, because they show clearly the extent and limits of the Kurdish nationalist claims . . . the young intellectuals of Kurdistan intend to obtain, in return for their moderation, quite other things than just promises."



This photo depicts Qazi Mohammed, President, and Mustafa Barzani, C-in-C of the Armed Forces of the Kurdish Republic of 1945-46.

The President was hanged by the Iranian Authorities, and Barzani is at present Leader of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, in Iraq.



The late Hero of Kurds, Sheikh Mahmoud, Head of the Kurdish Government (1919-20)

Miscellaneous

The Society's telegram to the 'Summit Conference' last May (which broke up due to the U-2 spying incident).

The Conference of Heads of Government,
Paris.
Excellencies,

We respectfully remind you that the Kurdish people too have the right to unification and liberty.
K.S.S.E.

* * *

Dr. Kamuran Bedir-Khan's telegram to the Shah of Iran regarding the death sentence passed by a military tribunal on four Kurds.
His Majesty the Shah of Iran,
Teheran.

I permit myself the liberty of asking your Majesty to reprieve the death sentences passed by a military tribunal on four Kurdish youths: A ziz Yusefi — Ghani Blurian — Rahmat Sharifi — Ismail Qassemli. The hanging of Qazy Mohammad and his associates was a great mistake. But your majesty by reprieving these four death sentences will prevent the authorities from committing an even greater mistake which will have incalculable repercussions.

Emir Kamuran Bedir-Khan.

* * *

We have received a present of two valuable books from Mustafa Salim Peshdari — a student at the Medical College, Baghdad. We have received greetings from many well wishing friends. And further our liaison committee in Iraq sent us a box of wonderful articles which included national costumes and many handicrafts which were displayed at the exhibition, organised by our Branch in Federal Germany last March in Munich. Here we like to express our gratitude to all and say it is wonderful to know that your people at home stand by you.

* * *

Upon the invitation of the 'Students Council of the U.S.S.R.', our President, Ismet Cheriff, participated in 'the International Summer School' at Korm on the Black Sea, as the official delegate of our Society. 107 delegates attended, representing 42 countries and 6 international organisations. It covered the period 1st to 12th July 1960.

(Details of this will appear in the next issue of KURDISTAN.)

During a reception of the Iraqi Students Union in Austria, in his honour, **Mr. Kamel Chaderchi**, leader of the 'National Democratic Party' in Iraq, was asked by a Kurdish student: what is the position of the National Democratic Party regarding the 'Kurdish Question'?

In answer Mr. Chaderchi said: 'We completely support the Kurdish people in obtaining their national rights. And if the other parts of the Kurd's homeland are liberated we shall not stand in the way of its unification. But rather we shall assist them in forming a Kurdish state'. Here an Arab student interjected: Does your excellency mean that we shall cut off a part of Iraq and give it to the Kurds? Mr. Chaderchi answered: 'This is their country'. (This is indeed the solid understanding through which Arab-Kurd brotherhood can be maintained and forever cemented. Ed.).

* * *

The Executive Committee received a letter from the Dutch journalist Van Rooy in which he expresses his support for the just cause of the Kurdish Nation, and his resolve to do everything to bring out its reality and acquaint the European public with that cause. This letter followed an interview Mr. Van Rooy had with our Vice-President. In it he proposes to our Society to help create a 'Kurdistan International Organisation' (International Ge Sellschaft Kurdistan) to serve Kurdish interests.

(We have informed Mr. Van Rooy that his proposal shall be studied at the coming congress in Berlin. Needless to say we are grateful for his interest).

* * *

The Amsterdam weekly *Het Vilze Volk*, in its issue of 16th June 1960, published an article under the Heading: '**The Long and Bitter Struggle of the Kurds for their Liberty**'. In it there is an explanation of past efforts of the Kurdish people, and their present conditions — good in Iraq, bad in Iran, Turkey and Syria. And there are also references to some of our Society's activities.

* * *

Letters to the Editor

These letters were received following the Issue of last November:

The Editor of *Kurdistan*.

Dear Sir,

I should be glad if you would supply regularly two copies of your publication on *Kurdistan*, beginning with the January (1960) issue.

Thanking you in advance,

Yours faithfully,
Yusuf s. Mardin Press Attache,
Turkish Embassy, London, S.W.1.
February 9th 1960

* * *

The Editor of *Kurdistan*.

Dear Sir,

I am interested in obtaining a one year subscription to your magazine KURDISTAN beginning with the current issue. Please forward the magazine and your invoice to me at the above address.

Sincerely,
A. Charles Moss,
American Embassy,
London, W.1.
July 12th 1960

* * *

The Editor of *Kurdistan*,

Dear friend,

We would like to receive your magazine regularly. Every week we forward to you copies of our weekly paper and hope you will give some to your friends. We await the receipt of your magazine.

Sincerely,
Dr. Abdul Rahman Mufti Zada,
The Newspaper 'Kurdistan',
Teheran, Iran.
6.12.1959.

* * *

The Editor of *Kurdistan*,

Dear Sir,

I was very surprised to read in the article 'Focus on Kurdistan', which appeared in the issue of *Kurdistan* dated November 1959, of the allega-

tions of anti-Kurdish activities in Iran. Such a hostile attitude on the part of the Iranian authorities as described in the article has never been and can never be. Kurds in Iran are treated in every respect as all other members of the Iranian community, and this is for the simple reason that they are purely Iranian and are never regarded in any other way in the eyes and hearts of the rest of the Iranian people. Never at any time in history has Kurdistan been separated from Iran and it is therefore meaningless to speak of any part of Kurdistan having been 'forcibly annexed to Iran'.

Such distorted information can have its source only in the propaganda of the enemies of the country, which aims at harming and antagonising the minds of the people. Indeed it is necessary only to contact some of the Kurds themselves in various parts of Iran to discover the true fact, which is that there is not the least discrimination between a Kurdish and any other member of the community in Iran. Every way is open for the Kurds in Iran; many become generals, all can attain the highest positions in public life; there is a special Kurdish radio installation; His Imperial Majesty The Shahanshah devotes personal attention to the development and progress of Kurdistan, willingly receiving the Kurdish leaders and providing for many Kurdish students to continue their studies in Europe. All these things demonstrate how, far from there being any discriminating against Kurds in Iran, they enjoy the full consideration of His Majesty and the Iranian Government.

Kurdistan is rapidly improving in all walks of life; in agriculture and in many other aspects progress is being made. It is, therefore, particularly unfair for Kurds outside Iran to express themselves in opposition to the Iranian authorities, when their brothers in Iran are welcomed there and are attaining a state of prosperity and well-being. It would seem more natural to appreciate and approve of such a state of affairs.

I should be very pleased personally to meet any Kurds over here, and should welcome a talk with them on further aspects of Kurdish life in our country.

Yours faithfully,
A. Esfendiary.
for Iranian Ambassador,
Iranian Embassy,
London, W.8.
10.2.60.

(We thank you, Mr. Esfendiary, for your challenging letter. In our magazine all opinions can be expressed. Let us, then, answer the points made one by one.

(i) Kurds are considered purely Iranian and treated equally with other members of the Iranian community: But Sir, do not forget that a fundamental right of a people is their right to a nationality. Quite often the Iranian authorities have misused the fact that the Kurds are Aryan like the Farsi people and that their language belongs to the same family of Iranian languages (or Indo-European, or Indo-Iranian languages, according to the name you choose). Having common origin does not make two people the same. The Germans, for example, are Aryan but that does not make them Iranian. Some languages in Afganistan, Pakistan, India, and even Europe have a common origin with the Iranian group, does that make those people Iranian? Can the Spanish, French, and Italian people be one because they have had some common roots? There are similarities between the languages and characteristics of many peoples, take the Slavs, that does not make them one. The Kurds are a nationality and constitute a nation with their brothers out-side Iran, and this basic fact your government denies. Thus talk of equality is quite meaningless. The Kurds in Iran are proud to be kins of the Farsi people, they are happy to be citizens of Iran, and they are conscious of their links with you; in fact we like all humanity to think of their common origin. But as things are today the Kurds object to your efforts to distort their ethnic origins, their national identity, and the autonomous development of their rich language.

(ii) That Kurdistan has never been separated from Iran: All of Kurdistan has never been part of Iran. Part of it indeed has been. But unreal ancient historic situations are no justification for refusing to recognise a fact. History is full of injustices which are only now being rectified. Human society is progressing and you must agree that the map, the state, and the whole set up of the world, is continuously changing. But yesterday the whole world belonged to colonial Empires, can anybody stop the process of their break-up? No. For people are conscious now and rights cannot be usurped for ever. The Arab lands were part of the Turkish Empire up to the peace settlement of 1919. Could Turkey have insisted on retaining them? Your own Iranian Empire extended far beyond the present frontiers of Iran, and yet you have irrevocably accepted the change. All this is in the march of history and the gradual progress of man towards complete equality for all people. But let us empha-

size that what the Kurd wants is to be free and equal partners in building a happy Iran.

(iii) We reject in the strongest possible terms your accusation that our information has "its source in the propaganda of the enemies of Iran". We believe, as the majority of Iranians (of all nationalities) do, that very much is wrong in Iran. There is bad government, corruption, bribery, Army rule and police terror, squandering of public funds, lack of adequate education, health, social and other services, lack of freedom; of the press, of speech, of assembly etc., and a total disregard for the honour and dignity and independence of the great people of Iran. In fact there is almost nothing that your government does for Iran. All this is wrong, and in our opinion any Iranian who does not openly say it and oppose it (but rather say all is well) is an enemy of the people of Iran.

(iv) Kurds "become generals" and the Shah receives their leaders: What the Kurds need is Kurdish schools, Kurdish papers and magazines (there is a paper in Teheran, called Kurdistan but its primary task is to praise the Shah), a better life, better health, better food, political rights, freedom, and a genuine respect for and recognition of their nationality. As to meeting the Shah, we do not see any value in that.

As to the advances in Kurdistan, that is simply contrary to the fact, for all of Iran is in dire poverty and most of it about at least two centuries behind the atom age. We have seen Kurdistan of Iran and the only thing that one finds in plenty is soldiers and guns. In fact there is news that a tribe is being uprooted so that your ally the U.S. can build a missile site (we hope this is not true).

(v) You express your wish to see us;

We are always ready, and will be very pleased to meet you or your friends. We are grateful for your suggestion. But the point is this: on a former occasion we met Mr. Qawam, the Minister at your Embassy, and all he would say, and in an insulting manner, was that there is no such thing as a Kurdish language or nationality. Such talk can serve no purpose. But for genuine discussion we are at your disposal.

We apologize for this long answer, but the magazines' columns are open to you if you care to explain your view point. Ed.)

* * *

Review Article

LA QUESTION KURDE
by DR. KAMURAN BEDIR-KHAN
(Paris: Imprimerie Vogue, 1959 — 16 Pages.)
by HASSAN SULAIMAN

*"A thousand friends, is few
one enemy, is too many"*

(Kurdish proverb)

It is significant that the pamphlet begins with this proverb. The usurper governments are not content with dominating Kurdistan and persecuting the Kurdish people, but they have done all they can, through a deliberately false propaganda, to impair the reputation of this peace-loving people, and to distort the true reality of its national cause so as to deprive it of the sympathy of world public opinion. Hence it is extremely necessary to enlighten world opinion on the Kurdish national question. This pamphlet constitutes a successful effort in this field.

In brief and clear terms, the writer explains the significance of the Kurdish 'question' and its implications; he rectifies the distorted idea, which

is spread in many European countries, regarding the Kurds, and he gives an account of the history of the Kurdish people, the geographic situation of Kurdistan and its economic resources. Further he reviews the various movements, in the different parts of Kurdistan, which the Kurds found to be the only means of claiming their liberty.

About two pages of the pamphlet are devoted to the glorious Iraqi Revolution of July 14th, 1958, which, under the leadership of the people's Qassim, liberated Iraq from Imperialism and the reactionary puppet regime, and established a democratic Republic in which Kurds in the Kurdistan of Iraq enjoy liberty and national rights. The writer rightly salutes this historic event. He stresses the reality of Arab-Kurd brotherhood and the fact that the unity of Iraq is as dear to the Kurds as it is to the Arabs.

Despite the small size of the pamphlet, nevertheless to the credit of the writer, it is highly informative for the European reader. With it Dr. Bedir-Khan adds another to the long list of services he has rendered to the cause of his people to which he has devoted all his life.

The Fifth Congress

Very soon our Society will hold its fifth annual congress in Berlin. This is the one occasion on which the past year is reviewed, new elections are held, and policy for the coming year is formulated. It is further an occasion when Kurds from all parts of Kurdistan meet to discuss the problems of their homeland. Thus every member of our Society is urged to do his utmost to attend this great occasion, during which he can join his brothers in struggling for his people, serving his Society, and serving world democracy and peace in general, for the rightful adjustment of any bad situation anywhere in the world, and the freedom of any people in the world cannot but contribute to an atmosphere of peace.

Here is the notice of the Executive Committee, put out earlier, regarding the congress:

Dear brother Members,
Honourable friends,

The Kurdish Students Society in Europe is pleased to announce the convening of its Fifth annual Congress in West Berlin from 22nd to 25th August 1960.

The members of the Society, who come from all parts of Kurdistan, are asked to attend and contribute to its success. In the success of the congress we have a victory for our Society, and a further step forward in the fulfilment of its high

aims. And it is an invaluable opportunity for meeting other Kurds and exchanging ideas regarding the functions of the Society and regarding the just struggle of the Kurdish nation for its rights, its happiness and the self-determination of its destiny.

It gives us extra pleasure to have been able at the same time to organise a 'conference on Kurdish studies', which will be attended by professors and language specialists, to discuss the difficulties in the way of the unification of the Kurdish language and its form of writing.

We invite all to attend the congress, and invite all friendly organisations to participate by sending official delegates or representatives.

Forward in the service of our Society's high aims and in the service of our dear Kurdish nation.

The Executive Committee of
The Kurdish Students Society in Europe
July 1st, 1960

Place of Congress:

Berlin-Schlachtensee,
Potsdamer Chaussee 31-34,
Studentendorf,
Germany (DBR.)

N.B. The opening session will be at 4 p.m., Monday 22nd August, 1960, at the following place:
Berlin Casino Am Funkturm (Presseraum).

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Kurdish Journals

IRAQ: Azady, Dengî Qutabian, Hiwa, Peşkewtin, Rizgary, Xebat — Bagdad. Hetaw — Erbil (Hewlêr). Şefeq — Kirkuk. Rasty — Mosel. Blêse, Hiway Kurdistan Jîn, Newroz, Rojî Nwê — Suleymaniya.

IRAN: 'Kurdistan'—a weekly journal.

LIBANON 'Roja Nu, Stêr'—ceased publication.

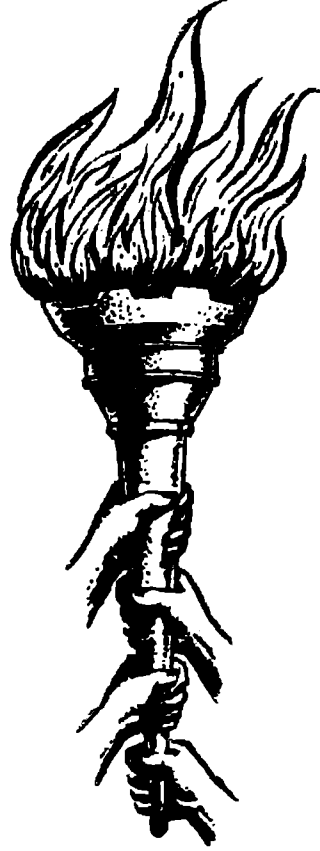
SYRIA 'Hawar, Ronahi'—ceased publication.

TURKEY Kurdish Publications are forbidden.

U.S.S.R. Rêya Taze, Kovara Qefqasê.

KOMELEY XWÊNDIKARANÎ KURD LE EWROPA

KURDISTAN



Kurdish Students' Society in Europe

PRICE THREE SHILLINGS

منتدى إقرأ الثقافي

KURDISTAN

Published by the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe

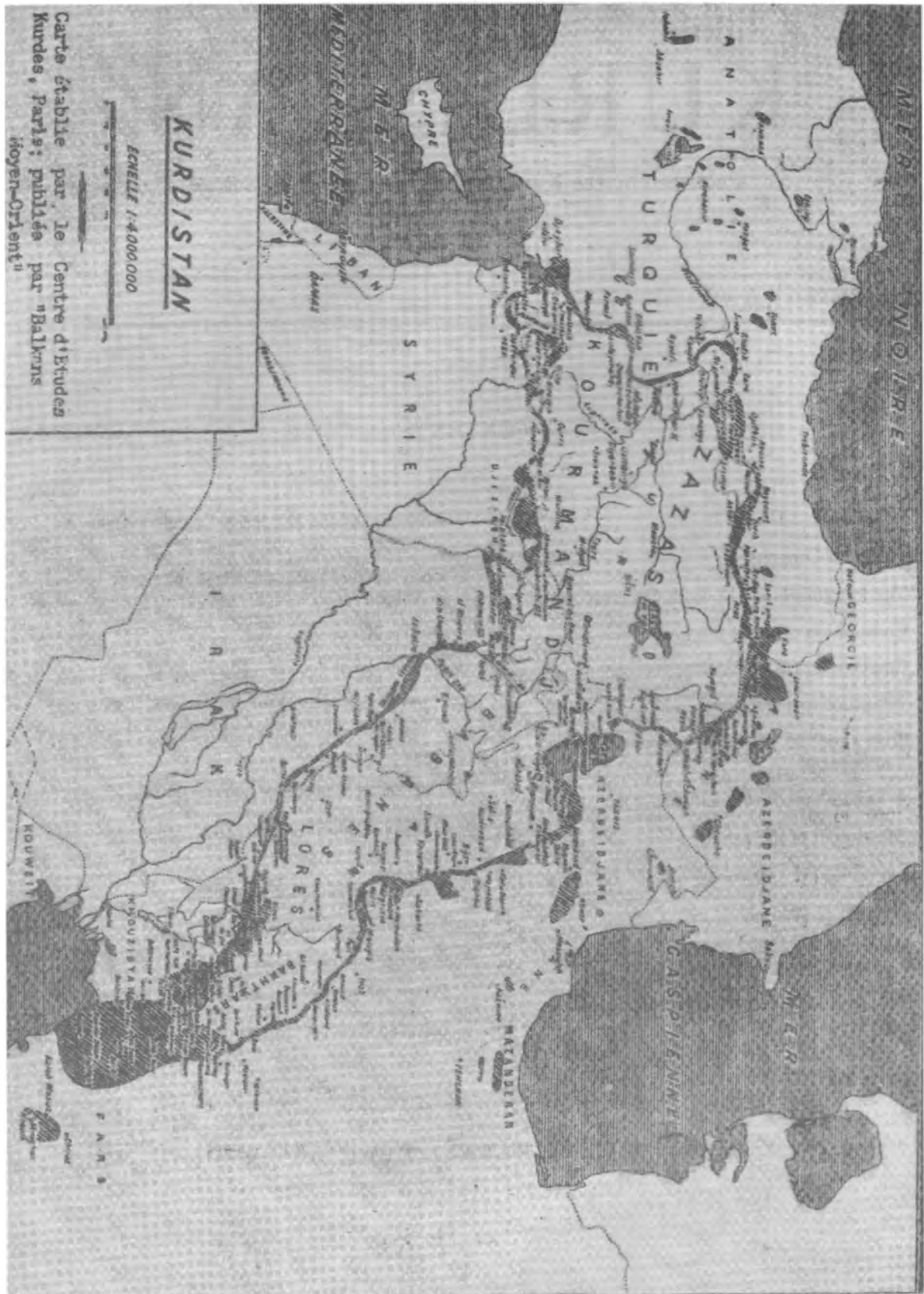
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KOMELEY XWENDIKARANÎ KURD LE EWROPA



Editorial

Nowadays we see many nations of both East and West striving for the freedom and independence of their homelands, and often we hear that a new state has come into being, after many struggles and great sacrifices on the part of such nations, in order that they might live like all the free and independent peoples.

World opinion today is increasingly united in the realization that it is no longer permissible for any nation to remain under-privileged. For this reason we see articles written in many of the world's newspapers, and hear voices raised in many speeches, in support of this or that cause. Nevertheless the Kurdish nation, which has striven for years without number and sacrificed many of its sons to obtain its national and cultural rights, sees with astonishment how world opinion, as expressed in the press and in international organizations, and the governments of the world individually, have not faced up in a positive manner to the Kurdish problem.

In Kurdistan of Turkey, where more than five million Kurds live, hundreds every month are thrown into prison and the Kurds are denied all human rights. Moreover, this inhuman treatment becomes more savage every day. Although some people imagine that the recent change of government in Turkey will lead to a spread of democracy in the Turkish Republic, we cannot understand how any Turkish government dare mention democracy while it calls the Kurds 'mountain Turks' and denies them all rights, including even that of speaking their own language.

Today the government of General Gursel is engaged in oppressing the Kurdish people even more than previous Turkish governments. The military prisons of Istanbul are full of Kurds, tried in secrecy and without the benefit of the elementary right of defence, a right granted to every defendant in all democratic countries. In the same way Kurds in their thousands are driven out of Kurdistan every year, together with their families, and forced to live in Turkish areas in the west of Turkey, after their land and property in Kurdistan has been summarily seized. Each family is only allowed to take a maximum of 100 kilos. of personal property with it, and in many cases Kurdish men are expelled from Kurdistan, leaving their wives and children at the mercy of the Turkish police and soldiers. Although many newspaper correspondents and news agencies are aware of these facts we see that they consider them of no great importance or interest.

The condition of the Kurds in the Kurdistan of Iran is not much better than that of their brothers in Turkey. A year ago the Persian gendarmerie and the minions of the Shah's government arrested approximately six hundred Kurds in one night and flung them into prison, later to be tried in secret by a military court. Four persons were sentenced to death and many to life imprisonment. Despite the fact that the Shah's government is fully aware that the entire Kurdish nation and its organizations, together with a number of foreign newspapers and organizations, condemn these arbitrary actions we see that those four Kurds are still under the threat of execution and many other Kurds still in prison.

On many occasions the government of Iran states that they are the friends of the Kurds and invites the Kurds living outside Iran to unite with them. They claim that the Kurds of Iran live happily and enjoy all national rights and are served by Kurdish newspapers and broadcasting stations. Evidently the Persian officials have forgotten, or have put out of their minds, the fact that in the Kurdistan of Iran, where nearly four million Kurds live, there is not a single school where a Kurdish child can study in his own language. Likewise, there are no Kurdish newspapers or journals, with the solitary exception of one called ironically *Kurdistan*, a 'weekly' published in Teheran, and not distributed in Kurdistan itself. This is meant only for external propaganda purposes, to praise the Shah and his government and to attack Kurdish organizations, including our own committee, which is supported by the majority of the Kurdish people in Kurdistan.

In Syria, where there are nearly 400,000 Kurds living, more than three hundred Kurdish intellectuals, professional men and personalities have recently been arrested, and twenty-two sentenced to life imprisonment. The Kurds in Syria have been deprived of all national rights.

Those Kurds who have been arrested in Turkey, Iran and Syria are not criminals, nor are they guilty of treason towards those countries. Their only crime has been to demand their legal rights.

The government of Iraq, under the Interim Constitution, grants the Kurds their rights and regards them as equal to the Arabs of Iraq. Nevertheless there are shortcomings. For example, certain Kurdish newspapers in Iraq have been banned. We hope that these shortcomings will be remedied and that in the new Constitution the rights of the Kurdish people will be proclaimed explicitly and completely.

We are convinced that the condition of the Kurdish people, especially those in Kurdistan of Turkey, is a matter of grave concern for all peoples of the world, as it threatens to destroy the peace of the Middle East. We wish to bring to the attention of all peoples and governments of the world, through the world press, that if the Kurds remain in their present unfortunate state it must sooner or later cause such grave problems as we cannot believe to be sought by anybody. Accordingly we

ask them to raise their voices in support of the just struggle of the Kurdish nation for its rights, and to demand of these governments that they grant the Kurds their rights.

It is our opinion that the Kurdish problem cannot be solved without democracy, but at the same time we cannot accept any 'democracy' established at the expense of the Kurdish nation. Moreover, we do not consider that true democracy can be established in the Middle East until the Kurdish problem is solved.

The Fifth Congress

The Fifth Annual Congress of the K.S.S.E. was held in Berlin from 22nd – 26th August 1960. Nearly eighty delegates, Kurdish students from European Universities who represented all parts of Kurdistan, were present. These students came from Austria, Bulgaria, Great Britain, France, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Switzerland, Soviet Union, Rumania, Federal German Republic, German Democratic Republic and Hungary.

Four Honorary members of the Society, namely Professor Dr. Kamuran Aâli Bedir-Khan and Mdme. Bedir-Khan, General Ihsan Nuri Pasha and Mr. Rashid Arif (Contractor), were present.

Among the guests and observers were Professor Dr. Heinrich Junker, Director of the Near-East Institute at the Humboldt University in Berlin; Dr. Dieter Christensen and his wife — ethnologist and lecturer at the Free University of Berlin; Dr. Heinz Kloss, Director of Institute for Nationalities and Language problems, Kiel; Mr. Silvio van Rooy of Amsterdam, President of I.S.K.; Mr. Simones, Vice-President of I.S.K.; there were also representatives of International Union of Students, General Union of Students of the Iraqi Republic, Iraqi Students Society in G.D.R., Iraqi Student's Society in Bulgaria, Iraqi Student's Union in Federal Republic of Germany, Union of the Democratic Youth in Iraq, Democratic Party of Kurdistan. There were over twenty journalists who represented German and International Press. Representatives of the West Berlin Radio and Television Services were also present and filmed the opening session of the Congress.

The Congress was opened with the Kurdish students singing the National Song: 'Ey Reqîb'. Then the President of the K.S.S.E. rose and delivered the opening address; he welcomed all the guests, one by one, and thanked the organisations, especially I.U.S., G.U.S.I.R. and Democratic Party

of Kurdistan for sending their representatives to the Congress. The President went on to say:

"... The unity of all Kurdish democratic forces in each part of our politically divided Kurdistan, the complete co-operation with the democratic forces of the neighbouring peoples within each of the states, where Kurds are living, are two distinct but connected objectives, two important, say indispensable conditions for the success of the Kurdish national liberation movement in the Middle East, and for the complete democratisation of the public life in the Middle-Eastern states, objectives, which will be beneficial to Arabs, Persians, Turks and Kurds.

The realization of one of those two conditions must not be attained at the expense of the other. In Iraq for example the second condition is, happily enough, fully realized through the Arab-Kurdish friendship, through the bi-national partnership in the republic. But the unity of the democratic forces of Iraqi Kurdistan could be and must be better done. This is very important.

As important at least is a third condition: the realization of a better unity, of a better more organic co-ordination within the Kurdish national liberation movement as a whole, across the Middle-Eastern political frontiers, which tear Kurdistan into pieces. **Kurdistan is but one land, but one nation numbering 12 million people and politically divided into four parts.**

The Kurdish national question cannot be resolved without a good and thorough democratisation of the political power in the states of the Middle East. But the contrary is true, and to this point, we would like to draw the attention of all non-Kurdish democratic forces in the Middle East: A good and thorough democratisation of the Middle-Eastern countries cannot be attained without radical solution of the Kurdish national question.

I can say even more: the degree of democratisation of any governmental power in the Middle East can be accurately measured by the amount of the Kurdish national rights, recognized and effectively respected by that government. I beg you only to forgive me for this rather too mathematical expression.

The two aspects of the problems are closely connected. A government, which does not recognize the Kurdish national rights, including self-determination, is not a democratic or not entirely democratic government."

which occurred during this year, is the official recognition by the Iraqi Government of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan in Iraq. For the first time in history a Kurdish party passes from illegality to legality, from underground to overground. This is very important.

But Iraqi Kurds have still some reasons of unsatisfaction, of which the Kurdish press at home speaks enough and which will be explained, on the other hand, in a special booklet written in English, to be published by our Society.

I would like to make four points quite clear:



Some delegates at the Fifth Congress

"... Ladies and gentlemen, dear friends. I beg you to be so kind to let me make a very rapid survey of the situation of the Kurdish people in Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria.

Since the glorious Iraqi Revolution of July 14th 1958, our Society has undertaken by all the means at its disposal, the defence of the new Republic, that of the Arabs and the Kurds. We will continue to do it.

In our two previous congresses in Munich and Vienna, and through all our publications, we have put in evidence how much the Iraqi Revolution was beneficial not only to the whole Iraqi people, with their two main nationalities, the Arabs and the Kurds, associated constitutionally in the Republic, with equal national rights, but also indirectly the whole Kurdish people, everywhere in Kurdistan.

We shall not repeat the reasons of Kurdish satisfaction, which are well known and will surely remain. A new reason for Kurdish satisfaction,

I—the first is that all these reasons of Kurdish unsatisfaction in Iraq are inherited by the new Republic from ancient monarchic regime and, whence, the Republic power can by no means be considered as responsible of such a situation; II—The second point is this: we consider that the Democratic Republican Government must uproot all the mischief of the ancient regime, including those which strike the Kurdish nationality in particular. Probably the Iraqi Government has not had enough time to find the good solutions to all the problems of which the Iraqi people and especially the Kurds are complaining. III—The third point is that these remarks are made with a perfect constructive and democratic spirit, and that we are confident that the Iraqi Government will find, let us hope it, the good solutions for the problems posed. IV—The fourth point is that, despite these remarks, the situation of the Kurdish people in Iraq is above any comparison with that of the Kurdish people in the neighbouring states, and that

our Society will remain as faithful as in the past in defending the Iraqi Revolution, the Iraqi Democracy and the Iraqi Republican power, against external and internal enemies.

I shall not speak here of these particular but very important problems, which, although inherited from the past, do not let the Iraqi Kurds, to have actually the same right as their friends — the Arabs. I would just denote some of them:

For instance, the Kurdish language must be considered as an official language in all governmental offices in Iraq, exactly as Arabic. On the other hand the Iraqi foreign policy must undertake officially the defence of the Kurdish people and the Kurdish national question outside Iraq, in the same way as it defends the Arab nation elsewhere, in Algeria and Oman for example.

But how this nationality will be associated with their brothers — the Arabs — in the Republic, that is a point which the constitution leaves in silence.

We think that this association could be realized the best through a Kurdish self-Government within Iraq, or, which is even better, by the creation of an Iraqi Federal Republic, as in all democratic bi-national or multi-national states of the world.

Another important problem is that created by Article II of the provisional Iraqi constitution. This article declares that Iraq is a part of the Arab nation. We think that only the Arab Iraq is part of the Arab nation. Iraqi Kurdistan is part of the Kurdish nation.

We are confident that the wisdom of the Iraqi Government, will also find the good solutions for these problems.



Delegates during a break

Another problem is the necessity of creating Kurdish faculties, one after one, and later a Kurdish University, in several towns of Iraqi Kurdistan and not elsewhere.

One of the most important problems is that of the necessity of a Kurdish cultural and administrative autonomy in Iraq, involving the unification of all the regions of Iraqi Kurdistan and the creation of a Kurdish self-Government, within the limits of the Republic, according to a famous official Iraqi declaration dated of December 1922 and which has received no application.

Article III of the provisional Iraqi constitution declares Arabs and Kurds as associates in the Republic. This is a very good thing but not sufficient. This is merely an official recognition that within Iraq there is a Kurdish nationality.

At our last congress in Vienna, our Society was pleased enough to salute the publication of a Kurdish newspaper in Teheran called *Kurdistan*, which is still the sole Kurdish newspaper in Iran.

Unfortunately during the last year we could know that this newspaper has no diffusion in Iranian Kurdistan, that it is only sent to some Kurds outside Iran. On the other hand, during this year hundreds of our compatriots in Iran were put in jail and four of them condemned to death. We think that this policy — if continued — will lead Iran to very serious difficulties.

Because we are Kurds — and that we have the most friendly feelings towards the Persian people, we ask the Persian Government to release all Kurdish political prisoners, to permit Kurdish publications of all kind, to create Kurdish schools

and to recognize the cultural and national rights of the Kurdish people within Iran, so that the Kurdish nation can progress together with the rest of the ancient people of Iran, and so that the Kurdish language — that belongs to the Iranian group of languages, can flourish.

When in last March 1960 the Turkish *coup d'état* rid the Republic of Turkey of Mr. Menderes' tyrannic and corrupt Government, we thought that the Committee of National Union which took the power would recognize the legitimate national rights of the six millions of Kurds, living in the Eastern provinces of Turkey, that is in Kurdistan. Some of the responsables of the new regime declared even that the Committee of 'National Union' respects the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed by the United Nations. Unfor-

In Syria too the Kurdish people are deprived of their national rights, some Kurdish patriots are still arrested. We ask President Nasser to order an objective enquiry about the situation of the Kurds in Syria, to release Kurdish political prisoners and to recognize the national rights of the Syrian Kurds, including that to have Kurdish schools and Kurdish newspapers in the region inhabited by them."

"... Dear Colleagues!

The congress is the highest authority in the Society. From congress to congress we could see the growth of our organization, the fruit of your work. Let us remain united and indulgent toward each other and towards the others. I salute our great Fifth Congress in Berlin and I wish you good work, good luck, and also — because we need it —



Mr. S. E. van Rooy (second from right, front row), President of the International Society Kurdistan, at the Vth Congress

unately, some weeks ago, General Gursel said that there is no Kurdish question and no Kurds at all in Turkey. This is ridiculous. The treaty of Sévres of 1920, in its articles 62, 63, 64, recognizes clearly enough not only the existence of a Kurdish nation in Turkey, but also its right to an autonomous Kurdistan.

We are sure that the Turkish people, like the Kurdish people, do not share the very military opinion of the new head of the Turkish Government about the Kurdish question and the problem of Kurdish rights in this Republic. We are sure that the Turkish people, animated more and more by democracy, have already understood that the legitimate national rights of the Kurdish people within Turkey must be recognized, the sooner the better, in the interest of this Republic and of its two main nationalities. The Kurds arrested last December are still in the military prison of Istanbul.

good courage, in the service of our Kurdish people and the Kurdish Students movement.

Ladies and Gentlemen — thank you for your attention!"

* * * *

After this important speech, many guests spoke and greeted the Congress.

Because of the numerous letters and telegrams of greetings to the Congress, it was decided that at the beginning of each session, some of these should be read.

The opening session was followed by a big dinner party for the guests as well as the members of the Society.

During the next sessions, the General Secretary, the Treasurer, the Editor of KURDISTAN as well as the Branch Secretaries read their reports and each was thoroughly discussed by the delegates.

Below is a short summary of the General Secretary's Report which ran to over 28 pages. We regret that heavy pressure upon space has prevented us from finding room for its full text.

'... Immediately after the 4th Congress, we had about one hundred members in our Society, but the number has now increased to about 200, of whom 76 are present.

During the period between the 4th and 5th Congresses the number of branches has increased from five to eight and there are three more branches in process of formation.

Two issues of KURDISTAN in English and one in German were published. Also, the final communiqué of the 4th Congress together with all memorandums sent to U.N.O. and Middle Eastern governments, where Kurdish people live, were published in English, French and German and distributed.

An emblem for the Society was designed and new membership cards carrying the emblem were issued.

A pamphlet in French about Kurdistan and Kurdish people was published. Also two more pamphlets in English have been prepared.

Delegations were sent to many Congresses held by friendly Students organisations.

A number of Committees were formed in some parts of Kurdistan for direct contact between K.S.S.E. and Kurdish people in Kurdistan.'

Then, the General-Secretary mentioned some obstacles in the way of our Society such as the fact that each member of the E.C. is in a different country in Europe. He also criticized a few Kurdish Students in Europe who are not yet members of the Society, yet some of them are active members in other Societies. He said that the time has come for us all to work genuinely as one body for the service of our beloved nation and country.

The General-Secretary ended his report by saying 'We thank you all for your presence and hope to meet again together with new members next year to renew our brotherhood and reinforce our solidarity'.

'Long live K.S.S.E. Long live our unity'.

The congress passed important resolutions concerning the situation of the Kurdish people in each part of Kurdistan as well as over the strengthening of the democracy and the safeguard of the achievements of the 14th July 1958 Revolution in Iraq.

The congress also dealt with many other important points and after which elections were held for the new EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

As a result the following were elected:

The Executive Committee:

President: Ismet Cberiff-Vanly — Switzerland.

Vice-President and Treasurer:

Wurya Rawanduzi — Austria.

General Secretary: Kemal Fuad — Berlin.

Editor of KURDISTAN: Saadi Amin Dizayee — Great Britain.

Member: Temo Mirkhaz — West Germany.

Member: Omer Amin Dizayee — France.

Member: Kaus Keftan — U.S.S.R.

The Congress was followed by a celebration in the hall of Berlin University. Many guests were invited from all walks of life, including professors, lecturers, journalists and representatives of Berlin radio and television.

The celebration began with the appearance, in national dress, of our member Abdullah Kadir. He thanked the guests for honouring the celebration with their presence, and went on to give a talk on the Kurdish people and their divided country, illustrated with many coloured slides.

The guests were both impressed and touched by the beautiful pictures of Kurdistan and of the simple life of its people.

After this most informative talk, the artistic group of the Society led by Omer Dizayee and Serdar Remzi gave a most amusing programme under the lights of television projectors, and the guests expressed their appreciation by warmly applauding their efforts. Then the Society's team of dancers, in their colourful national dresses, performed a number of traditional Kurdish dances.

A small Kurdish handicraft exhibition was the centre of attraction during the interval and was greatly appreciated by the many guests.

The celebration ended at midnight and the guests left with a vivid memory of the beauty of Kurdistan and the way of living of the Kurdish people.

The Resolutions of the 5th Congress

Following are some of the resolutions passed by the Congress:

Congress demands that the Turkish Government liberates Kurdish Political Prisoners, recognises the national and cultural rights of the Kurdish people in Kurdistan of Turkey, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and that it guarantees these effectively and constitutionally.

Congress demands that the Turkish Government opens Kurdish schools and a Kurdish radio-station in Kurdistan and permits Kurdish publications in a manner conforming to the interests of our people.

Congress hails the just struggle of our Kurdish people — including that of the students — in Kurdistan of Turkey, along with the Turkish people to obtain their national and cultural rights; it addresses to the militants of the Kurdish National Movement and particularly to all prisoners, the greetings and support of our people in all parts of Kurdistan.

Congress strongly condemns the declaration of General Gursel, denying the existence of a Kurdish people in Turkey, ignoring their millions, and making a mere abstraction of historical, ethnological and geographical facts.

Congress brings to the attention of world public opinion the policy of 'Turkification' and forced transference followed by the Turkish Government with regard to our Kurdish people; it asks all international and democratic organisations, especially the U.N.O., and all men of goodwill in the world to denounce this policy and to help the fight of our people for their legitimate rights.

Congress demands that the Turkish Government indemnifies the families of Kurdish political prisoners.

* * * *

Congress demands that the Iranian Government officially annuls the death sentence on our four Kurdish compatriots, Ghenei Blurian, Rahmet Sheriati, Aziz Yousifi and Ismail Kasimlu, frees all political prisoners, recognises the national and cultural rights of the Kurdish people in Kurdistan of Iran, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and guarantees them effectively and constitutionally.

Congress demands that the Iranian Government opens Kurdish schools and permits Kurdish publications in Kurdistan of Iran in a manner conforming to the interests of our people.

Congress hails the just struggle of our people including the students, in Kurdistan of Iran, and that of Persian people, the Azerbaijani people and the ethnic minorities in Iran, to obtain their national and cultural rights; it addresses to the militants of the Kurdish National Movement, and especially to all prisoners, the greetings and support of our people in all parts of Kurdistan.

* * * *

Congress hails the advances achieved by the Iraqi Government, following the glorious revolution of the 14th July 1958, concerning our Kurdish people; it supports the real democratic regime and calls on the Iraqi people with its two nationalities, Arab and Kurdish, along with the ethnic minorities to unite with their democratic organizations to safeguard the advances of the July 14th Revolution, and to put an end to plots against the Republic and its democratic advances.

Congress reaffirms the right of the Kurdish people in Iraq to cultural and administrative autonomy, and asks that the Iraqi Government and the national and democratic forces in Iraq work for the realization of this objective with the least delay, to consolidate Arab-Kurdish friendship and the unity of Iraq, and calls for the mention and guarantee of this right in the new constitution.

Congress asks the Iraqi Government to remove the remaining injustices of the old regime with regard to the Kurdish people . . .

* * * *

Congress demands that the Government of U.A.R. frees Kurdish Political Prisoners, recognizes the national and cultural rights of the Kurdish people in Syria, and guarantees them constitutionally and effectively.

Congress demands that the U.A.R. Government opens Kurdish schools, authorises Kurdish newspapers and publications in Syria, and improves the Kurdish programme of 'Radio Cairo' in a manner conforming to the interests of the Kurdish people.

Constitutions of the K.S.S.E.

Following are the 'Basic Aims' of the K.S.S.E. embodied in its constitution as amended in the Fifth Congress in Berlin:

(1) Strengthen the relationship of Kurdish Students in Europe, and organise meetings between them.

(2) Facilitate mutual aid between Kurdish Students in Europe.

(3) Promote the Kurdish national culture, and work towards the good of the Kurdish people and its national question.

(4) Enlighten the world on the culture, country and condition of the Kurdish people and its national question.

(5) Strengthen the spirit of co-operation and friendship between the Kurdish students and the students of other countries, and contact student and

non-student organizations, both national and international, and co-operate with them within the scope of our mutual aims and interests.

(6) Support all the peoples, including our Kurdish people, in their struggle for national liberation and self-determination.

Communications with the Executive Committee should be addressed to :

Ismet Cheriff Vanly (President),
10 Ave. Dickens,
Lausanne,
Switzerland.

Wurya Rawanduzi (Vice-President and Treasurer),
Gonzaga G., 3/5,
Wien I,
Austria.

Kemal Fuad (General Secretary),
Postfach 44,
Berlin,
D.D.R.

Correspondence with the Editor should be addressed to

Saadl Amin Dizayee,
16 Taswell Road,
Southsea,
Hants,
England.

CONFERENCE OF KURDOLOGICAL STUDIES

Following the Fifth Congress and on the initiative of our Society, a conference was held for one day attended by prominent Kurdish and European professors.

More than anything, the participants of this conference occupied themselves with the two main Kurdish dialects (i.e. Kurmanji and Sorani) and their standardization into a universal literary language.

Further, the scientific and technical necessity of the language with latin letters for the Kurdish language were the subject of long deliberation and discussion.

At this conference, resolutions of a scientific nature were passed.

Opinions and statistical data submitted by individuals do not necessarily bind the Society

Telegrams to Turkey and Iran

At the opening session of the Fifth Congress the following two telegrams were immediately sent to the Governments of Turkey and Iran:

(1) **His Excellency General Gursel, the Head of Turkish State, Ankara, Turkey.**

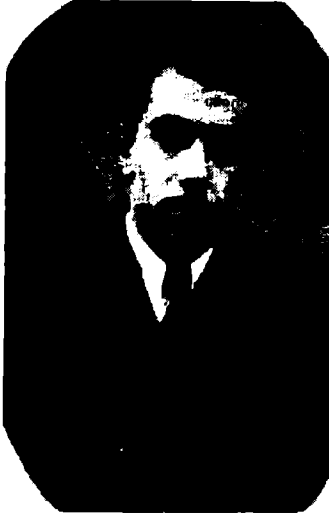
Your Excellency,

The Fifth Annual Congress of the Kurdish Students Society in Europe being held in Berlin demands the release of the Kurdish Political Prisoners and the recognition of the cultural and national rights of the Kurdish people in Turkish Kurdistan in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

(2) **His Majesty Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlevi, Teheran, Iran.**

Your Majesty,

The Fifth Annual Congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe being held in Berlin demands the reprieve of the four Kurdish prisoners condemned to death, Gheni Blurian, Rehmet Sheriati, Ismail Kasimlu and Aziz Yusufi. We demand the release of Kurdish political prisoners and the recognition of the cultural and national rights of the Kurdish people in Kurdistan of Iran in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.



Aziz Yousifi—death sentence



Gheni Blurian—death sentence

6th Congress of the International Union of Students

Baghdad — Iraq 8th–19th October 1960
Resolution on the Just National and Cultural
Rights of the Kurdish People

The 6th Congress of the International Union of Students convened in Baghdad notes:

that the Kurdish people in Turkish Kurdistan and Iranian Kurdistan are deprived of their just cultural and national rights, which constitutes a violation of the principles of democratization of education and the rights of man; that the Kurdish people in Iraqi Kurdistan have obtained some of their cultural rights, being allowed to study in their national language in primary schools;

The Congress appreciates the fact that the Kurdish people in Iraqi Kurdistan have obtained some of their rights, and hopes that their other just national rights will be granted accordingly.

Congress calls on the U.A.R. Government to pay attention to Kurdish culture and to allow Kurdish press and publications;

Congress highly appreciates the struggle of Kurdish students for the attainment of their people's national and cultural rights;

Congress also declares its support to the just demand of the Kurdish people in Iranian and Turkish Kurdistan to enjoy their national and cultural rights.

THE K.S.S.E's Vith CONGRESS

WILL BE HELD IN

Amsterdam, Holland at the end of August, 1961

DETAILS LATER

ADNAN KHUDADAD

The death of Adnan came as a great shock to the members of our Society. Adnan was killed in a car accident on his way back to Munich on 30th August 1960, after attending the Fifth Congress. Three members of the newly elected Executive Committee were immediately sent to Munich to arrange the funeral.

At the Munich Airport, members of the K.S.S.E. along with representatives of some friendly organizations, stood to attention as they said farewell for ever to their very dear Colleague.

Adnan's body was flown to Baghdad where thousands of people, men and women, young and old awaited it. A representative of the K.S.S.E. flew to Baghdad two days before to participate in the arrangements of the funeral cortège.

So, Adnan too 'has joined the martyrs for Kurdistan', he is gone for ever, but memories of him will always be with us.

Following is a poem written by Adnan, only nine weeks before he died, and was found among the books in his room in Munich:—



Adnan at the Vth Congress

To My Son

My son,
Do you see what lies yonder,
On the mountain peaks,
In the plains
And the valley beds?
The riches of Kurdistan!
But
Do you see what else there lies
Beyond the mountains,
Even beyond the borders?
There a tyrant rules
Who plunders our riches,
Draining the lifeblood of our people.
My son,

You have both seen and heard,
But no matter!
The people shall prevail,
So rise, my son!
Give me my trusty blade
That I may go to join our brave brothers.
To carry the fight to the border
And to shatter these shackles.
If you hear the machine-gun's rattle
And I am late in returning
Run to your dear mother's side
And tell her, 'Mother dear,
My father has joined the martyrs for Kurdistan!'

Adnan Khudadad, Munich 20/6/60.

Declaration of the K.S.S.E.

To all Kurdish Students and Patriots

Dear Fellow Students of Kurdistan!
Dear Kurdish Patriots!

A few days ago the 5th Congress of the K.S.S.E. held in Berlin, came to an end. This Congress was the largest and most successful since the foundation of the Society, and in the near future you will see reports of its activities and resolutions in the Kurdish and International Press.

and twelve Kurdish companions to Munich overturned near Münchburg. Adnan was killed immediately and Muhammed Bor, a student from Kurdistan of Turkey, was wounded.

Our late colleague Adnan died in the spring of his life, like a soldier on the field of honour, while striving for the Society, and so for his fatherland. Adnan was Deputy Secretary of the Society's Branch in the Federal German Republic and in his work he was an example of honesty, sincerity and diligence in the cause, as well as being one of the most promising students in his field of study at the University of Munich.



*Adnan (right) accompanied by his colleagues
on their way to the Congress Hall*

In the last two days the participants have begun to take their leave of Berlin and to return to those European Countries where they are studying.

They set out on their return journey proud and happy at the success of the Congress and the prospects for the future of the Society and the Kurdish Students' movement, which progress steadily towards the fulfilment of their aims — the achievement of our national rights and the freedom of our homeland, Kurdistan.

Our pleasure at being able to announce this progress is only dimmed by our having to announce the sad news of the death of our dear colleague, **ADNAN HUSAIN KHUDADAD**.

Adnan came from Iraqi Kurdistan and belonged to the noble Kurdish clan of the LURS. At dawn, today, the 30th August, the minibus taking Adnan

Dear Kurdish Students and all Kurdish Patriots!

The K.S.S.E., on the occasion of making this sorrowful announcement, asks you to observe the 30th August every year, henceforth, as the '**Day of Endeavour of Kurdish Students**'. Let this day be honoured in commemoration of our martyrs, such as Adnan Khudadad, and Amin Bani before him, who fell victim to the Menderes regime. Let us strive to carry on the patriotic struggle for a free and democratic Kurdistan, the struggle in which Amin Bani and Adnan Khudadad and other Kurdish heroes sacrificed their lives.

We shall never forget their sacrifices, and their honoured memory will always inspire us to continue the struggle.

**K.S.S.E. Executive Committee,
Berlin 30th August 1960.**



To those who sacrifice their lives for Kurdistan—Baxtiyar

Report on the Participation of the K.S.S.E. in the VIth Congress of the International Union of Students held in Baghdad from October 8th to 19th 1960

The K.S.S.E. delegation was composed of three members: Ismet Cheriff, President of the K.S.S.E.; Kemal Fuad, Secretary-General; Tahsin Amin, former Editor of KURDISTAN, the K.S.S.E. periodical organ.

On October 8th a meeting was held in Baghdad between the K.S.S.E. delegation and four members of the E.C. of the General Union of Students in the Iraqi Republic, including its President Mr. Mehdy Hafiz, its Secretary-General and two members, one of them was Mr. Muhiddine, an Iraqi Kurd. The Kurdish delegation proposed to the Iraqi delegation to issue a joint declaration to be published in the Iraqi press, stating the total agreement of both parties to defend the Iraqi Republic, the Iraqi democracy, already threatened, and the realizations of the Iraqi revolution. The declaration had also to state that the G.U.S.I.R., acting as a host for the whole congress, supported fully the demand of affiliation presented by the K.S.S.E. to the I.U.S. The Iraqi delegation refused to issue such a declaration, assuring orally, however, that it would support that affiliation. Mr. Muhiddine shared the opinion of the K.S.S.E. delegation. The refusal of the G.U.S.I.R. to publish such a joint declaration meant that the E.C. of this

organization was in fact against the affiliation of the K.S.S.E. Unfortunately, the following events confirmed largely this opinion.

On October 10th, in the name of the K.S.S.E. delegation, its President delivered, in French, the K.S.S.E. speech in the plenary session of the I.U.S. congress. During the speech, Mr. Cheriff was interrupted by the Bulgarian delegation 'for a point of order': the speech, said the delegation, is too long, the Arab delegations applauded the Bulgarian one sharing its opinion. But the Chairman, an African friend from Sierra Leone, did not grant the point of order and let the orator continue. In the name of the K.S.S.E. delegation, the orator thanked the Chairman and asked the congress to be patient because it is 'the first time that the K.S.S.E. has the honour of taking part in an I.U.S. congress, and it is important that the congress knows well the Kurdish national question and the conditions in Kurdistan'. The congress applauded and the orator continued. It was, after the refusal of the G.U.S.I.R. to issue the above-mentioned declaration, the second regrettable incident. The congress listened to the speech with great attention, and to some delegations, among which those of Latin America, the Kurdish question was an

important revelation deserving the support of all democratic men in the world. After the speech, a great number of delegations congratulated the Kurdish one.

In its speech, the K.S.S.E. delegation spoke at length of the bad conditions of Kurdistan of Turkey especially after General Gursel's *coup d'etat* of last May. It spoke also of the bad conditions of Kurdish people in Iran and Syria, thanked the Iraqi Government for Article 3 of the provisional constitution, declaring 'Kurds and Arabs as associates in the Republic', but the K.S.S.E. delegation criticized

federation of Students) referred to Iraq as exclusively an Arab country, an Arab people, without any allusion to the existence of a part of Kurdistan within Iraq. The Kurdish delegation was obliged to ask the Chairman the permission to rectify that error, it explained to those Arab delegations that Iraq is the Republic of Arabs and Kurds, according to Article 3, and, whence, it is not exact to refer to this country as 'an Arab State', because it is, in fact, an Arab-Kurdish State. The North-African Confederation pointed out that people in North Africa had always read in books that Iraq was an



K.S.S.E'S observers at the 1.U.S. 6th Congress in Baghdad

Article 2 of this same constitution, saying that Iraq is an integral part of the Arab nation. The K.S.S.E. delegation pointed out that only Arab Iraq is a part of the Arab nation, while Iraqi Kurdistan is a part of the Kurdish nation and can by no means be a part of the Arab nation. The delegation also asked the Iraqi Government to grant Iraqi Kurdistan a large autonomy, with a Kurdish self-Government within Iraq. At the end of the speech, the K.S.S.E. delegation pointed out that the Kurdish people in Iraq would be very happy if all the delegations would visit Iraqi Kurdistan, that this visit could be realized with the co-operation of the G.U.S.I.R. and the K.S.S.E. and that, in any way, the K.S.S.E. had the material means to entertain all the delegations in Kurdistan.

The Iraqi delegation seemed not to taste that invitation, the initiative of which was taken by the Kurdish one.

In their speeches, the Arab delegations (U.A.R., Palestine, Jordan, Oman, North-African Con-

Arab country, an Arab nation, and that the Confederation had very friendly feeling towards Kurds and Kurdish students, but that Kurds in Iraq are a minority, having their own language and comparable to the Berbers in North Africa, in Algeria for example, where the existence of an important Berber population does not mean that Algeria is not an Arab country, and its people an Arab people. The K.S.S.E. delegation explained then that the Kurds are a Nation, a divided nation, having already back some centuries of struggle for national liberation. Mr. Hafiz, President of the Iraqi delegation, said then that Iraq as a whole, in its political frame, is an Arab country, according to Article 2 of the provisional Constitution, but that, within Iraq, Arabs and Kurds are associates. The K.S.S.E. delegation asked the permission to speak once more, with the intention of demonstrating that Article 2 and 3 of that Constitution are contradictory one to another, but other delegations were speaking and it was asked to put an

end to the discussion on the matter. Mr. Hafiz, in his reply, said also that all the Iraqi political parties, including the 'Kurdish Democratic Party' agreed on these two articles of the Constitution, as he explained them.

Since the Democratic Party of Kurdistan in Iraq was involved in the matter, the official organ of this party, *Khebat*, wrote an article entitled 'The Kurdish Nation and Article 2 of the Constitution' in which it was explained that the Party had never accepted Article 2 in that sense, that Article 2 must be modified because Iraqi Kurdistan is not a part

stolen by somebody! Indeed, it was shameful. One of the telegrams was sent in the name of 4,600 Kurdish women from the heroic town of Sulaimani, another in the name of some 1,500 High School Kurdish Students from the same town (there is no University, neither Colleges in Kurdistan). Popular manifestations took place in Kurdistan.

In a private conversation, Mr. Pelikan told Mr. Cheriff that the question of the K.S.S.E. affiliation to the I.U.S. would have been very easy if the congress were held in any other country. In fact, it was a public opinion among the delegates that



Iraq's Prime Minister, Abdul Karim Kassem, welcomes our Society's representatives

of the Arab nation but of the Kurdish nation. The attitude of the Iraqi delegation in the congress was firmly criticized in the article. In Kurdistan, not only students but all the Kurdish people were angry. Every day tens of telegrams, signed by thousands of people, and many petitions arrived from Kurdistan, with copies to Mr. Pelikan, President of the I.U.S., to the K.S.S.E. delegation, to the Iraqi delegation and to the newspaper *Khebat*, which published them. In all these telegrams, the Kurdish people greeted the I.U.S. congress, supported the K.S.S.E. delegation and criticized, sometimes violently, the attitude of the Iraqi delegation as explained by its President. Telegrams also were sent from all the K.S.S.E. Sections in Europe. Asked by the K.S.S.E. delegation, in the plenary session, if he had received such telegrams, Mr. Pelikan said he had received none and marked his surprise. The only explanation of this incident is that those telegrams were not delivered to Mr. Pelikan, they must have been

the G.U.S.I.R. was strongly against our affiliation. The G.U.S.I.R. was fearful that the K.S.S.E. pretend representing the Kurdish students in Iraq at its expense. But in adopting this attitude the E.C. of the G.U.S.I.R. became very unpopular in Iraqi Kurdistan. These are errors which will not be forgotten in the future development of the Kurdish students movement, say in the Kurdish national movement.

The only act of co-operation between the G.U.S.I.R. and the K.S.S.E. in the congress was the presentation, jointly by both delegations at the Commission for the democratization of higher education, of a draft resolution on 'The just National and Cultural Rights of the Kurdish People'. It must be stated that this agreement was only possible after a long discussion, and that the Iraqi delegation refused to use, in the paragraph relating to the situation of the Kurds in Syria, the expressions of 'the Kurdish people', 'Kurdish regions' and even that of 'Syria'. In this paragraph

we only 'call on the U.A.R. Government to pay attention to the Kurdish culture and to allow Kurdish press and publications'. The Iraqi delegation said that that was the maximum it was able to accept. Our delegation accepted it to save the agreement.

When this draft-resolution was discussed in the plenary session, the U.A.R. delegation asked the congress to omit the above-mentioned paragraph 'because', said the delegation, 'there is not a Kurdish people in Syria but a Kurdish minority, like the Jews, and it lives well'. The Kurdish delegation explained that the Kurds of Syria are a part of the Kurdish people who are divided only because of the artificial political frontiers which were traced by imperialistic powers without consulting them. The Jordanian and Palestinian delegations replied that indeed there is a country called Kurdistan, but this country is divided only among Turkey, Iran and Iraq and there is no part of Kurdistan in Syria. The Kurdish delegation asked the U.A.R. one, if these Kurds of Syria have schools and newspapers in their language, a question to which was replied that 'these Kurds have the same rights as the Arabs and must learn only Arabic'. 'That means assimilation by force', remarked one of the Kurdish delegates. Many other delegations participated in the discussion, among which the Iraqi and the African ones, which, all, supported that the Kurds of Syria are a part of the Kurdish people and that they must be allowed to enjoy their cultural rights. The resolution was carried out by an overwhelming majority. Only the Palestinian and Jordanian delegations voted against it. The North-African Confederation (Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco) asked the Chairman to note officially that their delegation did not take part in the vote. The K.S.S.E., U.A.R. and some other delegations did not take part in the vote because they did not have this right, being only observers and not Members of the I.U.S.

At the Commission against imperialism, the K.S.S.E. delegation presented, alone, a draft-resolution 'On the situation in Kurdistan' mentioning, in one of its paragraphs 'the right of the Kurdish people to the complete national liberation of Kurdistan'. When this draft-resolution came to discussion before the plenary session, the 'Students' Union of the University of Teheran', currently called also Iranian delegation, remarked that the title 'On the Situation in Kurdistan' was not acceptable, because of the word 'Kurdistan'. It proposed another title: 'On the situation of the Kurdish people in Iran, in Irak, in Turkey and in Syria'. The K.S.S.E. delegation said that this title is too long and that the name 'Kurdistan' must be maintained in the title, because Kurdistan is the

country of the Kurdish people, on one hand, and because, on the other, the name 'Kurdistan' covers not only this people but also the national minorities living in this country. The F.E.A.N.F. delegation (Fédération des Etudiants d'Afrique Noire en France; in English: Black Africa Federation of Students in France) said that was an important point and that the name of 'Kurdistan' must be maintained in the title 'because Kurdistan', added the delegation, 'is the homeland of the Kurdish nation, and this nation and its delegation in the congress should be treated equally to the other nations'. The U.G.E.A.O. delegation (Union Generale des Etudiants de l'Afrique Occidentale; in English: General Union of Students of West Africa) said similar things, supporting the Kurdish delegation. So it also was the attitude of many other delegations, among which those of Martinique, Haiti, Cameroun, Sierra Leone, Madagascar, French Guiana, etc. . . . The 'Iranian' delegation remained on its position. This delegation was composed of three members two of them were Persians and the third was a Kurd. This member of the delegation, who was usually silent during the previous sessions, asked to speak and said that he fully supported the title as proposed by the K.S.S.E. delegation and that the name of 'Kurdistan' must be maintained. The other two members of this delegation said then that the three members of their delegation agreed on all matters 'but relating to the Kurdish question, they do not agree' and that the Kurdish member spoke only in his personal name. The African delegations spoke once more and the U.G.E.A.O. in particular, said, **'the Kurdish nation has the right of unifying Kurdistan and of creating an independent Kurdistan, like any other nation'**. The Iraqi delegation said then, by the voice of its President, that the name of 'Kurdistan' was unacceptable in the title and that both titles proposed were to be rejected. There was soon a big noise among the numerous Iraqi delegation, and the Chairman was obliged to remind it, three times, to remain quiet. Mr Kemal Muhiddine, the Kurdish member of the Iraqi delegation, left his Iraqi colleagues and came to the K.S.S.E. delegation, complaining that his Iraqi fellows prevented him by force from speaking, that they cut the electrical connection of the microphone when he was about to speak in favour of the Kurdish proposals. The President of the K.S.S.E. delegation asked for the microphone and submitted to the attention of the congress that regrettable incident and the lack of democracy within the Iraqi delegation. The discussion was going on, very long, 'dramatically', and the Lebanese delegation proposed to the (Bulgarian) Chairman to 'postpone indefinitely the discussion on the draft-

resolution moved by the K.S.S.E.' This proposal gave way to further discussions, in a noisy way. Finally, with the complicity of the Chairman, and despite the protestation of many African and Caribbean delegations, it was decided to postpone the discussion and to leave the whole matter to the meeting of the I.U.S. Executive Committee (which meets twice a year). Mr. Tahsin Amin, of the K.S.S.E. delegation, said that way of escaping problems was not a democratic one, that it was a mere manoeuvre against the K.S.S.E. draft-resolution and that, usually, it is up to congresses to discuss proposals, to accept, amend or reject them, but not to escape them.

As to the question of affiliation of the K.S.S.E. to the I.U.S., the Credential Committee, in its report to the Congress, during the last plenary session on October 19th, said that, after examination, the K.S.S.E. Constitution presented some 'vague points', and that, because of these constitutional considerations, the K.S.S.E. was not eligible as member of the I.U.S., but that it must not be understood that the Credential Committee recommended to the Congress to reject the demand of membership presented by this organization. In fact, the Credential Committee recommended to the Congress not to reject that demand and to leave the whole matter to the decision of the Executive Committee of the I.U.S.

So this question was dealt with in the same manner as the draft resolution on 'The situation in Kurdistan'. The discussions which followed were as long and as passionate. It would be too long to make an account of them. Finally, the President of the K.S.S.E., after thanking once more the I.U.S. for having invited this organization to the Congress, regretted those rather negative decisions, taken in not a very courageous way, under some pressure. He expressed the hope, in the name of the Kurdish

delegation, of continuation of friendship between K.S.S.E. and all I.U.S. members. He emphasized that the K.S.S.E. shall go on as solid as in the past, in the service of the Kurdish students movement and the Kurdish national liberation question.

* * * *

To be noted, among the telegrams received by the Kurdish delegation, were those sent by the people of Rowandouz, of Amadiya and many other Kurdish towns, as well as those from the workers of Darbendi-Khan dam, the students of Kalat Diza, the peasants' associations in Kurdistan and the Municipality Council, 'in corpore', of the town of Sulaimani.

The Democratic Party of Iraqi Kurdistan backed very vigorously and helped generously the K.S.S.E. delegation.

The K.S.S.E. delegation called on his Excellency General Mustapha Barzani, the beloved national hero of the Kurdish people.

Also in a reception organized for all the participating delegations of the Congress, the K.S.S.E. delegation was presented to his Excellency General Abdul Kerim Kassem.

After the Congress, the K.S.S.E. delegation spent some days in Baghdad, preparing for the journey to Kurdistan, where the Kurdish people were urging it to come every day. Being not Iraqi, the President of the K.S.S.E. was not allowed to visit Kurdistan and had to leave Iraq for Europe when his visa expired on 23rd October.

Of the K.S.S.E. delegation, only Mr. Kemal Fuad, an Iraqi, made the journey to Kurdistan, accompanied by Mr. Fadel Ganj-Ali, Secretary of the K.S.S.E. branch in Western Germany. The journey was very successful, because it proved how deep is the affection of our courageous Kurdish people towards our militant K.S.S.E.

KURDISTAN WELCOMES THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE K.S.S.E.

After attending the Sixth Congress of the I.U.S. in Baghdad, the K.S.S.E. General Secretary, Kemal Fuad, accompanied by Fadhil Genj Ali, the Secretary of the K.S.S.E. Branch in Federal Germany, left Baghdad for a short visit to Kurdistan of Iraq.

Everywhere in Kurdistan, they were welcomed by the Kurdish people who showed their affection for, and love of, our Society.

About fifty miles from the City of Sulaimania, they were greeted by over ninety cars and private

buses packed with people who accompanied them to the City where thousands had already lined up in the streets to welcome the General Secretary and his companion, and their car was continually being stopped by cheering crowds.

During his short stay in Sulaimania, Kemal Fuad, addressed a number of meetings held by various city organizations. Fuad expressed his supreme satisfaction that our people there consider the K.S.S.E.'s efforts as being part of their own liberation movement, and he went on to say, 'We are

happy to know that this fact is also realized by the people all over Kurdistan'. He also thanked our people for their moral and financial support of our Society. Fuad was tumultuously cheered when he said, 'Your past and continuing support will lead us on to achieve our aims and so to add a humble contribution to the liberation of our beloved fatherland.'

The day that Fuad and Genj Ali left Kurdistan

for Europe, people in their thousands came out to bid them farewell.

This visit certainly proved that our people, from all walks of life, are being ever closer drawn together by their struggle for our common aim — an independent Kurdistan. The history of our Society is ample proof that we are as one with this struggle, and knowing and feeling that our people are with us give us ever greater strength.



Our Secretaries with the Editorial Staff of 'Rojî Nuwê', a Kurdish Magazine published in Sulaimania. Left to right: Kameran, F. Genj Ali, J. Shali, K. Fuad, A. Ejder.



K.S.S.E. General Secretary (centre) with our people in Southern Kurdistan.

The Problem of Specific Kurdish Organisations for the creation of an 'All-Kurdistan Federation of Students' Organisations'

by ISMET CHERIFF-VANLY, Switzerland

There is no doubt that the Kurdish people constitute a nation in the full scientific meaning of the term, historically formed and based upon the community of land — Kurdistan, of language, of economical links and of psychological formation, with a national culture.

There is no doubt that this nation, counting more than twelve millions, is an oppressed one in her politically — say artificially divided Kurdistan. Only in Iraqi Kurdistan some cultural rights were recognized to the Kurdish people, after the July Revolution 1958.

There is also no doubt that our nation has the right to struggle for her complete national liberation, according to her inalienable right to self-determination and the general principles of Democracy.

Only reactionary and fascist elements could deny such rights to our people.

But only specific Kurdish organizations can be able to lead successfully the struggle of our people for their complete and legitimate national liberation, and then, once this objective attained, to

build a new Kurdish society, economically prosperous and socially progressive.

To try to build such a progressive society, in Kurdistan and elsewhere in the Middle-Eastern States sharing our country, by oriental non-Kurdish organizations (Iraqi, Iranian, U.A.R. or Turkish), while neglecting the Kurdish national question, means to try to walk against history, to ignore the historical phases through which passes our Kurdish society, that of national liberation.

Because if it is true that this Kurdish question cannot be resolved without democracy, democracy itself in the whole Middle East is impossible as long as the Kurdish national question will not have received its normal and radical solution. And democracy can much better be attained in Kurdistan by the action of specific Kurdish organizations.

The Oriental, not specifically Kurdish organizations operating in the Middle East, underground or in public, have failed, in fact, as far as the Kurdish people are concerned, in two major points:

1. They did not succeed in mobilizing the democratic forces of our people, most probably because of the reasons which follow;

2. They did not resolve the Kurdish national question or, to be more precise, they did not try it, which is very serious. They obviously neglected the national aspect, the most outstanding, of the Kurdish questions. But these oriental, mixed and progressive organizations used to back, and vigorously, the national aims of the dominating nationalities in the Middle-Eastern States: Arabs in Iraq and Syria, Persians in Iran and Turks in Turkey (it is true that the progressive movement in Turkey was very weak).

The big national liberation revolts in Kurdistan of Turkey and of Iraq, the heroic Republic of Mahabad in Kurdistan of Iran were prepared and made by specific Kurdish democratic organizations, and not by those oriental mixed organizations which used to look at them as spectators, which is also very serious.

Kurdish objectives do not figure in the programme, old or present, of the Iranian Tudeh Party. In Syria, progressive Arab movements, among which the Syrian Communist party, also ignored totally the Kurdish question. In Turkey, we have never heard of a progressive Turkish movement struggling also for the solution of the Kurdish national question, a question which concerns, however, six millions of Kurds living in this State, and drastically oppressed. In Iraq, the specifically Arab organizations, whether progressive (like the National Democratic party) or reactionary,

were used to consider the kingdom, and later on the Republic, as an exclusively Arab State, like Lord Curzon and Colonel Wilson did. The reactionary formations were naturally against Kurdish liberation and used to consider the Kurdish national revolts as some kind of banditism. The mixed (Arabo-Kurdish) Communist party itself ignored practically the Kurdish national question until 1956. In this year, in its second congress, and under the pressure of its Kurdish elements, the Iraqi party recognized that Iraqi Kurdistan is a part of the Kurdish nation, divided by imperialism, and that the properly Arab Iraq is a part of the Arab nation. That was a very good resolution. But, curiously enough, this party continued, however, to consider Iraq as an exclusively Arab State. More curiously, this same party retired later on many of its concessions to the Kurdish national liberation movement. The interests and rights of our oppressed Kurdish people were thus often sacrificed whenever the right-wing Arab nationalism was too strong or threatening, or merely for immediate tactical considerations. The Iraqi communist leaders used to say, before the Revolution of 1958, that the Kurdish people in Iraq had to struggle side by side with the Arab people for the liberation of Iraq from British influence and Nury Said, and that only afterwards the Kurdish national question should be resolved. This policy was valuable, especially that the communist party recognized three specific Kurdish organizations, i.e. 'Kurdistan Women's Union', 'Kurdistan Democratic Youth Union' and 'Kurdistan Students' Union', this last being as an autonomous member-organization in the 'General Union of the Iraqi Students'. But amazingly enough, the leading present circles of the Iraqi communist party (or the majority of them, to designate the responsables in these painful specific cases), immediately after July 14th 1958, retired the recognition they had accepted to give, under Nury Said, to the above-mentioned three Kurdish organizations, and this, in the name of the Arabo-Kurdish brotherhood! They said they had been mistaken in recognizing these organizations, that Kurds must not have their own organizations but work indistinctively in united Iraqi ones, in a Republic which they consider, however, as an exclusively Arab State. That was a dramatic error, an error so big that a year later, in July 1959, it was considered in some Iraqi communist circles that to pronounce the name 'Kurdistan' was prejudicial to Iraqi, to the Iraq Revolution, to the Iraqi democracy and to the Arabo-Kurdish brotherhood. This attitude could be explained by the desire of those leading circles to fight the growing influence of the United Kurdish Democratic party which is today, under the name of Kurdistan Democratic Party and

Mustafa Barzani's presidency, at the head of the battle for complete Kurdish national liberation and democracy, in this part of our country. It would have been possible and more conform to democracy and to the interests of our people that the Iraqi communist party maintained its recognition and accepted democratic competition, within those above-mentioned specific Kurdish organizations, with the partisans and friends of Kurdistan Democratic party. It is true that after that attitude, the Iraqi Government promulgated new laws recognizing only general Iraqi organizations. The drama is that these general Iraqi organizations themselves are being systematically annoyed by the Iraqi authorities, and the Iraqi communist party itself, everybody knows it, is in a very uncomfortable situation. The policy of its leading committee regarding the Kurdish problems was not a clever one, neither very democratic, and prejudicial to the interests and rights of our Kurdish people. The Kurdish people in Iraq, guided by Kurdistan Democratic party, are struggling now to recreate the same Kurdish organizations which were theirs three years ago. What a loss of time, what a blow for our still oppressed nation!

Abroad, the name of Kurdistan was almost unknown or distorted. In spite of its feeble means, our 'Kurdish Students' Society in Europe' did, in a period of three years to make a better known Kurdistan, the Kurdish history, culture and national question, what the oriental non-Kurdish students organizations failed or were not willing to do during tens of years. The Kurdish people appreciate our struggle and have a very deep affection toward our militant Society.

Kurdish democratic organizations must be created or recreated, everywhere at home, if not yet, to lead successfully the struggle of our people for complete national liberation, for peace, for democracy, and against imperialism. This is not only a right for our people, but also a condition for efficiency and success. Any objection or tergiversation from the existing oriental non-Kurdish organizations to recognise this fact, would be either a sincere strategical error, as it might happen — but still an error, or concession either to some kind of cosmopolitanism, or to some chauvinistic Arab, Persian or Turkish nationalism. Our people will accept no longer to be sacrificed for such non-democratic considerations. We hope that the sincere non-Kurdish Middle-Eastern democrats, for whom we have great respect, understand this point of view; this is the desire of our people.

Specific Kurdish organizations, when democratically lead, as they must be, do not mean, on

the other hand, isolationism from the general democratic and liberation movement in the world, but just on the contrary.

Specific Kurdish democratic organizations must not only collaborate with oriental non-Kurdish democratic ones, but also they should be allowed, once created, to be united with these last in some federative way, without losing their personalities, whenever the common interests of both parties command it. Of course, this can only happen when the oriental non-Kurdish organizations admit the existence of the Kurdish ones and the legitimacy of their aims, and when the desire of collaboration is mutual.

It must also be added that the specific Kurdish organizations must be opened to all Kurdish patriotic and democratic elements, democratic being taken in the broadest acceptation of the term, and not relating to some political body. All 'Kurdistani' Kurds, that is all Kurds who by their thoughts and their acts are actually willing to work for the radical solution of the Kurdish question, and to serve democratically Kurdistan and the Kurdish people, and all non-Kurdish but Kurdistani elements among the national minority of Kurdistan, must be allowed to join such 'Kurdistani' organizations, Kurdistani being also taken in its broadest meaning. Kurdistani elements belong, no doubt, to diverse Kurdish social classes and might have different ideologies, but they shall all be united on one point: the love of Kurdistan and the desire to accomplish Kurdish national liberation, democratically.

In this case, the oriental non-specifically Kurdish organizations must dissolve their 'sections' if any, in Kurdistan, and accept collaboration, eventually some kind of federalism, with the Kurdistani ones. In Kurdistan, only Kurdish democratic organizations must exist, and, in the long run, they alone can exist.

If the oriental non-specifically Kurdish organizations maintain their 'sections' in Kurdistan, when any, concurrently with the Kurdistani organizations, this would lead, in a first phase, to an inadmissible division of the Kurdish democratic forces (we know already in Kurdistan of Iraq some bad experiences), and in a second phase, to the complete bankruptcy of these concurrent non-Kurdish formations in Kurdistan. We know, in fact, and experiences do not lack, that the deepest feeling of the Kurdish masses is to accomplish Kurdish national liberation — the love of Kurdistan and that the Kurdish elements who might be tempted, under the influence of some bad policy of some

non-Kurdish organizations, to serve much more the other peoples than their own, and the other countries than their own, cannot prosper in Kurdistan. We know, unfortunately, some 'progressive' Kurds, for instance in Syria and Iraq, who used to work for Arab national aims, ignoring totally, or partially, their own people and the Kurdish national question, because such was the policy of some non-Kurdish oriental political parties. These kind of men can no longer prosper among our people.

The Kurds must maintain, as they actually do, the most friendly and brotherly relations with the other peoples, especially with their neighbours of the Middle East. But Kurds must not be asked to forget themselves and their politically divided and actually dependent Kurdistan, and to work for the other peoples. Arabs, Persians and Turks, who, all are not nationally oppressed like the Kurds. We are one of the most oppressed nations on the earth, if not the most oppressed. Our beloved and rich country Kurdistan is not yet recognized, even in international progressive circles — and that was the bitter experience of the K.S.S.E. in this field, as a country, as a territory able and invited to progress towards unity and national independence, and deserving, to this effect, the support of the democratic forces in the world, as it is actually the case with all colonies, big or small. Our Kurdish people do really deserve such a wide support, like African peoples. The African peoples are probably those who understand the best our question, the most friendly attitude of their students delegations in the I.U.S. VIth Congress in Baghdad proves it. We are deeply and obligingly thankful to them. We look to Africa, to its peoples and its students with friendship, with love and hope.

The Kurdish national liberation movement is a democratic one. The national liberation of the Kurdish people and Kurdistan will be a huge step forward in the service of peace and democracy, against imperialism and reaction in the Middle East. Speaking of the Kurds, and noting the insignificant place reserved to them in the books of history, in spite of the eminent historical roll they played in the civilization of the Middle East, a Russian historian who became a famous Soviet linguist, N. Marr, could exclaim, with sympathy: 'This people forgotten by history!' Our people want to be no longer that forgotten nation. Our people want that the name of Kurdistan be as known in the world as that of any still dependent country. And for this, our people want to have their own organizations.

* * * *

Now we shall speak of this question within the students limits. The idea is to create some Kurdish students organization on the scale of the whole nation, that might be called 'All-Kurdistan Federation of Students' Organizations'. The idea is not that of one or few persons, but, in fact, it incarnates a dream of the overwhelming majority of the Kurdish students, at home and abroad, a dream that may come true, not without difficulty, but surely, if they want to pass to action. That would be one of the most beautiful gifts that the militant Kurdish students could ever offer to their courageous people. And that would be very important on political grounds, because it would lead, sooner or later, to the organic unification of the Kurdish national liberation movement, across the political frontiers.

Owing to the special conditions of each part of our divided Kurdistan, a federative solution must be chosen. Each part of Kurdistan will have its own Kurdish Union of students. Iraqi Kurdistan, for instance, will have its 'Iraqi Kurdistan Union of Students', and so on. These Kurdish Unions of students of Kurdistan of Turkey, of Kurdistan of Iran, of Kurdistan of Iraq and in Syria (U.A.R.), together with the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe, and the Kurdish Students' Society that might be constituted in America, will be all federated in the above-mentioned 'All-Kurdistan Federation of Students' Organizations'.

We — responsables of the K.S.S.E., have already discussed the matter with representative elements of the Kurdish students in Turkey, in Iran, in Iraq and in Syria (U.A.R.). All were very enthusiastic about the idea. All also agreed that: (1) — owing to the present hard political conditions of Kurdistan (2) — in order to satisfy all the federated Kurdish Unions and not to be the prisoner of the special conditions of one part of Kurdistan, (3) — and in order to have the maximum liberty in its activities, the Federation should have its centre in Europe, for the time being. When the political conditions in Kurdistan will have been more favourable, this centre will be transferred to home.

The Federation must be a living incarnation, on students ground, of the unity of our oppressed people, and of their will to resolve, democratically, and thoroughly, the Kurdish national question. Based upon these principles, the Federation's main aims should be: (1) — To unify federally and to organize the Kurdish students movement. (2) — To create mutual assistance among the member-organizations of the Federation, to let the students of each part of Kurdistan know better the problems of the other parts of Kurdistan, cultural and national, and to help the students of these parts in

their struggle for their solution, (3) — To let the Kurdish students participate more actively and rationally in the struggle of our people for national liberation; (4) — To make better known to the world, to foreign national and international organizations, the situation of the Kurdish people, the Kurdish history, culture and national question; (5) — To represent actively the Kurdish students in the international students movement; (6) — To consolidate the friendship and to work for a complete equality, in cultural and national rights, between our people and the neighbouring peoples of the Middle East: Persians, Arabs and Turks, and their students; (7) — To help, by all the means at the disposal of the Kurdish students, the national liberation movement of all dependent, semi-dependent and oppressed peoples; (8) — To participate in the general struggle of the students of all countries for the world peace, for democracy, against colonialism and imperialism.

Since the Federation centre is to be in Europe, the K.S.S.E. will do its best to facilitate the work of the Federation. The K.S.S.E., as any member-organization of the Federation, will keep its own internal organization, but it will put all its departments, bodies and sections, as well as its experience in the students international field, in the service of the Federation and its activities.

Relating to its internal organization, the Federation will have its congress each year somewhere in Europe. All member-organizations will send to the congress their Representatives, duly accredited, and they will have equal rights. The congress will designate the Federation Executive Committee (F.E.C.) representing ALL the member-organizations. This means that the F.E.C. will be composed of an equal number of representatives of each member-organization, designated respectively by them, for instance, two representatives for each member-organization. The K.S.S.E. might be allowed to have a greater number of representatives within the F.E.C., the Federation centre being in Europe. But this question must not raise difficulties, because the K.S.S.E. students are originated from all parts of Kurdistan, and some or all of its representatives in the F.E.C. might also represent one or another of the member-organizations at home. The F.E.C. might have from 9 to 15 members, (even more) according to the number of the member organizations, with a President, two or three Vice-Presidents (or even a maximum of six Vice-Presidents, one for each member-organization), a General-Secretary, three to six Secretaries (for instance, one for each member-organization), a Treasurer, an Editor of the official organ of the Federation. Some of these functions might be

cumulated, according to circumstances, for example the Treasurer might be a Secretary. The members of the Executive Committees of the member-organizations will be eligible as members of the F.E.C. As far as it is possible, it is preferable that the members of the F.E.C. remain in Europe, but some of them might remain in Kurdistan. The ideal would be that the two members of the F.E.C. representing each member-organization remains one in Europe and one at home. For instance, some of the Vice-Presidents of the Federation might remain in Kurdistan, to work also in the Executive Committees of the member-organizations at home. The F.E.C. thus designated will act as a single cohesive body, and its decisions must be respected by all member-organizations. But in its decisions, the F.E.C. must take into consideration the special problems of each member-organization and the special conditions of each part of Kurdistan, according to the Charter of the Kurdish students, elaborated at the Congress of Wiesbaden 1956. Each member-organization will have its own autonomy, and be free in dealing with its own matters, according to the situation of each part of Kurdistan, on the condition to fulfil its engagement towards the Federation and to respect the resolutions and decisions of the Federal bodies (the Congress and the F.E.C.)

Owing to the rather high number of the F.E.C. members and to their dispersion in Europe and, eventually, elsewhere, and in spite of that the F.E.C. should meet twice or three times a year (immediately before and after the annual congress and, if possible, once during the year), it is indispensable to create a smaller body that might be called the Federation Administrative Bureau (F.A.B.); its members, numbering five persons for example, will be designated by the F.E.C. among its own members. The F.A.B. must be able to meet more easily and enabled to deal with current or urgent matters, according to the decisions of the F.E.C. and the general resolutions of the congress, The F.A.B. will be only a body of the F.E.C. and responsible before it, while the F.E.C. itself will be responsible before the congress.

For practical purposes, the Federation congress and the K.S.S.E. congress can or should be held in the same time and place. This means, practically, that all member-organizations will send the greatest number possible of representatives to the annual congress of the K.S.S.E. The place and date of this double congress will be determined by the F.E.C., after consultation with the K.S.S.E.

A special question is what should be the relations between the member-organizations operating in

Kurdistan and the existing oriental students organizations representing the States sharing Kurdistan. For instance, what will be the relations between 'Iraqi-Kurdistan Students' Union', as member-organization of the Federation and the 'General Union of Students in the Iraqi Republic', and so on?

It is to think that the constitution of the Federation should allow its member-organizations not only to collaborate with those oriental non-Kurdish Organizations, but also to join them, in some federative way, according to the principles explained in the first part of this article, under these conditions: (1) — If the general aims and the activity of the oriental general organization are not contradictory with those of the Federation; (2) — If the Kurdish member-organization, thinking that it is a matter of common interest to join also the oriental general Organization concerned, asks to this effect the approval of the Federation; (3) — If the Congress or the F.E.C. approves that demand; (4) — If the oriental general Organization concerned accepts that the Kurdish member-organization will keep its autonomy and its own internal organization and remain at the same time a member of the Federation. Indeed this question of double affiliation or membership is one of collaboration and mutual goodwill that can be settled by direct and friendly negotiations between the Kurdish Federation and its member-organization, on one hand, and the oriental general Organization concerned, on the other.

To speak more specifically, it is to think that the conditions might be realized for 'Iraqi Kurdistan Students' Union' (which was made only immovable after 1958, 'frozen' and not dissolved) to be concurrently member of the Kurdish Federation and the G.U.S.I.R., this in spite of all the regrettable incidents which marked the participation of the K.S.S.E. in the VIth I.U.S. Congress in Baghdad, incidents of which the G.U.S.I.R. is the only responsible. It is up to the students of Iraqi Kurdistan to thaw or to recreate their Kurdish Union, and it is up to the G.U.S.I.R. to prove its goodwill by recognizing the existence of that Union, as a member-organization of this same G.U.S.I.R. (as it was the situation before July 1958) and concurrently as member-organization of the Kurdish Federation to be created. This would be a very important collaboration between all Kurdish students and Iraqi students beneficial for the case of democracy in the Middle East. If the G.U.S.I.R. refuses such a solution which could be, we think, quite desirable by the Kurdish students in Iraq, or if, escaping the problem, it prefers negative tergiversations (as, unfortunately, it is accustomed

to do when Kurdish problems are discussed) the G.U.S.I.R. may know that the Kurdish students will go always on, with or without Iraqi collaboration, in the service of the Kurdish students' movement, of the Kurdish people and of democracy in the Middle East.

We ignore what is the exact present situation of the students' movement in Iran, but if a solution could be found with the Iranian students, similar to that described just above, the Kurdish students would be, we think, very happy.

Unfortunately, for the time being, such a solution seems to be impossible to reach with the official students' organizations of Turkey and the U.A.R., the very existence of the Kurdish people in these States being still officially ignored by them as well as by their respective Governments. We ask the Turkish and U.A.R. students' organizations to be really democratic, to be democratic not only in their writing but also in their actions. We ask the Turkish and U.A.R. students not only to recognise the existence of our people but also to struggle loyally for the recognition of the Kurdish national and cultural rights by those Governments. Once this primordial principle accepted and observed, the dialogue can be engaged. Until then, the Kurdish students will continue carrying on their duty towards their oppressed people and towards democracy, with the help of all good democrats in the world.

* * * *

Those are the principles, as proposed by the author of these lines, to govern the future 'ALL-Kurdistan Federation of Students' Organizations' the Kurdish students are appealed to create. The Federation might also be called 'Kurdistan National Federation of Students' Organizations', this last appellation seems even to be better than the first, the word 'national' giving in itself the meaning of 'All Kurdistan' and putting in relief the national aspect of the matter. Those principles are naturally mere proposals, but they might constitute a basis for discussion. The Kurdish students, especially in Kurdistan, are appealed to study them, to prepare amendments or, new constructive proposals, in order to create the Federation in the shortest possible time.

But the Federation cannot be created without a minimum of two member-organizations. We have already one Organization, abroad, in Europe, the K.S.S.E. The Kurdish students in all parts of Kurdistan are fervently appealed to create or to recreate their Unions.

The Kurdish students in Turkey are appealed to create their 'Turkish-Kurdistan Union of Students'

(or 'Kurdistan of Turkey Union of Students'), if they believe it will correspond to a national necessity, and we are sure they do. The Kurdish students originated from Kurdistan of Turkey and members of the K.S.S.E. are asked to get in contact with their colleagues at home, to this effect.

The Kurdish students in Iran are appealed to create or recreate their 'Iranian-Kurdistan Union of Students', in the same conditions.

The Kurdish students in Iraq are appealed to recreate their 'Iraqi-Kurdistan Union of Students', in the same conditions.

The Kurdish students in Syria, U.A.R., are appealed to create their Union, in the same conditions.

The Kurdish Students' Society in America are appealed to create their 'Kurdish Students' Society in America'.

The Sixth Congress of the K.S.S.E. will be held in Amsterdam, Holland, in August 1961. The Kurdish students' Organizations that would have been created before that date, as well as the Kurdish students in the parts of Kurdistan where such Organizations could not yet have been

created, are cordially invited to send representative delegates to that K.S.S.E. congress, in order to discuss the creation of the Federation and to adopt its Constitution. A draft Constitution of the Federation will be prepared, as basis for the discussion. The Federation would probably be created at that same congress if the representatives of at least one new Organization, created in Kurdistan, were present. In this case, this or these new Organizations are begged to designate the members they would like to represent them in the F.E.C., so that the Federation can be actually created at the congress. They are also begged to inform the K.S.S.E. Executive Committee of their desire to attend the congress as early as possible.

Kurdish students wherever you are, in Kurdistan or abroad, let us actively work for the creation of our 'Kurdistan National Federation of Students' Organizations', IN THE SERVICE OF OUR MOST OPPRESSED BUT VALIANT AND INDOMITABLE PEOPLE and of Democracy in the Middle East!

Oriental non-Kurdish students, Arabs, Perisnas and Turks, prove your democracy by accepting the friendship we are willing to offer you, but not at the expense of the rights and interests of our people!

Activities of the K.S.S.E's Executive Committee

Following are a few of the many activities of the E.C. during the last two months.

1. A memorandum was sent to United Nations Organization on the subject of the imprisonment of the Kurdish patriots in Syria. The Society, as usual, received a reply informing us that the memorandum was being sent to the U.A.R. Government.

2. A memorandum was sent to President Nasser after the announcement of the sentences on Mr. Osman Sabri, Dr. N. Zaza, Mr. Qedrijan and their Colleagues.

3. A memorandum was sent to the U.N. regarding the imprisonment of many Kurdish intellectuals and prominent personalities in Turkey. Also a telegram was sent to General Gursel, Head of the Turkish State, when the trial of 49 Kurdish patriots began in secret on 3.1.1961. The Society

informed many newspapers of this trial and so far some of them have commented on it.

4. A long and sharp reply to the attacks made upon our Society by the Shah's weekly newspaper called *Kurdistan!*, was sent to Teheran.

5. Last month a memorandum was sent to the Iraqi Prime Minister Abdul Karim Kassem regarding the full rights of the Kurdish people in Iraqi Kurdistan and the banning of some Kurdish publications.

6. Wurya Rawanduzi, the Vice-President of the K.S.S.E. represented the Society, as an observer, at the Foundation Conference of the General Union of Iraqi Students' Abroad, held in Prague between 25th and 30th December 1960.

**General Secretary,
K. FUAD
Berlin—21.1.1961.**

Copy of the Telegram which was sent to Ankara on 2.1.1961

His Excellency General Gursel, Head of Turkish State, Ankara.

Your Excellency,

The change of government under your guardianship filled the hearts of the Kurdish people with hope. Nevertheless the detention and suppression of hundreds of Kurdish people goes on. We hear that 49 Kurdish people recently detained were sentenced to secret proceedings; Kurdish people who did not do anything else but to demand the

respect of the cultural and national rights of the Kurdish people.

We ask your Excellency to guarantee defence rights to all accused Kurdish people and as in the case of Yassiada, to employ public proceedings.

In the name of the Kurdish Delegation,
KAMURAN BEDIR-KHAN.

For the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe,
President CHERIFF VANLY.



The 49 Kurds on trial in Ankara

They are: Sevkett Turan (Major), Naci Kutluay (M.D.), Koca Elbistan (M.D.), Yavuz Camlibel (Army Officer), Mehmet Ali Dinker (Law Student), Yusuf Koçar (Army Officer), Ziya Serefhanoglu (Lawyer), Necdet Ozankara (Law Student), Hasan Akkus (Merchant), Durdu Akkoyunlu (Merchant), Selim Kiliçoglu (Teacher), Sebahattin (Army Officer), Sait Elçi (Accountant), Sait Bingöl (Economy Student), Sitki Elbistan (Law Student), Ali Karahan (Lawyer), Necati Siyahkan (Medical Student), Esat Cemiloglu (Engineer), Sait Kirmizitoprak (Clerk), Yesar Kaya (Economy Student), Faik Savas (Medical Student), Haydar Aksu (Lawyer), Ziya Acar (Law Student), Fadil Budak (Law Student), Halil Demirel (Army Officer), Ferit Bilen (Merchant), Mustafa Dirckçigil (M.D.), Feyzi Aysar (M.D.), Hasan Ulus (Contractor), Nazmi Balkas (Agricultural Student), Hüseyin Uçok (Medical Student), Mehmet Cigdem (Decorator), Fevzi Kartal (Lawyer), Mehmet Eydemir (Medical Student), Abdurahman Efemdolak (Journalist), Musa Anter (Law Student), Cahit Yıldırım (Lawyer), Emin Kotan (Electrician), Okkes Karadag (Labourer), Muhsin Samata (Farmer), Turgut Akin (Law Student), Mustafa Ramanli (Law Student), Mehmet Ozer (Medical Student), Feyzullah Demirtas (Law Student), Cezmi Balkas (Agricultural Student), Palis Yoku (Engineering Student), Smet Balkas (Medical Student), Nurettin Yılmaz (Law Student).

Restive Kurds

The Times, December 15th 1960

A trial began recently in Damascus of thirty-two Syrian Kurds, who are accused of trying to disrupt the United Arab Republic by setting up an independent State of Kurdistan. Last week, also the Turkish Government announced that fifty-five landowners from eastern Turkey, mostly of Kurdish origin, who were detained after the Army took over in May, are to be resettled in the west. There is no need to look for any direct connexion between the two events. The complaint against the Turkish deportees is that they were parasitic feudal leaders, propped up by the Menderes regime for its own purposes, not that they were nationalist dissidents. On the other hand, here is a reminder that Kurds can at any time be a problem to their host countries, which include Iraq and Iran as well as Turkey and Syria.

Kurdish nationalism of a sort is over a hundred years old. Like their neighbours, the Armenians, Kurdish highlanders periodically took up arms against Ottoman misgovernment, and when reports of independence movements reached them they decided one would suit them too. The high-water of their fortune came when the possibility of an independent Kurdistan was acknowledged by the Treaty of Sévres. Since then they have remained divided — at least as much by their own tribal rivalries as by lines on the map. What gives them restiveness today is Russia. In the Caucasian republics of the Soviet Union are perhaps 60,000 Kurds — enough to provide a nucleus for propaganda purposes, and a home for refugees. The large Kurdish minorities in neighbouring countries are an obvious field for communist penetration. KHALID BAKDASH, the Syrian communist leader, is a Kurd, and MUSTAFA BARZANI, who had been a thorn in the side of Iraq Governments for more than a decade, was one of the first exiles to return from Russia after the revolution.

Since the end of the First World War Russian policy has blown hot and cold over the concept of independent Kurdistan. Sometimes it has been regarded as a symptom of 'nationalist deviation', and in Iraq, which is now officially an 'Arab and Kurdish Republic', the Kurdish communist party is not secessionist. Elsewhere, however, the nationalist drum can be beaten, and it is often hard for the Governments concerned to know exactly what they are up against. There are still the old-fashioned tribal and religious leaders, hostile to central authority of any sort, and not above taking

Russian help, as in the short-lived Mahabad Republic in Iran at the end of the war. There is the younger educated generation who feel, often with reason, that the outlying provinces where they live are starved of the benefits of progress. And there are the straight communists. The difficulty is to control the latter without curbing the advancing of a people who are, on the whole, being everywhere assimilated with a good measure of success.

Editor: The above editorial article of *The Times*, in spite of having some fair information about Kurdish people for the reader, it has also many misleading points. For instance it says, 'on the other hand, there is a reminder that Kurds can at anytime be a problem to their host countries, which include Iraq, Iran as well as Turkey and Syria'.

Indeed the Kurdish people can and shall cause trouble if some of these governments continue to deny them their just rights and unless they prepare for a life based on justice, equality and mutual recognition. But really, what we would like to point out here is that these four countries mentioned in the article are NOT hosts to the Kurdish people, for the Kurdish people lives in its own land — Kurdistan, and the Kurds have inhabited this country since the dawn of history.

The Kurdish people occupies a common territory despite the ARBITRARY FRONTIER DIVISIONS, it speaks a common language, shares a common culture, traditions and customs, and possesses the basis for a single national economy.

The Sévres Treaty (1920) as is mentioned in the article, recognized in Articles 62, 63 and 64 the rights of the Kurdish people to an independent and united state, but Kemal Ataturk refused to abide by this Treaty, which was supplanted by the Lausanne Treaty in 1923, which disregarded the right of the Kurdish people to a national state.

The attitude of the rulers of Kurdistan towards the Kurdish people has caused many bloody revolts by the Kurds in the past 40 years. The Kurdish people will continue their struggle for their rights, the right to SPEAK and study in Kurdish, the right to be recognized as Kurds and the right of self-determination.

The deportation of Kurds from Kurdistan of Turkey and their resettlement in the Turkish parts of the Republic, has been going on for some time.

But General Gursel now has new excuses for these deportations. The deportees are Menderes supporters!

The recent trials and detention of Kurds in various parts of Kurdistan prove that their assimilation by force or otherwise, is quite impossible. These Kurds, amongst other things, were charged with attempting to set up an independent Kurdish state.

As for the Kurds in the Soviet Union, it is only natural to assume that they support their brothers

in Kurdistan in their every effort for the solution of their national question, but the nationalistic ideas and the efforts to free Kurdistan originate amongst the Kurdish people in Kurdistan herself.

The article also mentions the 'Kurdish Communist Party' in Iraq. There is no such thing as a Kurdish Communist Party. There is, however, a 'Democratic Party of Kurdistan' which was officially licenced by Iraqi Government in February 1960. This Party is headed by Mustafa Barzani.

Telegrams to Nasser

The following telegram was sent to President Nasser of U.A.R., by the Executive Committee of the K.S.S.E.:

President Nasser—Cairo,

We demand the immediate release of our Kurdish patriots in Damascus, especially Dr. Nuraddin Zaza, Osman Sabri, Qadrijan, Muhammed Zelfo and Majeed Hajo.

E.C., K.S.S.E.

— Similar telegrams were also sent to President Nasser by the K.S.S.E. branches all over Europe.



Dr. N. Zaza, the Founder and Honorary Member of the K.S.S.E.—life imprisonment.

'International Society—Kurdistan'

An 'International Society Kurdistan' was founded by three Dutchmen in Amsterdam on July 1st 1960. It is now active in about a dozen countries and publishing a monthly information magazine which is the only non-Kurdish periodical entirely devoted to Kurdish and related affairs. The 'International Society Kurdistan' is a progressive, democratic body, politically and ideologically independent and wants to act as a 'pressure group'. In fact it is a dynamic, modern mixture of three types of organisation already known: a scientific society, a multi-national friendship league and a centre for democratic action.

The leaders of the 'International Society Kurdistan' are: Mr. Silvio van Rooy (First Chairman), Mr. Lou Simonse (Second Chairman), Dr. Jan Kemp (Secretary), Mr. Jouthe Roodbergen (Second Secretary) and Mr. Eelco Broeksma (Treasurer). The Society's offices are in Amsterdam-West (Netherlands), Da Costastraat, 25/1.

Within the framework of I.S.K. there are: a Scientific Council (leading the Society's scientific

activities), a Kurdish Central Library in Europe, a Kurdish Sound Archive and a Kurdish Picture Archive.

The Society's many-sided activities are meeting with increasing interest from several quarters. The Kurdish press in Iraq and several newspapers in Europe have already reported on this initiative in favour of oppressed, divided and under-developed Kurdistan.

Summarizing the results of the first eight months of the 'International Society Kurdistan's' existence, its leaders are optimistic about I.S.K.'s future. Democratic, international solidarity with the Kurds, they feel, could make an important contribution to a brighter future for the Kurdish nation. The Society's monthly information magazine, up till now appearing in German, will come out under the name of 'Kurdish Facts' in an entirely new form this month. It can be subscribed to at £1.2 annually, airmail outside Europe being charged extra.

* * * *

Friends of Kurdistan all over the world are now organizing in

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN

the only international democratic, private agency of non-Kurds

seeking to inform other nations on Kurds and Kurdistan

supporting systematically the Kurdish struggle for emancipation

fighting for friendship between the Kurds, their West-Asian neighbours and all other nations in the world.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN

is a new type of organization. It's a dynamic mixture of a scientific society, a multi-national

friendship league and a centre for democratic action.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN

is open to every sincere friend of the Kurds, to everybody really interested in Kurdistan. It has branches in several parts of the world.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN

will gladly advise you how you can learn more about the Kurds and their country and about what you can do to help your Kurdish friends. A friend in need is a friend indeed. Apply today to

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY KURDISTAN

Central Office: Da Costastraat, 25/1, Amsterdam-West, Netherlands, or to your local I.S.K. Branch.

Prominent Swiss Protest Against Death Sentences in Iranian Kurdistan

About 20 prominent Swiss personalities signed a statement condemning the conditions under which the trial of the four Kurds, viz. G. Blurian, R. Shariati, A. Yousifi and I. Kasimlu, was held and whereby the death sentences were passed on all.

They demanded a reprieve for them under the conditions stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

This statement carries, amongst others, the signatures of:

Karl Barth — Writer from Basle.

Friedrich Dürrenmatt — Playwright, Geneva.

Ernest Ansermet — Conductor of the Swiss Symphony Orchestra, Geneva.

P. H. Simon — Professor, Fribourg.

Max Frisch — Writer, Zurich.

Walter Muschg, Basel.

Marcel Reymond — Writer, Geneva.

Svend Steling-Michaud, Geneva.

Fredy Buache, Lausanne.

Charles-Henri Favrod — Journalist, Lausanne.

Yves Velan — La-Chaux-de-Fonds.

Charles Brüttsch.

Jean-Louis Cornuz.

Union of Students of the Neuchâtel University.

Press Comment

Kurds Stirring Trouble in Iraq; Barzani Tribe Opposes Kassim

Premier Abdul Karim Kassim is having serious difficulty with Iraq's largest minority, the 1,500,000 or so Kurdish tribesmen of the North . . .

. . . The Kurds, a tough, nomadic race of mountaineers, are different in language, customs and even costume from the Arab majority among the 5,000,000 Iraqi. The two peoples are primarily linked by their common belief in Islam.

The dream of most Kurds is a Kurdish national state, embracing all the Kurds in Iraq, Iran, Turkey,

Syria and the Soviet Union. On occasion, the Soviet Union champions these national aims; Moscow now is broadcasting propaganda regularly to the Kurds of Iran.

For forty years the Kurdish question has been causing upheavals in the Middle East. The Royal Government in Iraq, overthrown by General Kassim, July 1958, faced several Kurdish revolts. Mullah Mustapha and his tribe of Iraqi Kurds joined the abortive, Soviet-sponsored revolt in Azerbaijan Province of Iran following World War II.

This year there have been reports of unrest

among the Kurds of South-Eastern Turkey. In Syria, several Kurds are currently being tried on charges of plotting a revolt.

Here (*Iraq . . . Ed.*) the Kurds backed General Kassim's revolution in 1958 in the hope that it offered them some chance of at least local autonomy. Mullah Mustapha returned to Baghdad in triumph after twelve years of exile behind the Iron Curtain . . .

. . . In Baghdad the Kurdish Democratic Party, loosely allied with the Communists, was demanding more rights and benefits for all Kurds. Particularly the party asked for recognition of the Kurdish language in schools and publications and for public works projects . . .

The 'New York Times, International Edition
20th December 1960.

* * * *

Forty-nine on Kurdish Plot Charges

Charged with attempting to establish a Kurdish State in Eastern Turkey, 49 people appeared before a special military court in Ankara yesterday. The proceedings are being held in camera.

Military and professional men are among those charged. They were arrested in December 1959, but the Menderes regime suppressed the news 'in the interests of the state'.

'Daily Telegraph'.
5th January 1961.

* * * *

New Signs of Nationalism in Turkey.

Wide comment has been caused by notices which have appeared in the past few days in Istanbul and other parts of Turkey warning all Turkish nationals to speak Turkish in Turkey and telling them to warn those who do not that they must do so. The notices, which have appeared in shop windows, on buses and in other public places, emanate from the Federation of Turkish Students but appear to enjoy the approval of the authorities.

One notice much in evidence reads: 'Compatriots. Speak Turkish. And give a warning to those who don't'. Another shows a map of Turkey in which the words 'in Turkey Turkish is spoken' are written.

The Government of Istanbul, General Refik Tulga, said at a press conference yesterday that foreign languages 'which grate on the Turkish ear'

should not be spoken in loud voices in public places. He did not explain which languages do have this effect on the Turkish ear.

Minorities Concerned.

The outburst of Turkish nationalism, which coincides with other recent manifestations, has caused some consternation among the Greek and Armenian minorities in Istanbul, many of whom have taken Turkish nationality, and whose command of the Turkish tongue is in some instances imperfect. Uneasiness is also among the Kurdish populations in eastern Turkey.

'The Times'.
29th August 1960.

On these principles, the Turkish government hopes to establish democracy in Turkey! By denying reality and ignoring the six million Kurds, living in Kurdistan of Turkey, and hundreds of thousands of Greek, Armenian and Arab minorities in Turkey, the Turkish government is making a serious mistake which is not in the interest of the country as a whole. ED.

Charge of Agitating for Kurdish State

The trial of 49 persons accused of agitating in favour of the creation of a separate Kurdish state in Eastern Turkey began in the military court of the Ankara Garrison command here yesterday. After identification of the accused the court decided to continue the trial in secret session.

The accused include lawyers, doctors, university students, engineers and several officers of the armed forces. 27 of them were arrested a year ago under the Menderes regime, while the other 22 were taken into custody after the revolution in May.

Holding the trial in secret conforms with general practice in matters connected with the large Kurdish minority in Eastern Turkey . . .

The Times—January 5th 1961

Get your copy of—
**'Kurdish Facts and
West-Asian Affairs'**
—every month

The 'Secret Clauses' of Turkish Policy

Did Menderes want to Atomise Kurdistan?

There will shortly be a question, at Yassiada, we hear of things other than Afghan hounds, and it will be behind closed doors that all the circumstances which surrounded the main theme of the infamous Baghdad Pact will be debated.. This Pact has for a long time disturbed the peace of the Middle East, and Celal Bayar and Adnan Menderes carry the responsibility for it, along with the fiery Nouri Said and Anglo-Saxon diplomats. One of the graver consequences of this Pact, dedicated from the moment of signature to the shame of all the Arab people will have been to a violent and successful Soviet offensive, unrest in Iran and Jordan and the Turkish *Coup d'Etat* which, even if it is the last to date, will not end this fine series of disasters for the West.

The initiative for the Pact originated in the U.S.A., the tortuous policy of irascible J. F. Dulles, who had made in the spring of 1953 a study tour of the Middle East, accompanied by Harold Stassen, the Director of the Mutual Society Agency. They at the time were shaping in the State Department the idea of protecting the Middle East from Soviet influence by forming a Northern Bloc, called the 'northern tier' running from Turkey to Pakistan, and passing through Iraq. The year 1955 saw the realization of the project abundantly financed and supplied militarily by Washington, under the form of a Pact signed in Baghdad on the 24th of February, between Turkey and Iraq, which Great Britain, Pakistan and Iran joined very quickly.

One can easily imagine the anger of Moscow and the Arab countries who immediately cut off Baghdad from their Community.

However, the Pact on face value was apparently in-offensive; it was only composed of happy formulae, all conforming to international courtesy. It did not make a single precise statement of policy, but its innuendoes were so loaded with menaces that all the ministries concerned could see in it a strong war machine; the references it made to 'subversion' and the need to fight it by all possible means, made of it mainly — an instrument for political intervention by the U.S.A. in the internal affairs of the Member States.

The years 1955, 1956 and 1957 were regularly dedicated to political purges, to the setting up of an administration and economic system, with a policy destined to prepare the big military

manoeuvre of 1958. In January of the same year in Ankara there was in effect a decisive re-union of the Pact in the presence of J. F. Dulles. It was then that, through the indiscretions committed by a high officer, and of which we will say nothing at the moment, the authors revealed the atrocious American decisions. To the fearful populations of the East, peaceful for centuries, the Baghdad Pact promised to bring the atomic danger. On the 21st January the Agency Tass immediately raised its voice against 'the installation of atomic bases near the sacred places of Islam'.

The same day the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs declared that no plane carrying atomic bombs would be allowed to fly over Egypt. Because all these sombre presentiments were confirmed by powerful and under-hand political interventions in Syria, Lebanon and Jordan, Arab public opinion rose. The year 1958 was full of revolts; the bloody revolution in Lebanon; the premature constitution of the U.A.R. and the destruction in Iraq of the Hashemite Monarchy. Conscious of danger, the Iraqi Army rejected the villainous impositions of the Baghdad Pact. We know today what it was all about.

A secret clause, to which Menderes had given his wholehearted approval foresaw in case of imminent danger, the neutralization of all the Kurdish Country by atomic bombardment, to stop a Soviet invasion. It proposed in fact systematic genocide. It is the literal truth that the clause foresaw that, in the event, everything would be organized to empty the country (as a preliminary) of most of the population, by denying the Kurds their supporting social and economic system, in order to make them leave their domain voluntarily.

One understands today why the Kurds have so strongly supported the Iraq Revolution. Having come upon the Pact documents revealing that secret clause, the Kurdish Committee in 1959 sent a memorandum to the Secretary General of U.N.O. who opened an inquiry.

At that time, the military junta of Ankara, fearing a scandal, tried to leave the Baghdad Pact (now called C.E.N.T.O. since the withdrawal of Iraq in 1958).

The Martyrdom of the Kurds hangs pretty heavily on the Turkish conscience: the last massacre we know of was carried out in 1938, when the 11th

Regiment of the 4th Army executed 481 Kurds in the Sansa local, near Erzinkam; the tortured victims were shot in groups of 20 after 20 of their compatriots had dug their graves: the 481st was buried by a soldier.

We have the statement of an eye-witness and other people say that the Commander of that 4th

Army is one of the group responsible for the junta which is in the government today. We understand that they must be pardoned, and we must overlook the fact that they did not turn a hair at lopping off heads under the old regime . . .

'La Tribune des Nations' — Paris, 21st October 1960.

Newroz in Europe

Newroz — the Kurdish National Day — was, as usual, celebrated by our branches all over Europe. In London, a successful party was given by our U.K. branch. At this party the Branch President spoke of the meaning of Newroz and its history and he also gave an account on the history of the Kurdish people and Kurdistan, as well as the Kurdish National question today. The team of dancers, in their colourful national dresses, performed many

beautiful folk dances. The singers sang lovely Kurdish songs. Coloured slides on Kurdistan were shown to the guests.

M. Salih Karadaghi wrote a poem dedicated to this occasion, and read it splendidly in Kurdish. The English translation of the poem which was read by Said Aziz Dzayi to the guests, is printed below:

THE FESTIVAL OF NEWROZ

by M. SALIH KARADAGHI

Newroz is a joyful celebration.
A festival of freedom for the Kurds.
A time for dancing, a time for freedom
From bondage, from sadness, from misery.
In honour of Newroz the gentle meadows,
The cliffs and slopes, the rough places and smooth,
The towering heights, the rocky valley beds,
All bear a flowery mantle, red and gold.
Swayed by the soft caresses of the breeze
Wild tulips blow in thousands on the plain.
The fumitory and the meadow-sweet,
Anemones, lucerne and common clover,
Form warp and weft of a dazzling carpet,
Self-woven, without shuttle, reed or heald.
The oak-tree by the stream, the terebinth
Both blossom forth with button buds of green.
The beautiful light creatures of the air
Fly by, their feathers fanning us below.
They flit from tree to tree, from flower to flower,
Singing merrily on every bough.
At Newroz the land of Kurdistan
Throws off at last its sombre winter coat.
At Newroz-time the Kurdish people all,
The young and old, the great ones and the small,

Will greet each other with the fervent wish,
'May this and every day be blessed for you'.
It was Newroz when Káwa the blacksmith
Raised above his head the mighty hammer
To smash the evil dragon Zuhhák's skull,
As lightning strikes and slits a tree in two.
The mighty Káwa, champion of the Kurds,
Set free thereby a host of innocents.
O Káwa! now all Kurdistan is bound,
Helpless in the hands of craven tyrants,
Divided up and portioned out among them,
Unable to fend off their vicious blows.
The lightning-clouds of hope are in the sky.
The heavy-burdened evening clouds of Spring.
It's clear they bear the soothing rain of freedom
To shower on each and all impartially.
I cry to all your loving sons for help,
To hasten and avenge you with all speed.
So be of one united heart and soul,
Unite all Kurdistan from end to end,
Tread underfoot those who would drain her blood
And raise aloft the flag of freedom now!

Newroz—London, 1961.

B.B.C. Television and Kurdistan

In reply to a letter written by the President of U.K. branch of the K.S.S.E. to the Editor of 'Panorama', the following letter was received:

Dear Mr. Dizayee,

Thank you for your letter of February 9th. I am sorry you missed our programme on Iraq. Reference was made to the Kurdish population of the country in the course of a short sequence which we filmed in a village about 60 miles east of Sulimaniya.

In the commentary it was stated that about one in four of the Iraq population are Kurds, an Aryan race like most Europeans. Their villages tended to

be extremely poor. Many Kurds allege that the Arabs take the profits from the oil in Kurdish territory and give too little in return. The commentary went on to state that there is a Kurdish population in Persia and Turkey as well and many Kurds still hope for a national state, although in Iraq their more practical aim is, at present, to win greater control of their local affairs.

Yours sincerely,

DAVID WHEELER,
Assistant Editor, 'Panorama'.

14th February, 1961.

Letters to the Editor

Dear Sir,

On perusing through a few copies of your magazine, I was very impressed by the excellent work performed by the Kurdish Students in Europe. This, surely, must be an organization unique in its aims and aspirations.

A parallel in such oppression and exploit of a hitherto and potentially great nation by the governments of more than four countries gives the Kurdish problem an individuality of its own. But strangely enough the iniquities suffered by the Kurds seem to acquire the compassion and sympathies of all except those in a position to assist them.

The demagoguery employed by those directly concerned in perpetrating the atrocities on the unfortunate Kurds, who seem to be the victims of circumstances beyond their control, is of vilest form. Passion and prejudice seem to rate as high ideals of the despotic and unjust governments responsible for such repressions — under the name of reason of course!

'Violence is suicide' said Mahatma Gandhi, but the more I cogitate on this the more convinced I am that nowadays violence is the most expedient way of achieving popular and effective world support.

It is true that the Kurds are convinced of the futility of violence and its dreadful immediate consequences, yet how long will they be able to resist drifting towards it, if they are not granted their innate human rights as a people comprising one nation.

However, it is my express desire that such a sorry state of affairs will materialize. But only an independent and impartial organization like the U.N. is in a position to intervene and ensure a peaceful solution. Or, perhaps the U.N.O. is only the champion of 'the man with a whip'.

In conclusion I will quote a few lines by Emerson which convey my feelings on this problem most admirably:—

"Justice Conquers evermore,
Justice after as before,
And he who battles on her side,
God, though he were ten times slain,
Crowns him victor glorified."

Yours faithfully,

JAGINDAR SINGH,
Amristar, Punjab, India.

January 1961.

* * * *

Dear Sir,

I understand that the Kurdish Students' Society publishes a review called KURDISTAN.

I shall be very grateful if you could let me have this publication and if possible all the back numbers including any special editions of this review.

I shall be pleased to send you a cheque for this.

Thanking you in anticipation.

Yours faithfully,

R. CORNU (Mrs.),
London, S.W.5.

September 1960.

Dear Sir,

I am doing my Ph.D. on Kurdish question and am particularly interested to know about the Republic of Mehabad. Any material in English, French, Arabic concerning :

1. The life of Qazi: Muhammad, Mustafa Barzani and other Kurdish leaders.
2. The organization and genesis of Komele Party of Mehabad.
3. Programme of the Republic, people, goals.
4. The tragic end of Qazi Muhammad, would immensely interest me. I will certainly appreciate it if you could send your available materials and references which you might know of. If it involves some expenses I would be glad to remit the expenses prior to, or after, the receipt of the materials.

Hoping to receive your answer, I remain,

Very truly yours,

FREE FIROOZI,
Philadelphia, U.S.A.
February 1961.

* * * *

Dear Sir,

We enclose letter* which has been received from the Turkish Embassy.

This has been acknowledged saying that it has been forwarded to the Editor for attention.

Yours faithfully,

COASBY & CO. LTD.
December 1960.

Turkish Embassy,
43 Belgrave Square,
London, S.W.1.

* Dear Sirs,

The Military Attaché, Colonel Sadi Koças, is anxious to obtain one of your publications which we believe is called KURDISTAN.

It would be very much appreciated if you would kindly supply him with one copy of this publication: if you will inform us of the cost, we shall be glad to send you payment immediately. The name of the author is, we regret, unknown.

We look forward to hearing from you shortly and remain,

Yours faithfully,

ANNE TOMKINS,
Secretary to the Service Attaches.

Read

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Kurdish Literature

Hêdi Hêdi

by Mehmed Bor

Wê keko wê bavo hûn çima sîkinîne?
Bona wê kulla derman qe tunîne?
Gulan hatiye, giya hêşîn bûye keviran
Paş keviran, av diherikî kol mişkan
Hêdi hêdi - - -

Çûcîk dora hêlûna xa di kevi
Berxa sîs dû diya xa di kevi
Çawê me derxistin wan mat û mişkan
Payîz çû, derbez bu Zivistan
Hêdi hêdi - - -

Wê keko wê bavo, hûn çima rûniştîne?
Şîna min ber bedena Diyarbekirê raketiye.
Rewî ban xwedê dikin
Têr nîzanin çi bikin
Sîlî dibarî hûrik hûrik
Cigera min da kevirik
Wa sîs û helma Şîrê bizinane
Hewşo teji bûye kalîna karane
Mira çi? Sosinan çiya zêft kiriye
Heyfa Kergûyê narda raketiye
Kêleka çiya yê Mehabadê Xûna şêrkî diherikî
Hêdi hêdi - - -

Wê keko wê bavo, hûn qe merû nin?
Wê bedewê wana zozanê me nin?
Cesedê Xar gûran mar û mişkan
Lavî min birçî bûye çiçike miya dimijî.
Çiya Bîngolê çima tu tim mijî?
Wê dewra bixûn rindî heş kir bin keviran.
Istambolê da bajgûrê me dan tevîran.
Hinik qertal çûne hîvê
Dil é min hîna şîlî ya Mûsûlê diptê.
Hêdi hêdi - - -

Wê keko, wê bavo, raste westiyane
Baranê giran kir li çiyane, ser meytê jinane.
Herd nerm bû
Berf helat
Nesalê da berxawelat
Çem é ko hezar salî westa bûbûn hezar kerî
Şêlî bû liviya rakir serî
Mi wî çem î da av ka kir
Xîrab bû Diyarbekir, Şên bû Diyarbekir—
Kevir girêdanê bi xûna bona kemela xanî
Dilêmin bû hezar kanî, hezar kanî - - -
Hêdi hêdi - - -

Rojî Reşî Şeşî Eylûl

by KEMAL FUAD

Paş cengî cihanî yekem ta şorişî cwardey temûz
1958, delî Kurd le Kurdistanî xwarû ('Iraq), le
pênawî sendinî mafe zewtkirawekani da, be gelêk
raperin û şorişî xwênanawî hêlsa.

Yekêk lem raperinane raperinî şeşî eylûlî 1930
bû le Silêmanî. Lem roje da gelî Silêmanî nebez
be gewre û picûkewe wirûja û ser şeqamekanî garî
girt. Hemû pir be dem hawaryan ekird: 'Ême
kurdî, kurdman ewê.'

Belam hikûmetî koneperistî 'Iraq, be han û
yarmetiyî Ingilîzekan, be gulleyî tifeng û reşaş kewte
gyanî xelkeke. Be dehan kujran û birîndar kiran,
Sedeseha giran û xirane bendixanewe.

Kecî paş em kuştare hendêk le noker û beki-
regirawekani ew dewre hêlsan, wefdêkyan be nawî
Kurdistanewe rêkxist û çûne Bexda, bo kirnûş
birdine berdemi melik Feysel î yekem.

Pîremêrdî xwalêxoş 'bû, ke ew deme kurdayetiyî
ekird, der barey em wefde be beriye le Kurd û
Kurdistan em helbestey xwarewey wit:

Wefdi Kurdistan, millet firoşan
herze wekîlî şarî xamoşan

Çepkê le gulî baxekey sera
ke be xwênanawî lawan aw dira

Biybene berdemi erşî 'Iraqî
bilên yar baqî hem suhbet baqî

Perde w taray sûr berin bo Emîr
bilên dway kuştar hêştî toy dilgîr

Dek xecalet bin le rûy meşşera
ême xakî xem ekeyn be sera

Ewe ew erşey be xwên gulreng
sucdey bo eben hîç nalên nenge

Kurd nabrêtewe xeyalî xawe
beratî necat be xwên nûsrawe

Min rengî sûrim boye xos ewê
mijdey şefeqî lê der ekewê.

Namey Komele

Bo:

Geli Kurdî nebezman le Kurdistanî dagirkirawî
be zor be Turkiya bestraw!

Ewe, ey rolekanî Şêx Sa'îd û Doktor Fuad!

Ey rolekanî Dersîm û Agrîdax!

Ewe ke peşengî bizûtinewey kurdayetî w rêgk-
erewey xebatî gelî Kurd bûn bo azadî w serbexoyî
w yekêtiy Kurdistanî mezinman! Ewe ke zurbey
gelî kurdî xoşewîstmanî:

Silawêkî germî têkoşan, silawî Komeley Xwên-
dikaranî Kurd le Ewropatan pêşkeş bêt, silawî ew
xwêndikaraneş erkî geyandinî dengî eweyan be
gelanî cihan xistote ser şanyan:

Deng û basî têkoşanî nebezaneş ewe le pênavî
wergirtinî mafe mirovayetî w netewayetiyeqantan
da, cêgay ewperî şanazî w bextiyarîmane. Bê
guman le ser berdî binaxey têkoşanî ewe, ke zurbey
gelî Kurdî, alay Kurdistanî azad û yekgirtûman
berz ebetewe.

Hawrêyanî xoşewîst!

Be lay êmewe ewey zor giring û pêwîste, kobun-
ewetane le dewrî rêkxrawêkî Kurdistanî be-hêz û
gure û gol da! Damezrandinî partêkî şorişgêr le
Kurdistanî Turkiya erkêkî pirozî emroy serşantane.
Bê damezrandinî rêkxirawêkî ewto, ke têkoşantan
rekbiyat û serkirdetan bikat, tenha layengirî w
çend rekxirawêkî tirî Kurdistan hiç sûdêk nabexşet.
Damezrandinî em core rekxirawe hengawî yekeme
berew serkewtin. Paşan behêz — kirdinî peywendî
legel ême w rêkxirawekî tirî Kurdistan. Bo
pêkhênanî em core rekxirawe ewendey le tuwana da
bêt, ême amadeyî bo yarmetî-dantan.

Dûbare silawî germman pêşkeş be ewe, ey role
nebezekanî Kurdistan. Silawî germman bo ew role
nebezaneş le ser mafekanî gelî Kurd xirane ben-
dixanewe. Silawman bo hawrêkanî Emîn Banî;
ewaney bê tirs berengarî hikûmetî koneperistî ser
be Imperyalizmî Turkiya, bo mafekanî gelî Kurd
têkoşin; ew role nebezaneş le dil û derûnî ême w
hemû Kurdêkî be-şeref û dilsoz da cêgirin û le bîr
nacinewe; ew role nebezaneş cêgay ewprî şanazî
w serberzîy ême w hemû gelî Kurdî.

Bo pêşewe . . . bo damezrandinî partî dêmok-
ratîy Kurdistanî Turkiya. Bo hênanedîy aman-
cekanî gelî Kurd, le Kurdistanêkî azad û yekgirtû
. . . dûr le destbeserî beêgany dagirker û noker-
ekanyan.

Kamal Fuad,

le bati

'Komîtey berêweberî giştî'.

Komeley Xwendikaranî Kurd le Ewropa

by KEMAL FUAD

Le 10-16 Ab 1956, desteyek le xwêndikaranî
Kurd le Ewropa, le şari Vizbadin (Wiesbaden)-
Elmanya, kobûnewe. Lem kobûneweye dar
biryar dira be damezrandinî 'Komeley Xwên-
dikaranî Kurd le Ewropa'.

Komele lew katewe ta êsta 4 kongrey tirî
bestuwe: London: 2-4/1/1958; Mûnix (München):
4-8/8/1958; Vîyenna (Wien): 23-26/7/1959; Berlin:
22-26/8/1960.

Biryar waye emsal kongrey şeşem le şari Emister-
dam (Amsterdam) le 7-14/8/1961 bibestirêt.

Amancî Komele nasînî gelî kurde be gelanî
Ewropa w royîştin şan be şanî cûlanewey niştimanî
le wilat, bo cêbecêkirdinî meseley niştimanî Kurd.
Tekoşanî xwendikaranî Kurd le Ewropa beşeke
hegiz ciya nabêtewe le têkoşanî gelî Kurdistan le
pênavî azadî w serbexoyî w yekêti da.

Xwêndikaranî Kurd le katêk da yadî gel û
niştimanî xoşewîstyan ekenewe, zimani halan be
sozewe em parçe helbeste cuwan û rengineş
mamwesta HEJAR elêt:

Be derbederî ya le malî xom
le xakî 'Ereb, le Eran û Rom

Kok û poşte bim, rût û recal bim
koşkim de-qat bê, wêrane mal bim

Danişim le ser textî xunkarî
ya le kolanan bikem hejarî

Azad û serbest, şadan û xendan
ya zincir le mil le sûçî zindan

Kurdim û le rêy Kurd û Kurdistan
Jiyan le pênav, gyan le ser destan

Be kurdî ejim, be kurdî emrim
be kurdî edem weramî qebirim

Be Kurdî disan zindû eb'mewe
lew dinyaş bo Kurd têhelec'mewe.

Son Excellence Monsieur Gamal Abdul Nasser, President de la Republique Arabe Unie, Le Caire—R.A.U.

(Date) Le 14 Décembre 1960

(No.) B/791

Excellence,

Par la présente, le Comité directeur de 'l'Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe' vous prie de bien vouloir prendre note de ce qui suit:

Comme vous le savez, la province syrienne de la République Arabe Unie compte, parmi sa population, environ 400'000 Kurdes, vivant principalement au Nord du pays, dans trois régions: le Djézira, Ain-ul-Arab et Kurd-Dagh.

Il est notoire que les Kurdes de Syria non seulement s'étaient bien entendus avec la majorité arabe du pays, mais qu'ils avaient également lutté, côte à côte avec leurs frères arabes, pour libérer la Syrie du mandataire étranger et réaliser son indépendance.

Lorsque la République Arabe Unie se forma par la fusion de la Syrie avec l'Egypte, sous votre leadership, les Kurdes syriens, comme d'ailleurs la totalité du peuple kurde partagé, avec ses douze millions d'hommes, pensaient que c'était là un pas extrêmement important et positif non seulement pour les Arabes, mais aussi pour l'ensemble des mouvements de libération nationale des peuples afro-asiatiques.

Les Kurdes savent que la lutte des Arabes pour leurs aspirations nationales et leur unité s'inscrit, à condition qu'elle soit menée démocratiquement et non au détriment des autres, dans le cadre du mouvement historique général des peuples dépendants ou semi-dépendants contre l'impérialisme, et qu'un pas en avant dans ce sens, favorisera, en fin de compte, leur propre libération.

Les Kurdes avaient aussi une grande confiance dans votre sagesse politique et dans votre désir de favoriser la libération de tous les peuples opprimés.

Malheureusement, depuis bientôt deux ans, les choses se sont gâtées pour les Kurdes de la province syrienne.

Les autorités gouvernant en cette province en votre nom révoquèrent de l'administration la plupart des fonctionnaires kurdes, limogèrent les officiers kurdes, fermèrent très souvent les portes des écoles devant les enfants kurdes et mirent en prison des dizaines de nos compatriotes dont le seul crime est d'aimer leur peuple et de vouloir rester Kurdes.

C'était devant la tombe d'un grand Kurde, le grand Saladin de l'histoire, le vainqueur des croisés

et le sauveur de l'Orient arabo-musulman que vous aviez serré la main du Président Kouatly lors des fêtes ayant marqué la création de la République Arabe Unie.

Est-ce de cette façon que l'on récompense les Kurdes de cette province, descendants ou compatriotes modernes des Kurdes Eyoubides? Les traiter de cette façon, c'est trahir la mémoire de Saladin et manquer aux belles traditions islamiques de la nation arabe que nous aimons.

Les Kurdes de la province syrienne vivent présentement opprimés, sous la menace de la police, privés de tout droit national et culturel, n'ayant aucune école, aucun journal et aucune publication dans leur langue. Les poètes et hommes de lettres kurdes en Syrie sont maintenant en prison ou durent abandonner le pays. Le poète Qadri Can se trouve en prison depuis bientôt une année.

Au mois d'août 1960 l'on procéda à l'arrestation de 300 Kurdes environ, dont on garda en prison un groupe de 32 personnes comprenant, entre autres, le Dr. Nouredine Zaza, membre honoraire et l'un des fondateurs de notre Association, les écrivains Osman Sabri et Rashid Hamo, MM. Abdul Hamid Sulaiman, Shawket Hannan Hamza Nuairan, Majid Hajo, Bilal Mahmoud, Kemal Abdi et Seydo Arslan. Au début du mois courant, ledit groupe des 32 a été traduit devant la cour militaire suprême de la sûreté de l'Etat, sous l'inculpation de tenter de créer un Etat kurde dans certaines régions de la province syrienne.

Il n'est pas exact que le Dr. Zaza et ses amis aient voulu tenter de créer un Etat au détriment de la province syrienne. Un tel projet serait contraire aux aspirations nationales légitimes du peuple kurde, qui lutte pour la libération nationale du Kurdistan et non pour la création d'un Etat kurde en Syrie, ce qui serait inconcevable. Les Kurdes de la province septentrionale de la R.A.U. désirent jouir de droits culturels, avoir des journaux et des écoles en kurde, ce qui renforcerait l'amitié historique arabo-kurde, et non nuire aux intérêts de leurs concitoyens et frères arabes.

Malheureusement, nous venons d'apprendre que la cour militaire suprême de Damas a prononcé des peines de mort à l'encontre du Dr. Nouredine Zaza et de quelques-uns de ses co-inculpés, ainsi que de lourdes peines d'emprisonnement envers d'autres.

Vous savez, Excellence, par vos propres expériences dans le cadre du mouvement national arabe,

qu'il n'est pas possible de réduire un peuple par la force. Il en va de même pour le nôtre.

Nous sommes peiné que l'homme de Suez qui, à la tête du peuple arabe, avait battu les agresseurs impérialistes en 1956-57, permette que de tels actes soient commis dans l'Etat dont il est le chef.

Ces actes sont aussi nuisibles pour l'amitié kurdo-arabe et les futurs rapports entre ces deux nations voisines que la fermeture des journaux kurdes irakiens 'Jin', 'Hetaw' et 'Bangî Kurd', ordonnée récemment par le gouvernement du général Kassem, la traduction de M. Ibrahim Ahmed, secrétaire général du Parti Démocrate du Kurdistan irakien, devant la cour martiale de Bagdad, pour un article écrit dans le journal 'Khebat', organe officiel de ce parti, ou l'expulsion du territoire irakien, par ordre du gouverneur militaire, du président de notre Association, lors d'un voyage qu'il effectuait en Irak au cours du mois d'octobre dernier.

Il appartient à votre Excellence de faire cesser cet état de choses, de permettre aux rapports arabo-kurdes de refluer dans la compréhension, dans l'amitié et la paix, pour le plus grand bien de nos deux nations.

Il n'y a aucune raison de se méfier des Kurdes de la province syrienne, et il serait faux et regrettable que les autorités gouvernantes dans cette province se vengent d'eux en imputant à notre peuple du Kurdistan irakien l'échec, en son temps, des projets d'union entre l'Irak et la R.A.U. Notre peuple souhaite au peuple arabe le plus brillant avenir. Nous souhaitons que les Arabes de tous les Etats s'entendent entre eux, pour réaliser pleinement leur libération nationale et sociale, ainsi que leur union politique, selon leurs désirs, car nous avons la conviction, comme nous l'avons dit, que la libération nationale même du Kurdistan, ou tout au moins son obtention d'un statut d'autonomie, ne s'en trouverait que plus facile.

Nous nous permettons de suggérer à votre Excellence de procéder à ce qui suit :

- 1.—Gracier les Kurdes qui viennent d'être condamnés à mort à Damas;
- 2.—Ordonner la libération immédiate des prisonniers politiques kurdes détenus dans la province septentrionale;
- 3.—Demander au gouvernement provincial de Syrie d'ouvrir des écoles enseignant conjointement en kurde et en arabe dans les régions habitées par les Kurdes;
- 4.—Demander à ce gouvernement provincial d'autoriser la publication de journaux et de livres kurdes, comme c'était le cas avant 1958;

5.—Demander aux autorités de la province septentrionale de créer un programme kurde journalier à Radio-Damas, et améliorer la qualité du programme kurde à Radio-Le Caire, conformément aux intérêts communs des Arabes et des Kurdes.

Nous avons la conviction qu'en procédant à ces réformes démocratiques et légitimes en faveur des Kurdes de la R.A.U., la République Arabe Unie gagnerait non seulement le loyalisme définitif de ces derniers, mais aussi l'amitié du peuple kurde en Irak, en Iran et en Turquie, dans l'intérêt de nos deux nations et de la paix.

Nous vous prions, Excellence, d'agréer l'expression de nos plus hautes considérations.

Au nom du Comité directeur de l'Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe, le président, Ismet Chériff.

* * * *

(Date) le 21 Décembre 1960
(No.) B/801

Monsieur le Président,

Par la présente, le Comité directeur de l'Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe se fait un devoir de rectifier un point que nous avons énoncé dans la lettre No. B/791, datée le 14 Décembre 1960, que nous avons eu l'honneur d'adresser à votre Excellence.

D'après les dernières nouvelles qui nous sont parvenues, des peines de mort n'ont été prononcées contre aucun des 32 accusés de nos compatriotes kurdes habitant la province syrienne de la R.A.U., jugés récemment par le tribunal militaire supérieur de Damas. Par contre, de très lourdes peines d'emprisonnement, parfois avec des travaux forcés, contre un bon nombre des accusés, ont été malheureusement prononcées.

Nous nous permettons de remarquer que hormis ce point, notre lettre du 14 Décembre reste entièrement valable.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Président, l'expression de nos plus hautes considérations.

Au nom du Comité directeur, le président, Ismet Chériff.

Son Excellence le General Gursel, President et Premier Ministre de la Republique de Turquie, Ankara

(Date) le 15 Janvier 1961

(Numéro) B/818

Monsieur le Président,

Par la présente, le Comité directeur de 'l' Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe' vous prie de bien vouloir prendre note de ce qui suit :

Comme vous n'ignorez sans doute pas, la population de la République de Turquie se compose de deux nationalités principales, ayant chacune ses caractéristiques nationales, dont la langue, le sol et la formation historique propre: les Turcs et les Kurdes. Le peuple kurde de Turquie, comptant environ six millions d'âmes, soit près de 25% de l'ensemble de la population de la République, vit massivement au Kurdistan de Turquie, dans les provinces orientales. Les Kurdes de Turquie représentent environ 45% de l'ensemble du peuple kurde, dont le pays se trouve partagé politiquement entre cet Etat, l'Iran, l'Irak et la Syrie.

Le traité de Sévres de 1920, dans ses articles 62, 63 et 64, (Section 3: Kurdistan) avait préconisé l'autonomie et, dans certaines conditions, l'indépendance du Kurdistan ottoman.

Remplaçant celui de Sévres, le traité de Lausanne de juillet 1923, toujours en vigueur, garantit dans ses articles 38-44 un minimum de droits culturels et la liberté d'expression et de publication en leurs langues maternelles aux groupes ethniques non turcs de la République.

A la Conférence de Lausanne, M. Ismet Inonu avait affirmé que la Turquie était le pays des Turcs et des Kurdes et que les deux peuples y jouiraient de droits nationaux égaux.

Nous avons le regret de constater que ce n'est point le cas et que même les clauses du traité de Lausanne n'ont pas été observées par les divers gouvernements turcs envers les Kurdes.

Tout le monde sait aujourd'hui que les révoltes qui éclatèrent au Kurdistan de Turquie entre 1924 et 1938, à la suite des mesures d'oppression nationale, loin d'être l'expression d'un mouvement réactionnaire ou religieux, comme l'affirmaient les milieux officiels d'Ankara, visaient à la libération nationale du peuple kurde. Tout le monde sait aussi, malgré les sévères consignes du silence ordonnées à l'époque par les autorités turques, que ces révoltes furent écrasées par la force et noyées dans le sang. Enfin, tout le monde sait également aujourd'hui, aussi bien en Turquie qu'à l'étranger,

que la politique de turquisation par la force de notre courageux peuple kurde a complètement échoué. Peut-être savez-vous, Excellence, que dans son ouvrage 'Regards sur l'histoire du monde', le Pandit Jawaher Lal Nehru, après s'être étonné que les dirigeants turcs aient privé le peuple kurde de ses droits, aussitôt la Turquie libérée de l'hypothèque de 1920, affirme que la lutte de ce peuple pour la reconquête de sa liberté ne pourra jamais s'éteindre. Il en va ainsi.

Nous voilà, en effet, presque revenus au point de départ: après trente-cinq ans de tentatives d'assimilation, de mesures de transfert collectif, de malheurs et d'injustices de toute sorte et d'obscurantisme, la question nationale kurde en Turquie ne se trouve point résolue. Elle reste entière, et dans notre siècle de lumière et de solidarité entre les peuples, où la conscience nationale kurde a atteint son paroxysme aussi bien en Turquie que dans les Etats voisins, cette question ne sera résolue que par la reconnaissance et le respect de la plénitude des droits nationaux et culturels de notre peuple. Toute autre politique signifierait de nouvelles souffrances inutiles et serait du temps perdu, tant pour les Kurdes que les Turcs et les autres peuples du Moyen-Orient.

Lorsque eut lieu, sous votre leadership, le changement de régime du 27 mai dernier en Turquie opéré par le Comité d'Union Nationale, nous avons espéré que le gouvernement de votre Excellence allait mettre un terme aux pénibles conditions d'oppression nationale et de misère que le régime tyrannique de M. Adnan Menderes avait continué d'imposer à notre peuple.

Malheureusement rien de tel ne se produisit, loin de là. Nous avons appris, en effet, ce qui suit:

1.—Les détenus politiques kurdes arrêtés par le gouvernement Menderes en Novembre-Décembre 1959 (les avocats Ali Qerhan et Ziya Serefhan, le colonel Sewket Turanli, le médecin Kucu Elbistan, les journalistes Musa Anter et Abdulrahman Efem, l'industriel Orfi Ak Koyonlu, les étudiants Sihab Erdel et Meded Yas — et leurs amis) furent gardés à la prison militaire d'Istanbul par votre gouvernement, alors que les prisonniers politiques turcs de l'ancien régime furent tous libérés.

2.—Votre gouvernement procéda à de nouvelles arrestations parmi les milieux intellectuels et politiques kurdes. Nous disposons d'une liste — incomplète, de 65 noms de compatriotes arrêtés.

3.—D'une façon générale, vous n'avez rien envisagé pour remédier à la situation économique difficile des provinces orientales, c.à.d. du Kurdistan tout en aggravant les conditions d'oppression nationale de notre peuple, en violation avec l'esprit et la lettre de la Charte des Nations Unies et le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes.

4.—Votre gouvernement encouragea de nouvelles mesures d'assimilation, dans le domaine soi-disant culturel. C'est ainsi qu'un certain nombre de personnalités de votre régime, dont le général Fehri Ozdelik, assistaient le 14 Juillet 1960 à une conférence donnée par M. Necati Akter, professeur d'histoire à l'Université d'Ankara, et à une autre donnée par M. Fahrettin Kirizoglu, professeur d'histoire à l'institut de Arifiye Koy, où les conférenciers prétendirent démontrer que les Kurdes sont 'd'origine turque' et que leur langue n'est qu'un rameau du turc. Savez-vous, Excellence, que de telles affirmations sont gratuites, absurdes, inutiles, n'ont rien de scientifique, qu'elles se trouvent si évidemment en contradiction avec les faits historiques et actuels qu'elles font sourire même les profanes à l'étranger? Car même l'opinion populaire publique sait, sans parler des milieux scientifiques sérieux, que le kurde est une langue indo-européenne, appartenant à la famille iranienne, mais plus vieille et plus pure que le persan, et que les Kurdes se trouvent sur place, au Kurdistan, depuis des milliers d'années, alors que les Turcs ne firent leur apparition en Turquie qu'à partir du XIe siècle de l'ère chrétienne.

5.—Votre gouvernement imposa aux étudiants originaires des 'régions de l'Est', c.à.d. du Kurdistan un examen préalable spécial pour être admis aux universités d'Ankara et d'Istanbul, et portant sur un sujet prétendant que les Kurdes sont d'origine turque.

6.—Dans le cadre d'une campagne organisée pour combattre les langues non-turques parlées en Turquie, dont le kurde est de loin la plus importante l'on trouve encore dans les endroits publics, les autobus et les vitrines, des écriteaux invitant la population à parler 'uniquement en turc'.

7.—Le colonel Kutchuk, membre du C.U.N., au cours du mois de Septembre 1960, et le général Kiziloglu, ministre de l'intérieur, au cours du mois d'Octobre, effectuèrent des voyages d'inspection dans 'les provinces orientales', c.à.d. au Kurdistan. Dans les rapports sur ces voyages qu'ils présentèrent à votre gouvernement et au C.U.N., les deux hommes d'Etat ne cachent pas que les provinces de l'Est traversent une période de 'troubles'. Ils disent aussi que des émissaires traversent clandestinement les frontières, que la 'population de l'Est' entretient des rapports secrets avec les Kurdes de l'Iran, de

l'Irak et de la Syrie et que ses chefs ont pour but de créer une République kurde. Cédant à une habitude vieille de quarante ans et tendant à discréditer le mouvement kurde par une propagande qui ne peut plus réussir, le général et le colonel ne manquent pas d'affirmer que les chefs kurdes sont des réactionnaires, des 'contre-révolutionnaires', des religieux et des féodaux exploitant les paysans. Savez-vous, Excellence, que le mouvement kurde est un mouvement de libération nationale s'inscrivant dans le cadre des idées démocratiques et progressistes qui secouent le monde d'aujourd'hui, et que c'est plutôt votre gouvernement que l'on doit qualifier de réactionnaire tant qu'il continuera à opprimer notre peuple?

8.—A la suite de ces rapports, votre gouvernement promulga au mois d'Octobre 1960 une loi spéciale dite 'Mecburi Iskan Qanunu' (Loi sur l'établissement forcé) comme complément à une ancienne loi des années trente portant le même nom et d'après laquelle votre gouvernement s'érige le droit de transférer par la force de leurs domiciles dans les provinces orientales, en Turquie occidentale, certaines catégories de la population kurde, après avoir confisqué leurs biens. Savez-vous, Excellence, que cette 'loi' viole outrageusement la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme adoptée par l'Assemblée générale de l'ONU en Décembre 1948 et que le Comité d'Union Nationale avait proclamé de respecter?

9.—Vous avez appliqué cette loi injuste, tout d'abord à l'encontre des 280 prisonniers politiques kurdes détenus à la prison de Sivas, comme l'annonce d'ailleurs la revue turque 'Kim' du 31 Octobre dernier.

10.—Vous l'avez appliquée ensuite, comme l'a annoncé la presse mondiale, à l'encontre de 54 chefs kurdes déplacés de 'l'Est' et autorisés à emporter à l'exil seulement 100 kgs de biens chacun, tout le reste étant confisqué. Parmi les exilés se trouve un vieillard de 70 ans, M. Riza Said, qui n'est que le fils du héros national kurde Shaikh Said de Piran que le gouvernement turc avait pendu en 1925 à Diyarbakir. Le crime que vous leur reprochez est d'aboier revendiqué les droits nationaux légitimes de leur peuple.

11.—Au mois de Novembre 1960 votre gouvernement voulut mettre à la retraite anticipée 180 professeurs d'université, accusés d'être 'des communistes, des francs-maçons, des agents des bureaux d'information étrangers et travaillant pour la création d'un Kurdistan indépendant', selon les affirmations des colonels Erkazili et Arfan Salomzer et du général commandant la garnison de la ville de Tarsus. Mais votre gouvernement dut battre en retraite devant les protestations du peuple turc, et

les professeurs furent maintenus à leurs postes. Savez-vous, Excellence, que le valeureux peuple turc, à proprement parler, réprovoque dans son for intérieur les conditions d'oppression nationale frappant son ami, son compagnon d'armes et voisin qu'est le peuple kurde, tout en partageant avec lui les misères matérielles répandues dans le pays?

12.—On avait espéré que le colonel Turkes et ses 13 amis du C.U.N. seraient favorables à un Kurdistan autonome, mais ils furent écartés du pouvoir.

13.—Enfin, votre gouvernement a transféré dernièrement, de leur prison de 'Harbiyé', un groupe de 49 autres chefs politiques kurdes, pour la plupart des intellectuels, traduits devant le tribunal militaire d'Ankara, sous l'inculpation d'avoir enfreint l'article 141 de la constitution interdisant la formation d'organisations politiques, et de travailler pour la libération nationale kurde. Leur procès s'est ouvert le 3 Janvier 1961 dans le hall de l'Académie de l'Histoire de Guerre dans le plus grand secret, de façon illégale et sans la moindre garantie de défense pour les accusés. Nous avons été obligés de protester par un télégramme datant du 2 Janvier que nous nous sommes permis d'adresser à votre Excellence, et de porter la nouvelle à la connaissance de la presse mondiale.

* * *

Comme ces malheureuses conditions d'oppression nationale et de misère ne sauraient aboutir à la solution de la question nationale kurde en Turquie, comme elles sont contraires à tous les principes de droit et à la marche de l'histoire, nous nous permettons, Excellence, dans l'intérêt commun à longue échéance de la République et des deux peuples turc et kurde, de vous prier de bien vouloir saisir votre gouvernement et le Comité d'Union Nationale des réformes et projets suivants:

- (1) Rendre public le procès des 49 chefs politiques kurdes;
- (2) Libérer tous les prisonniers politiques kurdes;
- (3) Déclarer le kurde comme langue officielle de l'enseignement dans les provinces et régions orientales à majorité kurde;
- (4) Permettre les publications et la presse kurde;
- (5) Relever le niveau de vie matériel et culturel de la population du Kurdistan, dans le cadre d'un plan pour l'ensemble de la Turquie;
- (6) Unifier les provinces et régions du Kurdistan en un seul territoire et lui accorder un statut d'autonomie, dans le cadre de la République

(7) Elargir et garantir les droits démocratiques et la liberté d'expression dans l'ensemble de la Turquie;

(8) Mentionner et garantir les droits du peuple kurde de Turquie dans la constitution définitive de la République.

Nous vous prions, Monsieur le Président, d'agréer l'expression de nos très hautes considérations.

Au nom du Comité directeur de l'Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe:
le président: Ismet Chériff Vanly.

Copies a:

- Comité d'Union Nationale, Ankara;
- Union Nationale des Etudiants de Turquie, Ankara;
- Commission des Droits de l'Homme, O.N.U., New-York;
- Comité International de la Croix-Rouge, Genève;
- Union Internationale des Juristes;
- Union Fédérative des Communautés Ethniques Européennes, Danemark;
- Movement for Colonial Freedom, Londres;
- International Society Kurdistan, Amsterdam;
- S.E.M. Hammarskjöld, secrétaire général de l'O.N.U.;
- S.E.M. le Pandit Nehru, premier ministre de l'Inde;
- S.E.M. Khrouchtchev, premier ministre de l'U.R.S.S.;
- S.E.M. Kennedy, Président-élu des Etats-Unis d'Amérique;
- S.E. le général de Gaulle, Président de la République Française;
- S.E. le premier ministre de la Chine Populaire;
- S.E. M. Macmillan, premier ministre de la Grande-Bretagne;
- S.E. le premier ministre de la République populaire de Bulgarie;
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- S.E. le premier ministre de la Grèce;
- S.E.M. Sekou Touré, Président de la République de Guinée;

- S.E.M. N'Kroumah, Président de la République du Ghana;
- S.E.M. Senghor, Président de la République du Sénégal;
- S.E.M. M. Keita, Président de la République du Mali;
- S.M. le shah d'Iran;
- S.E.M. Nasser, Président de la République Arabe Unie;
- S.E. le général Kassem, premier ministre de l'Irak;
- Fédération Mondiale de la Jeunesse Démocratique, Budapest;
- Union Internationale des Etudiants, Prague;
- Conférence Internationale des Etudiants, Leiden;
- Afro-Asia, Londres;
- Fédération Pan-Chinoise des Etudiants;
- Comité des Etudiants de l' U.R.S.S.
- F.E.A.N.F., Paris;
- U.G.E.A.O., Dakar;
- Union Générale des Etudiants de la République Irakienne;
- le journal 'Khebat', organe du Parti Démocratie du Kurdistan, Irak;
- La revue 'Kurdistan', Téhéran;
- La revue 'Kurdistan', Angleterre, organe de l' Association des Etudiants Kurdes en Europe;
- La presse mondiale et divers milieux diplomatiques, culturels et étudiants.

Annex:

Notre communication No. B/567 du 8 février 1960 à la Commission des Droits de l'Homme au sujet de la situation au Kurdistan de Turquie.



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Kurdish Journals

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- LIBANON 'Roja Nu, Stêr'—ceased publication.
- SYRIA 'Hawar, Ronahi'—ceased publication.
- TURKEY Kurdish Publications are forbidden.
- U.S.S.R. Rêya Taze, Kovara Qefqasê.
- IRAN: 'Kurdistan'—a weekly journal.

KOMELEY XWÊNDIKARANÎ KURD LE EWROPA

KURDISTAN

Kurdistan is a vast mountainous country covering South-east Turkey, North-east Syria, North-east Iraq and West Iran. Its area is estimated at 200,000 square miles.

The Kurds have inhabited Kurdistan since the dawn of history. Kurdistan is divided among four Countries, viz. Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria (Northern region of U.A.R.) The Kurdish population is estimated at about 12 million, distributed as follows:—

Turkey	...	...	6,000,000
Iran	...	...	3,500,000
Iraq	...	...	2,000,000
Syria	...	...	400,000
U.S.S.R.	...	...	100,000
TOTAL			12,000,000

The Kurds constitute a nation, they possess all the features which make up a nation. They are a stable community, occupying a common territory — despite the arbitrary frontier divisions — speaking a common language, sharing a common culture, common traditions and customs, and possessing the basis for a single national economy.

The Kurds are classified, like most Europeans, as 'Aryan'. Kurdish is an Indo-European language of the Modern Iranian group.

Kurdistan is a country of peasants and cattle breeders. The country is self-sufficient agriculturally.

Minerals in Kurdistan are plentiful. They include coal, copper, iron and especially oil. The Iraqi government receives royalties of more than seventy million pounds annually from the oil extracted from the Kurdish territory.

* * * *

With the end of the First World War, the allies divided up the spoils of war. It was generally held that a Kurdish State would be set up along with others in the Middle East.

The Sevres Treaty, signed in 1920, recognized in the Articles 62, 63 and 64 the rights of the Kurdish

people to an independent and united State, but the Turkish government refused to abide by this Treaty, which was supplanted by the Lausanne Treaty in 1923, which disregarded the right of the Kurdish people to a national State.

The attitudes of the rulers of Kurdistan towards the Kurdish people have caused many bloody revolutions by the Kurds in the last 40 years. Below is a very brief account on the Kurdish National Movement since the end of First World War.

In 1925, the Kurdish people carried out their greatest national revolution in Kharpot, Kurdistan of Turkey, under the leadership of Sheik Said Pirani, demanding the right of self-determination. The Kurds achieved important military victories and approached Diarbakir which frightened the reactionary Turkish leaders, who declared general mobilization and finally the revolt was suppressed after a year's fighting.

In 1927, the Kurdish people rose once again in Agri Dag, Kurdistan of Turkey, and a Kurdish civil administration was actually established. But the Turkish armies equipped with their then modern arms carried out a massacre in Kurdistan and executed the leaders of the young Kurdish government. Nevertheless the fighting continued until 1931.

In 1930 the Iraqi government bombarded the City of Sulaimania and so murdering hundreds of peaceful civilian population.

In 1936 and 1937 Kurdish risings broke out in Dersim against the fascist measures of the Turkish rulers.

In 1943 – 1945 the Barzani revolts occurred in Kurdistan of Iraq.

In 1946 the Kurdish people achieved a great victory by establishing the Kurdish Democratic Republic of Mehabad in Kurdistan of Iran. The Persian government with outside help conspired against this Republic and suppressed it a year after its birth. Qazi Mohamed, the President, and most of the Cabinet Ministers, were executed in 1947 by Persian government.

The rulers of Kurdistan have not only done their utmost to keep Kurdistan divided, but also deprived the Kurdish people of the simplest human rights.

The Kurdish people are by far one of the most, if not the most, oppressed people in the whole world.

The Kurdish revolutions in the past have failed our people in a way, but they have proved to the rulers of Kurdistan and indeed to the world that the Kurds have no desire of giving up their nationality and that they have been and shall remain Kurds for ever. They have safeguarded their existence as a people, but they remain and still are an oppressed people, deprived in their own country of every national and cultural right; having no schools, no papers and no publications in their national language (with the exception of Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan).

Last year's *Coup d'etat* in Turkey brought a hope to us that the new regime in Turkey would turn a new leaf in Turkish history, stop calling the Kurds as mountain Turks and start a life based on equality, justice, mutual recognition and harmony among the Turkish and Kurdish nationalities in Turkey. But unfortunately the new government of Turkey followed the same bad old policies in so far as the Kurds are concerned.

On more than one occasion, General Gursel, the head of Turkish State, said that there are no Kurds in Turkey and so denying the six million people.

The Turkish government persecutes severely the Kurds who say that they are Kurds and those who even speak Kurdish in public. The Kurdish children have to tell their Turkish teachers that they are Turks before they can be allowed to attend classes.

While the Turkish government denies that there are any Kurds in Turkey, contradicts itself by announcing to the Turkish press that the trial of 49 Kurds from Eastern Turkey (Kurdistan) have begun, charged with having nationalistic ideas and their attempt of establishing a Kurdish State.

The Kurds in their hundreds, are being deported from Kurdistan of Turkey every year and are being resettled in Western parts of the country in an attempt to assimilate them; and these inhuman policies have been going on for some time. But the recent Kurdish movements have once again proved that their assimilation by force or otherwise is quite impossible.

The condition of the Kurdish people in Kurdistan of Iran is not much better than that of their brothers in Turkey.

Today's Iranian prisons are flooded with Kurdish patriots whose only guilt is to be born into a specific nationality and that they demand equality and justice. In 1960, four Kurdish patriots were sent to death by a military court in Iran, and they have been in the death cells for more than a year. There is terror and persecution in this part of our country, there is the tragic lack of health, education and welfare facilities. Kurdistan of Iran is strictly under a repressive military administration whose chief pre-occupation is combating the growing national movement there.

In United Arab Republic's region of Syria the Kurds are forbidden to study in their own language and not allowed even to possess books on Kurdish literature.

The Syrian authorities have recently imprisoned a number of Kurdish intellectuals, many of whom got long term sentences.

It is only in Iraq, the condition of the Kurdish people is somewhat better, but by no means good. Indeed they are being recognized as Kurds and the Iraqi Republic is called the 'Republic of Kurds and Arabs', but this is not enough. We do not want friendship and equality verbally, but actually action to prove them. There are many shortcomings, we hope that they will soon be remedied.

The Kurdish people shall continue the struggle for their just rights, the right to speak and study in Kurdish the right to be recognized as Kurds and the right of self-determination. Knowing our courageous Kurdish people, we feel sure that the liberation and unification of Kurdistan will ultimately be achieved.

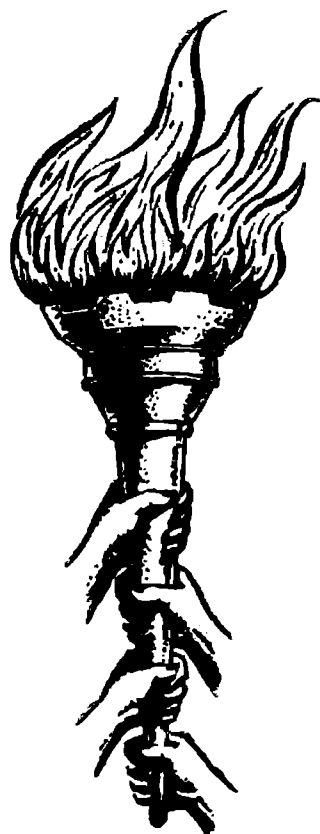
The Kurdish people extend the hands of friendship to all peoples of the world and would gladly accept and appreciate the genuine friendship and help from whatever side they might come.

Kurdish Student's Society in Europe

April 1961

Published by K.S.S.E., and printed by Coashy & Co. Ltd., Southsea.

KURDISTAN



Kurdish Students' Society in Europe

PRICE FOUR SHILLINGS

منتدى إقرأ الثقافي

KURDISTAN

Published by the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe

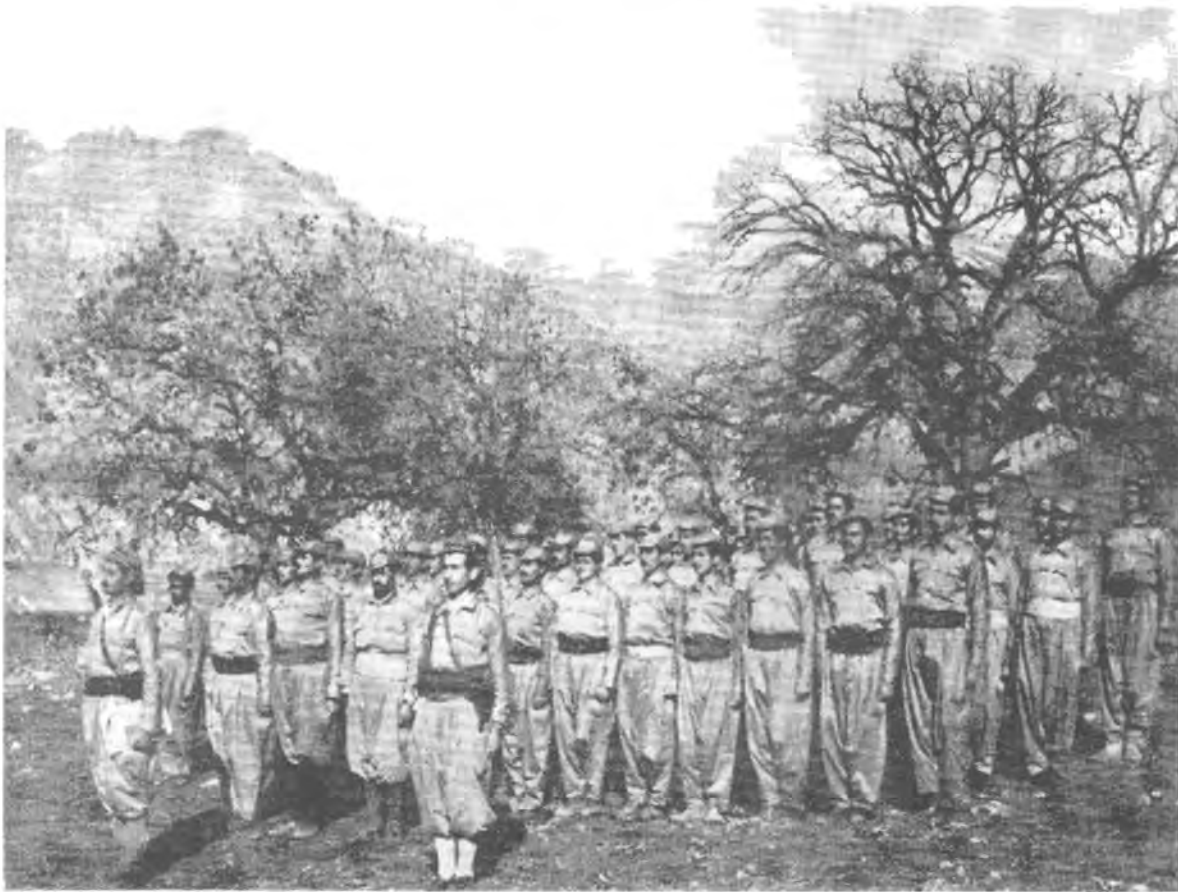
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KOMELEY XWENDIKARANÊ KURD LE EWROPA



A unit of the Kurdish Revolutionary Army.

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Opinions and statistical data submitted by individuals
do not necessarily bind the Society.

EDITORIAL

According to recent reports from Iraq, the Government has completed its plans to launch a new aggressive war, with preliminary vituperation, against the Kurdish people, (military operations commenced officially on 3rd of April). Aerial bombardment of the Kurdish towns and villages is being resumed; the familiar pattern of repressive measures is under way. Indeed this is not the first time an Iraqi regime has violently assaulted Kurdistan. It has been a salient feature of all Iraqi regimes ever since the establishment of the Iraqi state after the First World War. Southern Kurdistan was then annexed, against the wishes of its inhabitants, to this new artificial state, which came under the British mandate. Subsequently the R.A.F., on many occasions, bombarded the Kurdish area to force the Kurdish people into submission to the alien rule of Baghdad.

Since then, Iraqi administrations have come and gone but the Kurdish problem has remained unsolved. The problem consists of Kurdish demands for recognition of national and cultural rights, which are no more excessive than those enjoyed by most civilised nations. But Iraqi Governments have persistently turned a deaf ear to Kurdish aspirations, and have shown remarkable unwillingness to achieve a just solution to the problem. They have essayed various techniques of ruthless vigour to achieve their own 'Final Solution' for the Kurdish question. Fortunately until now these efforts have been in vain, due primarily to the consolidated and unbending belief of the Kurds in their just cause; hence the continuous Kurdish struggle for national liberation.

The Kurdish people supported the July 1958 Revolution from the outset, and pinned their hopes on the Republican regime for the achievement of their national rights. In fact during the first two years of the new Government considerable progress was made - at least on paper. But soon Kurdish disappointment crept in, when the whole policy was reversed. Inspired by Arab xenophobic elements and apparently satisfying his megalomaniacal instincts, General Kassim commenced a provocative and insulting campaign against the Kurds. This vile campaign reached the level of Government advocacy of a grand policy of the "Arabification" of the Kurdish people. As part of its overall plan the Government supplied a few reactionary tribes with money and arms, in order to terrorise Kurdish towns and villages. Eventually the Kurds were forced to take up arms and defend their lives, and in order to obtain the legitimate national rights.

On 11th September 1961 Kassim ordered the savage bombing of the civilian population of the Kurdish towns and villages, which was followed by a vicious attack by the Army, using all kinds of destructive modern weapons. Hundreds of women, children and old folk lost their lives. Crops were destroyed and an economic blockade was imposed to starve off the population of Kurdistan.

Kassim pronounced, optimistically in a press conference on 23rd of September, on his disillusioned campaign as follows:- "Our glorious victorious Armed Forces have been able to stamp out completely the rebellion in the North". But soon it became clear that in fact the Revolution had become more popular and widespread, in spite of repetitive gladiatorial pronouncements by the 'Sole Leader'. The Kurdish War resulted in the downfall of the Kassim regime, when, on 8th Feb. 1963, a group of Arab nationalists staged a coup d'état; taking advantage of the political

vacuum in the Arab South and the military defeats of the Iraqi Army in the battles fought with the Kurdish Army — "PESH MERGA". Fighting ceased and the new Baath Government promised to fulfil all the Kurdish demands. The Kurdish delegation began negotiations with the Government, which lasted more than three months, without reaching an acceptable formula for agreement. It became obvious to the Kurds that the Government had no genuine desire to reach any agreement, and that the Baathists were merely playing for time so that they strengthen themselves for another bout, suddenly members of the Kurdish delegation were arrested and subjected to savage torturing at the hands of the Baathists' private army — the so-called National Guard.

On the (10th June 1963), the Government announced the beginning of another attack on Kurdistan, repeating all previous methods of committing atrocities used by former Iraqi regimes. The only difference this time was that operations against the Kurds were on a wider scale than hitherto; it amounted to a war of extermination. It was a sad day for all the professed ideals of Arab nationalism, when this nationalism was extended to absorb Kurdish national rights. If the Arabs believe in the inherent right of all peoples of self-determination, how can they morally justify this kind of crude imperialism?

The Baath campaign was unprecedented in its ruthlessness, in the history of Iraq. The then Minister of Defence (Amash) had the audacity to call the savage war: "a national picnic undertaken by our troops in the North". What a picnic! The criminal regime of the Baath was toppled on 18th of Nov. 1963, when yet another military junta, led by Arif, seized power. General Amash found elsewhere to do his picnicking!

At the same time the Kurdish Revolution was making great strides towards achieving its aims—'PUSH MERGA' enjoyed the overwhelming support of the Kurdish people. Meanwhile the Government troops were in an utter state of chaos and completely demoralised. The Revolution was spreading all the time and gaining sympathy both at home and abroad. It became the focal point for Arabs as well as Kurds in order to rid Iraq of the military dictatorship. Therefore, Arif was trying desperately to stop the fighting, because of his vulnerable position. As the result of this the Government signed a cease-fire agreement with Mulla Mustapha Barzani, on 10th of Feb. 1964. This agreement was hailed by some as the beginning of a new chapter in Kurdo-Iraqi relations, and they considered it a positive step towards achieving Kurdish rights.

Subsequent events, unfortunately, proved the naivité of such wishful thinking. Arif's aim was to save his shaky regime from crumbling, and at the same time present the agreement to the general public as a final settlement for the Kurdish problem. This is born out by the behaviour of the Arif Government, which denies even the existence of a Kurdish problem. In fact this was predicted by leaders of the Kurdistan Democratic Party soon after the signing of the cease-fire, having acquired considerable experience of past Iraqi deceptive tactics.

The friendly dialogue between Barzani and the Government did not last for long. The traditional campaign, based on distortion and lies, is now revived. The economic blockade is being reimposed on Kurdistan. Vast quantities of

napalm and poisonous gas have been bought and are used daily against the Kurdish civilian population. It was reported in *The Times* (London) on March 26, 1965, that the Iraqi Government has bought 70,000 gas-masks. Therefore after more than a year of truce the situation in Kurdistan remains as explosive as ever, if not more so. This Journal would like to clarify certain aspects of the Kurdish demands.

First of all Kurdish demands are, by any criteria, very clear and reasonable. In an age when colonial peoples of the world are increasingly achieving full independence and national sovereignty, it is surely odd for the Kurdish people to be deprived of the right of self-administration and be denied the exercise of these elementary rights. The Iraqi Government refuses to recognise the Kurds as a separate nation from the Arabs, and considers both Kurds and Arabs of Iraq as being part of the greater Arab nation (Article 3 of the Constitution announced on 3rd May 1964). This is a flagrant denial of all historical truths and ethnological facts. For the Kurdish people has never been a constituent part of the Arab nation, nor of any other nation for that matter. Like all other nations, the Kurds have their exclusive national characteristics, and have inhabited their own land, Kurdistan, for thousands of years; even before the Arab migration to Mesopotamia. The Iraqi Government does not permit satisfactory education in Kurdish language for the Kurds. Obvious discrimination is practised against the Kurds in the Army, Civil Service and in schools and the university. The Government exploits the rich wealth of Kurdistan with no comparable reward to the area. Instead lethal weapons are bought to devastate Kurdistan and cripple its economy. The Government has forcibly evacuated the Kurdish population of more than 40 villages in Kirkuk and Arbil areas, and replaced them with Arab tribes, with particular expertise in looting and brigandage. The Kurds in Iraq are not only deprived of democratic and social rights, but are further denied elementary national and humanitarian rights contained in the Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Charter. For example once in Kirkuk, an entire suburb of about 500 houses, occupied by Kurdish peasants were given 24 hours to evacuate. Later, army tanks and bulldozers cut down the entire suburb. This was described by Arif as "cleaning the houses"!

Secondly Kurdish people of Iraq have always tried to gain their rights through peaceful means. But every time the government forces them to take up arms to defend their very existence. Although Iraqi Governments try hard to pin the responsibility for resumption of fighting on Kurdish shoulders. But the facts speak for themselves.

During the past year the Kurdish leaders have shown inexhaustible patience and self-control in their negotiations with the government. But the government was only procrastinating and demanded that the Kurds lay down their arms. This demand at least would have seemed reasonable, had the government fulfilled a few of its promises to the Kurds. For example, the Kurdish Army released all Iraqi prisoners, captured during the fighting, whilst more than half of Kurdish prisoners are still inside Iraqi jails, suffering from tortures and maltreatment. Moreover, these are civilian prisoners who are simply suspected of being sympathisers with the Kurdish Revolution.

Thirdly, experiences of recent years in Iraq prove that the Kurdish problem cannot be settled in isolation of the question of democracy in Iraq, and under military dictatorial regimes. Talks of finding a peaceful solution under the present regime are unrealistic and illusory. After all Arif was himself the President during the Baath regime and has never been reported to disagree with their policy towards the Kurds. On the contrary, his support was vehement and he still shows total ignorance of Kurds and Kurdistan. A government which adopts a chauvinistic Arab policy is no friend of the Kurdish people. The present regime continues a policy of blinded animosity towards the Kurds. The immediate task of all enlightened Iraqi political forces is to overthrow the present dictatorship, and replace it with a truly representative government based on national consensus and parliamentary democracy. It was the failure of these forces to co-operate with the Kurdish Revolution to overthrow Kassim, which gave the Baath ample opportunity to seize power. Lest the same mistake is repeated, all these political forces must support the Kurdish Revolution and make it the focal point for national unity. It is the only practical way to restore democracy and stability in Iraq. The natural corollary to this policy is the recognition of Kurdish people's national rights, on the basis of autonomy for Kurdistan within Iraq.

INTRODUCTION

A NATION AND A COUNTRY: Kurds and Kurdistan: Indo-European (Iranian branch) nation in west Asia; some 2500 years old. Mentioned in Xenophon's *Anabasis* (401 B.C.), divided politically between Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria; its country's area 400,000 square kilometers, mountainous, cold in winter and moderate in summer, rich in natural resources especially oil, famous for tobacco.

Population: 12 million Kurds, 6 live in Turkish Kurdistan, 3.5 in Iranian Kurdistan, 2 million in Iraqi Kurdistan, 400,000 in Syria, 100,000 in USSR (in Middle Caucasian Republics), some minorities in Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Khurasan and Lebanon, of a common history and language, forms a united geographical and national entity. In spite of long Kurdish record against foreign oppression and assimilation, especially in the last 150 years, in which they conducted many national revolutions, the Kurds in all parts of Kurdistan are still deprived

of basic political, national and even cultural rights. Latest revolution in Iraqi Kurdistan started on 11th September 1961 which is still continuing under the leadership of the (KDP) Kurdistan Democratic Party, its main principles are: a democratic parliamentary system in Iraq which guarantees an autonomous rule for Kurdistan within Iraq.

Principal Cities: Kurdistan of Turkey: Van, Bitlis, Diarbekir; Kurdistan of Iran: Mehabad, Saqiz, Senendej, Kirmanshah; Kurdistan of Iraq: Sulaimania, Arbil (Hewlêr), Koysinjak, Kirkuk, Dihok, Khaniqin; Kurdistan of Syria: Kamichlie, Amouda, Derbasi, Afrin.

The Society: Kurdish Students' Society in Europe, founded August 16, 1956 in a meeting by 17 Kurdish students studying at various universities in Europe, in Wiesbaden (FGR); had nine congresses; has branches in the following countries: UK, France, Austria, FGR, W. Berlin, GDR.

CSSR, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, USSR; has members also in the following countries: Switzerland, Italy, Rumania; its members add up to 450; publishes a magazine in English called Kurdistan; has publications in different European and eastern languages.

2— Basic Aims:

- A— Strengthen the relationship of Kurdish Students in Europe, and provide assistance in their academic problems.
- B— Facilitate mutual aid between Kurdish Students in Europe.
- C— Promote the Kurdish National Culture, and work towards the good of the Kurdish people and its national question.
- D— Enlighten the world on the culture, country and condition of the Kurdish people and its national question.
- E— Strengthen the spirit of co-operation and friendship between the Kurdish students and the students of other countries, and contact student and non-student organisations, both national and international, and co-operate with them in the scope of our mutual aims and interests.
- F— Contribute in the struggle of our people and support all peoples in the struggle against Imperialism, Reactionaries and Dictatorial Regimes, for world peace, democracy, national liberation and self-determination.

Headquarters: W. Berlin.

General Secretary: Saadi Amin Dizayee
1 Berlin 15
Xantener Str. 16
Tel. 901070

Kurdish Political Parties:

- KDP Iran (founded in Mehabad on Oct. 25 1945)
- KDP Iraq (founded in Sulaimania on Aug. 16 1946)
- Kurdish democratic Party in Syria (founded in the middle of 1958)

Kurdish Organisations:

- Kurdistan Union of Students — Iraq (founded in 1953)
- Kurdish Students' Union in Syria (founded in 1963)
- Kurdish Students' Society in Europe (founded in 1956)
- Kurdish Students' Organisation in USA (founded in 1962)
- Committee for the Defence of the Kurdish People's rights, (founded in 1961).
- Kurdistan Union of Democratic Youth — Iraq (founded in 1957)
- Kurdistan Union of Democratic Women — Iraq (founded in 1958)
- Kurdistan Union of Teachers — Iraq (founded in 1962)

Kurdish Papers and Magazines:

The first Kurdish weekly literary paper was published in 1897 in Istanbul, by Madhat Bedir-Khan named Kurd-

istan, Kurmanji dialect, it was transferred to Cairo and back to Istanbul when the Ottoman Constitution was declared, ceased publication in 1916.

After this about 100 more papers and magazines were published which have either, ceased publication or banned from publication of which we mention:

- Rojî Kurd (Istanbul 1911-13)
- Bangi Kurd (Baghdad 1913)
- Pêşkewtin (Sulaimania 1919-1922)
- Bangi Kurdistan (Baghdad 1925-1926)
- Zarî Kurmancî (Rawanduz 1926-32)
- Jîn (Sulaimania 26, 1, 39 - 8, 2, 1963)
- Dengi Getî i Taze (Baghdad 1943-48)
- Hawar (Damascus 1932, Latin Scripts)
- Gelawêj (Baghdad 1939-1949)
- Ronahî (Damascus 1941-1946, Latin Scripts)
- Kurdistan (Mehabad 1946)
- Nîştîman (Mehabad 1943-1945)
- Rojanû (Beyrouth 1943-46, Latin Scripts)
- Stêr (Beyrouth 1943-45)
- Nîzar (Baghdad 1948-49)
- Hîwa (Baghdad July 1957 - April 1962)
- Xebat (Baghdad 1959-61)
- Blêse (Sulaimani Aug. 1959 - May 1960)
- Rojî Nwê (Sulaimani April 1960 - Aug. 1961)
- Ronahî (Baghdad Oct. 1960 - May 1961)
- Kurdistan (Tehran May 1960 - May 1963)

The only legal kurdish paper now is Riya Taze in Kurmanji Dialect, Syrillic Scripts which appears since 1943 in Yerevan. The following papers appear secretly now: **Xebat** (of KDP Iraq), last issue, No. 473 of Jan. 1964, in Arabic and Kurdish; **Rîzgarî Kurdistan** (of KDP Iraq — Sulaimania Branch), last issue, No. 4, first year, Dec. 1963; **Dengi Kurd** of (KDP in Syria), last issue received in Europe was No. 8 of March 1964 in Kurmanji dialect and latin scripts.

Since first World War One (1918), more than 1000 books and pamphlets have been published in Kurdish in latin and arabic scripts, of 8-700 pages in volume. 75% of these appeared in Iraq.

Kurdish Broadcasting Services (Run by the states, where Kurds live)

- Baghdad — Iraq.
- Kirmanshah — Iran.
- Yerevan — Armenia — USSR.

Also the secret broadcasting stations, Paiki Iran and The Voice of the Iraqi people have Kurdish programs.

Famous Kurdish Dictionaries:

- Raber, Arabic-Kurdish, by Giu Mukiryani, Arbil 1950.
- Farhangi Mardukh, Kurdish-Persian-Arabic, by Ayetulla Muhamed Mardukh Kurdistani, Tehran 1955.
- Farizov, I.O.: Russko — Kurdish, Slovar — Moskva 1957.
- Kurdoyev, K.K.: Kurdsko — Russki, Slovar — Moskva 1960.
- Farhangi Khal, Kurdish-Kurdish, by Sheikh Muhamed Khal, first and second volumes only, Sulaimania 1960, 1964.
- Farhangi Mehabad, Kurdish-Arabic, by Giu Mukiryani, Arbil 1961.
- Kurdish-English dictionary — T. Wahby and C. J. Edmonds — under publication.

NATURAL RESOURCES OF IRAQI KURDISTAN

I. PETROL

Found in abundance in 3 Kurdish Regions: Kirkuk, Ain Zala and Khanakin.

II. IRON DEPOSITS

There exist two very rich deposits of iron, one in the region of Sulaimania; the other in the region of Rawanduz. These deposits are not only very rich in iron mineral, but also very easily exploitable.

In effect, the firm STE INVESTIGATION, after two years of research and digging, concluded it is possible to make:

1. An extraction installation can be built and the transport between Sulaimania and the deposit will be assured by cable car.
2. The installation of crushing and concentration of minerals.
This mineral could be:
 - exported
 - furnished to an independent steel mill
 The procedure employed is: Krupp-Rennes.

III. NATURAL GAS

Very important wells of natural gas exist in the region of Chamchamal.

This gas does NOT contain sulphur. Consequently, it is very easy to exploit. The existence of this gas can give birth to very important industries. For example:

- Gas Chemical Industries
- Synthetic Fertilizers
- Electric Power

Consequently, the region of Silaimanieh can become a very important industrial centre, thanks to the existence of natural gas and iron deposits found to be abundant.

IV. ELECTRICAL ENERGY

An important electric power centre can be established in the region of Chamchamal. Such a centre is very important, as it will assure an independent electric system from that in the Arab section of Iraq.

Actually, the two large dams of Derbendikhan and Dokan are used for irrigation and water regulation purposes; but during the construction of these dams, it was foreseen that turbines can be installed, and consequently, electric centres created. In that way, the Kurdistan of Iraq can get power from three important, large electric centres.

V. CEMENT

The region of Sulaimania is also very rich in limestone "limestone and Krupp". For the time being, there is a cement factory in the region using this limestone — that is, the cement of Sarchinar.

VI. SUGAR REFINING

In one of the Plains of Sulaimania, attempts were made to grow sugar beets. These showed the earth was favourable for this, and the yield per acre is very high. Everything is now ready for the installation of a sugar refinery.

VII. TEXTILE INDUSTRY

On the Plain of Mosul, there is sufficient cotton production to install an important textile industry.

Taking also into consideration that Kurdistan is an important area for sheep raising, a wool industry can be developed.

VIII. TOBACCO

A very important tobacco culture of very high quality grows in Kurdistan. Using modern methods, cigarettes of high quality can be exported.

IX. SOUDE CAUSTIQUE ET CLORE

(CAUSTIC SODA AND CHLORINE)

In the Kirkuk region, there is a deposit of salt important enough for the establishment of a factory for Soude Caustique et Chlore (Caustic Soda and Chlorine).

X. CHROME

There are strong possibilities of finding chrome deep in the ground which would be the continuation of the chrome mines in Turkish Kurdistan.

XI. MARBLE

It exists in every corner of Kurdistan.

XII. MILK PRODUCTS

As Kurdistan is an important sheep-raising country, an important milk industry can be established.

(Report extracted from the studies of the Development Board of Iraq which is composed of English, American and French Engineers).

"10th Anniversary of KSSE"

"10th anniversary of KSSE" All members: Come celebrate, come rejoice, at the 10th anniversary congress of our society. It will be held in West Berlin from 17th to 23rd August, 1965. Kurdish students in Europe: Through the KSSE you have all done a magnificent job for our nation. Let us continue this, let us be as always the shrill voice of our nation abroad, let us meet in West Berlin.

FOCUS ON KSSE

THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF THE NINTH CONGRESS OF THE KURDISH STUDENTS SOCIETY IN EUROPE:

The Ninth Congress of KSSE was held in Hannover — FGR — from 3 - 9 August 1964 under the slogan:

"down with military dictatorship, up with the democratic parliamentary system".

The Congress was attended by (183) Kurdish students studying at various universities in Europe, representing the following branches: United Kingdom, France, Austria, Federal German Republic, West Berlin, German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary, USSR, the congress was also attended by delegates from Rumania and Italy.

At the same time, messages and telegrams were received from members who could not attend because of their difficult circumstances.

The congress commenced with the Kurdish National Hymn (Ey reqib her mawe qewmi Kurd ziman) on the 3rd of August, 1964, at 5 p.m. in (Haus Humanitas); afterwards, all the participants stood for one minute in memory of the Martyrs of the Kurdistan Revolution in Iraqi Kurdistan.

formed by various branches of the society. A band then played and the guests danced till early hours of the morning.

The Congress's sittings continued up to the 9th of August; in these sittings the Executive report, the finance and the branch reports were discussed.

The Congress passed important resolutions concerning the situation in Iraqi Kurdistan, it condemned the Provisional Constitution and the government's decision to establish a single political party (The Arab Socialist Union). It, also, condemned the conspiratorial collaboration of the Iraqi Government and the reactionaries to split the Kurdish national liberation Movement.

The Congress urged Mustafa Barzani not to deviate from the basic principles of the Kurdish revolution and to resolve his differences with the other leaders of the revolution in order to secure the lawful national rights of the Kurdish People.

The Congress declared its full support with the memorandum presented by the Kurdistan Democratic Party, on 3-6-64, to the Iraqi Prime Minister concerning the national and democratic rights of the Kurdish People. It also declared its support with the memorandum presented,



CSSR Branch in a demonstration

The Congress was then addressed by the President who began with welcoming the guests and then gave an account of the political situation in Kurdistan; this was followed by speeches from the guests among whom were: Mrs. Maria Fox (the mayoress of the city of Braunschweig), Mr. Mohamed Mahdi Al-Jawahiri, the great Arab poet, Mr. Nouri Shawais, a member of the political bureau of KDP in Iraq, and Mr. Michael Steadman, representative of the International Union of Students.

On 7. 8. 1964 a "Kurdish Evening" was arranged and hundreds of guests were present. The program included a lecture on Kurdistan with the aid of some colourful slides, then Kurdish dances, music and songs were per-

formed on 1-6-64, by Mr. Kamil Chadirchi, leader of the National Democratic Party, concerning the Provisional Constitution.

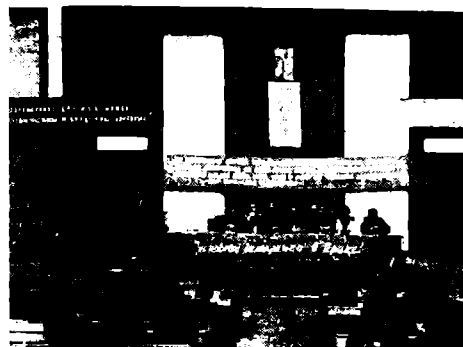
The congress showed its appreciation and gratitude to the world public opinion, national and international organisations and personalities who supported the just rights of the Kurdish People and condemned all atrocities committed against our nation.

The congress strongly condemned the hostile policy of the Baathist regime in Damascus against our people. It, simultaneously demanded the release of all Kurdish political prisoners in Syria, Turkey and Iran.

The congress received telegrams and letters of greet-



U.K. Branch students in Belfast University



USSR Branch Annual meeting

ings from many organisations of whom we mention the following: The Kurdish Students Organisation in the USA, WFDY, COSEC and ISC. (The Telegram of ISC).

TELEGRAMS:

SECRETARIAT REGRETS IMPOSSIBLE ATTEND
NINTH CONGRESS OF KURDISH STUDENTS IN
EUROPE DUE TO PRIOR COMMITMENTS STOP
BEST WISHES FOR MOST SUCSESFUL MEETING
STOP ISC DEEPLY INTERESTED IN CONDITIONS
OF STUDENTS STUDYING OVERSEAS AND LOOKS
FORWARD TO COOPERATION WITH YOU STOP
PLEASE SEND RESULTS OF YOUR CONGRES
REGARDS = INTERNATIONAL STUDENT CON-
FERENCE SECRTARIAT + + + COL 22 +

A number of journalists and distinguished guests were present at the Congress. Amendments were made to the original constitution; many recommendations and resolutions were adopted by the congress. These were followed, finally, by the election of the new General Executive Committee.

In the morning of 9-8-64 the Congress ended with the Kurdish National Hymn. Then the students congratulated each other for their most successful congress and promised their firm determination in fulfilling their duties towards the Society and our Kurdish Nation.

The Executive Bureau
Hannover 10-8-1964.



Demonstration in Prague

P.S.

The first meeting of the new executive committee was held on the 9th of August, 1964, where the president, the vice-president, the general secretary, the general treasurer, the editor of Kurdistan and the executive bureau were elected.

ACTIVITIES OF THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A four-man delegation, formed of the General Secretary, two members of GEC and a reserve member of KSSE, attended the World Forum of Solidarity of Youth and Students in the Fight for National Independence and Liberation, for peace, held in Moscow from 16-24 September 1964. At the Forum our delegation gave a full report on Kurdistan and sent a petition to the Iraqi Gov-

ernment signed by 83 delegations. A Resolution was also adopted on the Kurdish Question. Our delegation later on was invited for a week-visit to the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan where they spent an unforgettable week.

A three-man delegation formed of the General Secretary, the vice-president and a reserve member, of KSSE attended the 8th Congress of the International Union of Students, held in Sofia, Bulgaria, from November 28th to December 7th, 1964. At the Congress our delegation presented a report on the political situation in Kurdistan supported by a document, which were distributed among the delegates. A resolution was adopted in support of the struggle of the Kurdish people and a telegram was sent to the Turkish Government to release Kurdish political prisoners. The Kurdish Students Society was accepted unanimously as a full-member of the IUS.

A delegation formed of the president, the vice-president, secretary of GDR Branch of KSSE attended the World Youth Conference, held in Berlin-GDR on 12-13th August 1964, for the 50th Anniversary of the First World War and 25th Anniversary of the Second World War. A speech was given on behalf of KSSE and contacts were made with many delegations attending the Conference.

A delegate from the General Executive Committee of KSSE attended the International Conference for Amnesty for the political prisoners in Iraq, held in London on 6-7th February, 1965. A report on the situation of the Kurdish political prisoners, was presented to the Conference together with other documents concerning the situation in Iraqi Kurdistan. A petition was also sent to Arif, president of Iraq, signed by all the delegates attend-

ing the Conference. Our delegate also participated in the meetings of the International Continuing Committee formed by the Conference.

Based on a resolution by the 9th Congress of KSSE, the president of the Society together with the Secretary of the Committee for the Defence of the Kurdish people's rights, were sent to Iraqi Kurdistan in order to mediate and preserve the national Unity of the Revolution and to elaborate to the members of our Society the real facts about the situation of the Revolution in Iraqi Kurdistan. They held many meetings with the delegates of the political-bureau of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, Mulla Mustafa Barzani and many others.

At the first meeting of the Command Council of the Kurdish Revolution, held in Boskin on 9th October 1964; the president of the Society gave a speech, in presence of Mulla Mustafa Barzani, in which he emphasized on the Unity of the Revolution and the preservation of the right of the Kurdish people to autonomy. He also said that division can only benefit the enemies of the revolution and made clear our Society's stand regarding the difficulties between the leaders of the revolution as expressed at the 9th Congress.

In mid-December the president came back to Europe.

— The GEC had many publications in different languages since the 9th Congress.

— It published the third issue of (Hêvya Welêt) a Magazine that is published in the Northern Kermanji dialect under the directorship of the GEC.



Demonstration in London



Activities of the Branches

- Since the ninth Congress, the following branches have held their annual meetings, in which their matters were discussed and new executives were elected: U.K., Austria, FGR, W. Berlin, GDR, ČSSR, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, USSR.
- On 10 Feb. 1965, our branches in ČSSR and USSR in collaboration with the Iraqi students in these countries held meetings. After a year had passed of the cease-fire agreement, in which they condemned the Iraqi Government in not recognising the rights of the Kurdish people. Petitions were delivered to the Iraqi Embassies in these two countries where they blamed the Iraqi government for the renewal of war in Kurdistan.
- Our branches in U.K., FGR, GDR, ČSSR, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, USSR, France and

Austria organised Newroz celebrations presenting Kurdish activities to European audiences e.g. dances, lectures, music...

- With deep gratitude we mention the aid the Iraqi Students have given to their Kurdish colleagues in the USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, ČSSR, and GDR.
- We are glad to report that our branch's celebration in the ČSSR was attended by the well-known Iraqi democrat Muhammad Mahdi Al-Jawahiri and Dr. Faisal El-Samir. The great Arab poet Al-Al-Jawahiri gave a very outstanding speech in which he saluted the struggle of the Kurdish people under the heroic leadership of the Kurdistan Democratic Party.
- The GDR branch of our society is publishing a magazine in Kurdish and Arabic called (the Voice of the Kurdish Youth).

The General Secretary Addresses the IUS 8th Congress

The K.S.S.E.'s General Secretary in long speech gave a vivid account of the present situation in Kurdistan and the history of the Kurdish people and students struggle in all parts of Kurdistan. He then concentrated on Iraqi Kurdistan and said

"...The Iraqi Revolution of 1958 which abolished the monarchy, got rid of the rotten Nuri Said gang and made Iraq a Republic, with the popular support of both Arabs and Kurds, greatly changed the face of the entire Middle East. For a while democratic liberties were restored to the people. A provisional constitution recognised in Article 3 the bi-national character of the republic in the form of an Arab-Kurdish association which allowed equal national rights to the two principal nationalities whilst respecting the rights of minorities. But, unfortunately, this state of affairs did not last very long. General Kassem, the then Prime Minister of Iraq not only deviated from the principles of the July Revolution, but also chose the way of personal and arbitrary dictatorial tyranny, betraying the hopes that had been nourished on the basis of these principles. He strangled democratic liberties and paved the way for the reactionary elements and imperialist agents in their activities against the young republic, while the Iraqi prisons were overflowing with democrats, men and women, Arabs and Kurds alike. But Kassem went further still when he attacked Kurdistan on September 9th 1961. He tried to terrorise the Kurdish people by systematic air and heavy artillery attacks. But in reality, Kassem was condemning his own regime to death. It was Kassem's policy and his stubbornness which threw the country into the hands of a group of fanatic Arab nationalists and fascist Baathists, and so a new era began. On the dark morning of February 8th 1963 this group in a successful coup d'état overthrew Kassem and raised to power Colonel Abdul Salam Arif at the head of a Baathist government. It would not only be too long, but also unpleasant to give an account of the crimes committed by the Ba'athists against the Iraqi people. However the day (June 10 1963) they declared the war of extermination on the Kurdish people was the beginning of their miserable end. Almost the whole of the Iraqi forces together with units of the Syrian army and Ba'athist national guards were let loose in Kurdistan burning-destroying villages, killing and hunting down men, women and children with machine guns as they marched. But the Kurdish Revolutionary Armed forces heroically resisted the aggressors and taught them a lesson they were never to forget.

The Kurdish cause soon won the support of democrats in Iraq and indeed throughout the world. They all condemned the inhuman action of the Ba'athists against the Iraqi people as a whole and the Kurds in particular. They all supported the moderate Kurdish demands and found them reasonable. Here I must thank the IUS for its stand regarding the question of the people and their armed struggle in Iraqi Kurdistan."

Our general secretary after explaining, in details, the main aims of the revolution (i.e. to establish democracy and parliamentary system in Iraq; and autonomy for Iraqi Kurdistan within the framework of the Iraqi Republic), went on to say

"...The Kurds have always wanted a peaceful solution to the whole question. They were always ready to negotiate, if Baghdad had wished it, within the Kurdish movement, there are no tendencies whatsoever other than willingness for a peaceful settlement. But the Kurds are prepared to go to war and fight if they have to.

In February of this year, a cease-fire agreement between the Iraqi government and the Kurds was signed. Here it must be pointed out that at the time of signing this agreement all of Iraqi Kurdistan, except three cities, was under the direct control of the Kurds. And although the hands of President Arif were still red with the blood of Kurds and Arabs in Iraq, the Kurds proved their goodwill and showed their desire to put an end to bloodshed and expressed their readiness for negotiation.

By now a period of almost ten months has passed since the cease-fire agreement was signed during which the Arif regime has showed not the slightest desire to negotiate for a just and peaceful solution. And despite the fact that there is no governmental authority existing in Iraqi Kurdistan, the responsible officials in Baghdad stubbornly declare on numerous occasions that the Kurdish movement has been crushed and their problem has been solved. During the last ten months the Iraqi government has not only showed unwillingness to solve the Kurdish question justly, but has also made many provocations. A provisional constitution was drawn up which denied the Kurds their very existence let alone their national rights. It did not even measure up to the previous constitution despite the latter's many shortcomings. The government or rather Arif himself, has made and is still making attempts to institute complete Union with the United Arab Republic without first giving any logical consideration to the countless problems existing in Iraq or without even taking into consideration the opinion of the Kurds who constitute one-third of the Iraqi people. We must stress that we, Kurds, are not at all against the Union of Arab States; on the contrary, we support all efforts on the part of the Arab leaders to unite them on the basis of democracy and the good of the Arab nation. On the other hand we neither can nor will support any form of Union aimed at the violation of Kurdish national rights. And I am sure you agree that the events of the last three years have proved beyond any shadow of a doubt that the Kurds and their Revolutionary Armed forces cannot be ignored.

The Iraqi regime is also trying to impose a single "Arab socialist Union" upon the bi-national Iraqi people, and thus to deny the Kurds and the many democratic forces in Iraq their freedom of expression.

We believe that the Iraqi government, by any standards, is a reactionary military dictatorship whose problem is how to stay in power and not how to govern. Thousands of Iraqi democrats are still in prison, many facing death sentence and persecution. The Arif regime is even trying to terrorise, in vain of course, the Iraqi nationals abroad by withdrawing their passports or denying them Iraqi nationality. President Arif's mentality of governing or what he calls "social reforms" does not belong to this century and probably not to the last one, either..."

TO ALL MEMBERS

Keep in touch with our students in U.S.A., support and follow the activities of the "Kurdish Students Organisation in U.S.A.". Subscribe to their informative Magazine "The Kurdish Journal".

Address: **The Kurdish Journal**
1216 Martle Ave. No. 201,
Takoma Park, Maryland 20012

KSSE JOINS THE IUS:

More than a score of applications for the IUS membership, full and associate, were considered by the 8th Congress in Sofia. Our society was accepted unanimously and the head of our delegation thanked the Congress participants for the unanimous vote and praised the IUS for its stand regarding the Kurdish people's struggle. He went on to say: "The news of KSSE's membership to the IUS will be received by our members all over Europe, by

the Kurdish students in all parts of Kurdistan and by the students who are members of the revolutionary armed forces in Iraqi Kurdistan, with great enthusiasm and satisfaction". He then talked about the role of the students in the struggle for national liberation and asked for Unity of the world students and concluded by saying, "There might be, among us, differences of opinion on some minor issues or even major issues, but there are ample reasons and enough points of agreement to work together shoulder to shoulder for a better future".



Our delegation at I.U.S. Congress



CSSR Branch in May day march

"LIGHT ON THE SECRET WAR IN IRAQ"

"Iraqi Army of 50,000 and Air Force renew their War
of Extermination against the Kurds"

NEWS BACK-GROUND:

— In September 1961, the Kurds ultimately had to conduct a revolution against Kassim's continuous refusal to recognise Kurdish national and democratic rights. And because of Kassim's declaration of an aggressive war against them.

— In February 1962 Kassim's regime was overthrown by the Baath Party. And a cease-fire was initiated by the Kurds, negotiations continued up to 10th June, when the government suddenly declared a war of extermination against the Kurdish people and the negotiating delegation was imprisoned and tortured. The war was waged in a most ruthless manner and was deplored by every democratically minded person and peace-loving nations of the world.

— The Baath was overthrown on November 18, 1963 by Arif and other nationalists.

— A cease-fire agreement was declared with the government, and some negotiations took place in May 1964.

— The Kurdistan Democratic Party presented the government with a memorandum in June 1964, clarifying the demands of the Kurdish revolutions, as a step for further negotiations. But no reply was received from the government.

— On 11th October 1964, the Kurds presented the

government with another memorandum which received no reply as well.

— The government sent recommendations of the Iraqi Intelligence Service, for the solution of the Kurdish problem, to the Kurdish Minister Masoud Mohamed to take to the leaders of the Kurdish revolution.

— On 27-10-64, the Kurds replied to the Prime Minister, Tahir Yahya, demanding negotiations and the fulfilment of the rights of the Kurdish people as mentioned in the memorandum of 11-10-64. Again there was no reply but a letter was sent to the Kurdish minister, by the Prime Minister, full of threats. (On 31-10-64). This letter was sent to the Kurdish leaders, where they replied on 27-11-64, stressing, again, for negotiations.

— The Iraqi Interior Minister, who went to check certain military divisions in Kurdistan, was supposed to meet the Kurdish leaders and discuss matters. But he did not go. Instead he sent a letter on 2-12-64.

— On 6-12-64, the Kurdish leaders replied stressing again for peace and negotiations.

— In the beginning of January 1965, a Kurdish delegation went to Baghdad for negotiations. But on 21-1-65, the Iraqi Cabinet refused all the Kurdish demands. And the delegation returned to Kurdistan.

— On 10-2-65, The Kurdish people declared a general strike in Kurdistan, as a protest against the govern-

ment and because one year had passed on the cease-fire agreement without any achievements.

— From the beginning of March, the government has been massing troops around Kurdistan for a new onslaught. And verbal attacks have started since then in the papers and the broadcasting service.

THE WAR IN THE IRAQI KURDISTAN

For the past few months, since 4th April last to be specific, there have been persistent rumours and press reports that the Baghdad Government's war against the Kurdish People in Iraq has been renewed. The fact is that the press reports are correct and matters have gone beyond rumours. Iraqi Government troops, some 40,000 strong — that is the bulk of the Iraqi Army — supported by the the Iraqi Air force have, in fact, renewed land and air attacks against the Kurdish People in a further futile attempt to subdue the legitimate aspirations of the Kurds to self-rule within the Republic of Iraq, by ruthless means and barbaric attacks with modern weapons of mass destruction.



The Iraqi Air force leaves its trace in a Kurdish village

The responsibility for this unnecessary war lies entirely with the Iraqi Government. The Kurdish people and the Kurdish leaders have made their desire for peace and a peaceful solution abundantly clear. During the truce period which lasted from 10th Feb., 1964 to early April, 1965 (though the Iraqi authorities do not publicly admit that they have broken the truce) the Kurdish leaders went more than half way to find a peaceful solution, and with reasonable good will from the other side it could have been found. In fact the Kurds went so far to water down their original demands, which even in their extreme form are no more than the justified wish of a people for self rule, in order to make it easier for the Baghdad Government to see reason and come to terms and also to prove their peaceful intentions. But the Government refused even to consider seriously any of the Kurdish proposals. In fact it was at this time making military preparations for a new attack. It bought aeroplanes, guns, Napalm and gas bombs. (One consignment of these bombs was valued at £2.5 million). It also bought 70,000 gas masks and even 2 million sand bags which were urgently imported for war purposes.

The Government in Baghdad is quite obviously a military dictatorship which has no regard for the interests and rights either of the Kurdish people, or of the Iraqi in general, and that being its nature it is heading for a war of extermination against the Kurds. This military dictator-

ship refuses to see reason. If it did, a peaceful solution could easily have been found. It has purchased very modern weapons fully realising the horrors these can inflict on a helpless people.

The vilest fact about the Iraqi Government's war against the Kurds is that it is conducted in secrecy, that is without any public declaration or official confirmation of it. The Government thinks it can go on killing, burning and destroying in Kurdistan without World Public Opinion and the community of states knowing about these dreadful deeds. This, of course, is wishful thinking by criminally minded individuals, for the World is aware of what is happening in Iraq.

Against this background, we appeal to all decent people who want peace, who respect human rights, who abhor fascist methods of repression and who are friends of the Kurdish people, to do all they can to prevent arms of all kinds being delivered to the Iraqi regime and to prevent its officers and military personnel from being trained in various methods of war fare by different countries who have no reason to help dictatorship against a people demanding no more than minimum rights.

IS IT NOT HIGH TIME TO PUT AN END TO THIS WAR?



A wounded boy

POISON GAS TOO, MARSHAL ARIF?

According to the Associated Press, on the 12th of March from Beirut and London, the Iraqi Government has purchased 70,000 gas masks. The troops are now trained to use P. Gas against the Kurds. It continues that the government "has massed its only five divisions (40,00) around the Kurdish area ready for a new onslaught".

"Ed. The massing of 40,000 troops, around Kurdistan was reported by the following papers):

a — Lisan Al-Hal — Beirut — (14/3/65)

b — B.B.C. (Arabic) — London — (13/3/65)

c — Daily Express — London — (11/3/65)

d — Daily Telegraph — London — (13/3/65)

— (Also United Press and some of them even reported that bombing has taken place and that president Arif has given orders "to settle the Kurdish problem once and for all".

IRAQ'S DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL SOCIALISM!!!

Iraq's Revenues (in Royalties) from petroleum only for the year 1964 was (£165) millions, the petrol which is

being extracted from wells in Kurdistan. During that year sum of £3 millions was spent in Kurdistan, a third of the country, not on development programmes, but to strengthen its military positions by repairing posts or building new ones.

And we hear every now and then, that the government has allocated an amount of (£10) million to be spent on compensation to the Kurds and for development programmes. But that was false as well, especially that the government is preparing for a war of extermination against the Kurds and has again applied an economic blockade on Kurdistan.

This is Arif's democracy, socialism and equality!

Bearing in mind that the government has carried none of its obligations as demanded by the cease-fire agreement of 10-2-64, when Kurdish prisoners are not released, compensation has not been paid to the victims of the war, the Kurds who were thrown out of their villages in Kirkuk and Arbil areas which were occupied by Arab tribes at the time of the Baath regime (1963), have not been yet allowed to return to their villages, Kurdish Civil Servants and students who were dismissed and expelled from their Universities because of the Kurdish revolution are still not returned. And finally, above all, it refused to recognise the national rights of the Kurdish people.

The Government papers and propaganda machines have started a vicious attack on the Kurdish people and their just demands to autonomy since 1-3-1965. If it denotes anything, it is a downright denial of people's just rights and it represents a policy of discrimination which violates Iraq's obligations and commitments under the declaration of 1926 with Great Britain, the mandatory power, when the vilayat of Mosul was attached to Iraq. And the parliamentary declaration of 5th May 1932 when Iraq was accepted as a member in the League of Nations. Also Arif's declaration of 10th February 1964 when the cease-fire agreement was achieved, in which he declared that "we recognise the national rights of the Kurdish people within the national Unity of Iraq".

Arif's Government is pursuing a policy of Arab Mastership above other nationalities in Iraq. And Fascist cries are heard in its propaganda machines to Arabise and assimilate the Kurds and "solve" the Kurdish Question "once and for all" (i.e. exterminate them).



Partisans in training

PRESS REPORTS ON THE WAR IN IRAQI KURDISTAN

The Times, Jan 23rd 65:

The Baghdad government had not observed the terms of the cease-fire and had used force to drive some Kurd peasants from their villages... The Kurds did not want war and would never start it but would continue building their autonomy and their own administration. They hoped friendly countries and the United Nations would intervene in time to prevent another war and all powers would refrain from delivering arms to Iraq until the Kurdish problem was solved.

The Times, 26th March 1965:

Reports in the Middle East that large numbers of gas masks have been bought by the Iraqi Government are now given full credence by travellers from Baghdad... The belief is that these purchases may be connected with an imminent offensive by the Baghdad Government against the Kurds in northern Iraq.

The Observer, April 4th 1965:

After a year of truce, President Arif of Iraq is about to make another attempt to settle the Kurdish problem by force... The Kurdish nationalists have been fighting since 1961 to secure some kind of self-government for nearly 2 million Kurds living in the North of Iraq. By the time of the 1964 cease-fire they had wrested control of most of their area from Baghdad. The government retained power only in the larger towns and along main roads.

Daily Telegraph, April 21st:

According to some reports, the Iraqi Air force has begun using Napalm against Kurdish strongholds... Brig. Abdul Razzak the air force commander announced today that he had received new planes and would be receiving others.



Ready for the aggressors

The Sunday Times, 16th May 1965:

A total news blackout has been imposed on the third attempt by the Iraqi Government in five years to achieve a military solution to the country's chronic Kurdish problem. The mere use of the word Kurdish in a telegram I received while in Baghdad was enough to have me summoned by the Baghdad military censor to explain its meaning. Since the Iraqi army went into action again during the first week of April, Mig and Hawker Hunters of the Iraqi

airforce have been bombing and strafing Kurdish villages and most recent reports say 20 of them have been flattened around Erbil and Mousil... However early this week it decided to arrest about 30 leading Kurds in Baghdad including several noted for their moderation...

The Daily Telegraph, 4th May 1965:

Two months ago, in a bid to avert a new war in the north, Mustapha (Barzani) put forward new and suprisingly moderate proposals dropping demands for a share of the oil revenue and the creation of a separate Kurdish province. He requested merely the teaching of Kurdish as the official language in Kurdish areas, the employment of Kurdish officials instead of Arabs, and permission to maintain a small standing army of 3,000 for a transition period of 2 years... Incredibly, the Arif regime chose to interpret these new proposals as a sign of Kurdish weakness, rejected them and moved the bulk of the Iraqi army, 40,000 troops, up north with the hope of intimidating the Kurds...

Although large-scale military operations and air strafing have now been going on in northern Iraq for a month Baghdad is still trying to maintain a news blackout (as far as official spokesmen are concerned not a shot has been fired). But as casualties and coffins arrive back in the capital a total clampdown of official news is rebounding on the government....



Partisans on Guard

The Guardian, 8th May 1965:

Heavy fighting has broken out between Iraqi troops and Kurdistan rebels with heavy losses on both sides, according to reports reaching Beirut... The failure of this attack provoked an Iraqi attack on Kurdish civilians in Sulaimania on Apr. 28th in which a large number of Kurds were killed or wounded B.U.P.

Le Monde, 14th May 1965:

On the 5th of April five Iraqi divisions mounted an attack on the Kurdish mountains under the control of Gen. Barzani's troops. Two days earlier tanks occupied the streets of Sulaimania, the heart of the Kurdish National Movement, intimidating people on every side. The Government of Baghdad thus brought an end without warning to the truce of Feb. 1964, it is the third time in four years the official Arab authorities unleashed a military offensive in order to dislodge the autonomy demanding Kurds from their positions.

Contrary to his predecessors, Marshal Arif did not consider it wise to announce that fighting had begun again Baghdad radio was very discreet, the Iraqi press wild

denouncing the Barzani bandits and the separatists did not utter a word about the movement of the troops and the bombings from the air in the north of the country, every thing taking place as if the government was wary of criticism by world opinion, and they hoped to win under the greatest secrecy what must be called, a war.

The experiment did however show even if it is impossible for the Kurdish Nationalists to win decisive victories on the battlefield over the central government, the latter itself is not in a position to dislodge the Kurdish fighters from the territory over which they have almost total control over the population.

Two successive regimes both Gen. Kassim and the Baathists were forced to withdraw after being exhausted by a useless fighting. The former Baathist leaders had thought that the success was due to special military plans, but neither the destruction with Napalm of hundreds of Kurdish villages nor the massive bombardments could not put an end to Kurdish resistance...

The Daily Telegraph, 3rd May 1965

IRAQI REGIME'S SURVIVAL HANGS IN BALANCE

President Arif's regime in Iraq is facing a crisis as casualties from the war against the Kurds in the North begin to fill up Baghdad hospitals. The possibility of the Government's downfall is being openly discussed in streets and coffee shops.



Economic stagnation, anti-Egyptian resentment and growing opposition from the Shia Moslem sect appear to be bringing events to a climax. The atmosphere recalls that preceding the overthrow of the Kassem regime two years ago.

The National Revolutionary Command Council is divided between pro-Nasserites and Iraqi nationalists. This division is believed to be reflected in the armed forces.

President's warning

President Arif, looking markedly thin and haggard, made a public statement at the week-end warning the population against internal threats to the country.

The campaign against the Kurdish rebels began officially on April 3. But, on Egyptian advice, the authorities are trying to keep the whole operation secret.

Over 40,000 troops, the bulk of the Iraqi Army, are now committed in the north. So far the Iraqis have suffered at least three serious military reverses.

Most of the fatal casualties are being buried in the north, but some officers have been brought south to their homes for burial.

Classical tactics

The Kurdish guerrillas, believed to number over 10,000, are employing classical mountain warfare tactics, withdrawing before the Iraqi advance and then hitting back in ambushes and night attacks.

An Iraqi battalion, encamped between Kirkuk and Erbil, suffered heavy casualties when it was broken up by Kurdish mortar fire. The Kurds repulsed an air-supported attack by Iraqi paratroopers at Dohuk in the far north.

The Kurds, who have now closed their divided ranks under the leadership of Gen. Barzani, say that 750 Iraqi troops have already deserted.



Easy Job?

On the face of it, theirs is an easy job. They enjoy overwhelming superiority in numbers and firepower; they have full armour, artillery and aeroplane support.

Against them the "Pesh Merga" (meaning in Kurdish "In Front of Death"), the Mullah's partisan army of 12,000 tribesmen, is armed only with rifles, and short of ammunition and of everything else.

Yet this puny force has so far not only succeeded in keeping the Iraqi army at bay but has inflicted heavy losses on it. On the Zakho front two brigades failed to capture



Some tribal partisans

The Evening Standard, 19th May 1965

KURDS WILL 'FIGHT TO THE DEATH'

Fighting in Northern Iraq between Kurds and Arabs is daily increasing in intensive, and so far the Kurds are winning.

I saw conclusive evidence of this during a week-long visit to the battle areas, as guest of the leader of the Kurdish revolt, 63-year-old Mullah Mustafa Barzani.

The latest battle being fought is at Bamarna, in the oil-rich Mosul district, where an Iraqi battalion has been surrounded and is under continuous fire.

It is one of a series of battles which have been taking place in this mountainous region during the past month. But little is known in the world of this fighting.

Objectives

The Kurds have no broadcasting station to announce their victories. The Iraqis are understandably reticent concerning their defeats and few journalists venture into this out-of-way war.

The Iraqi army launched an offensive against the Kurds at the end of March. Its plan of action was three-fold:

1. —To capture a chain of strategically-placed hilltops, thus enabling its army freer movement within Kurdish-held areas.
2. —To capture the territory alongside the Persian border, cutting the Kurds off from retreat into Persia, and preventing them from receiving help which the Iraqis believed the Persians might provide.
3. —An inward thrust into the heart of the Kurdish-held areas to annihilate the armed forces of the Kurdish revolt.

For this objectives, the Iraqi army has placed four and a half divisions in the field at Erbil, Kirkuk, Suleimaniya, all in the Dohuk-Zakho area. A newly-formed and incomplete fifth division is at Khanaqin.

two key mountains overlooking Zakho. After three days of bitter fighting they withdrew, leaving sixty dead.

On the Suleimaniya front, the 3rd division lost 73 killed. And in the Khanaqin area the 3rd brigade left 104 dead on the Bamo range, after 36 hours of fierce fighting.

Since the outbreak of the fighting the "Pesh Merga" has struck repeatedly at the Iraqi forces. In an ambush of an Iraqi brigade on its way from Kirkuk to Rania over a hundred Iraqi soldiers were killed.

The reasons

The Mullah, sitting crosslegged on a rug in one of the mud huts of a village less than 20 kilometres from the outposts of an Iraqi brigade, explained to me why they were fighting.

"We are more than two million Kurds in Iraq today", he said. "More than a third of the entire population. Our territory is the richest in Iraq—within it are the oil wells which maintain Iraq's economy, and our land is the most fertile in the country.

"In every sense of the word our people are a separate nation from that of the Arabs; we have our own language, our own heritage and culture, we are of Aryan and not Semitic descent and we have lived as a separate entity throughout the ages.

"Yet the Arabs do not recognise our right to live as Kurds. They forbid our children to learn the Kurdish language, and they forcibly transplant our people to other parts of Iraq".

Live as brothers

The Mullah continued: "We tried our utmost to prevent this war. We sent delegates to Baghdad to negotiate. All we asked for was a measure of autonomy — Kurdish schools, Kurdish officials. But to no avail.

"Some begged me: 'Let us live as brothers in peace', to which I replied: 'If we are brothers, how is it that one

brother has five loaves of bread and does not give even one to his brother who is hungry?"

"If we had enough rifles," the Mullah went on, "the Pesh Merga would number 50,000. Every day I have to turn back volunteers because I have nothing to arm them with".

Typical of the Kurdish attitude were the words of Abdallah Ahmed Pijdari, commander of a force of a thousand Pesh Merga in the hills around Ruwanduz, who told me: "I want to live in liberty. I prefer to die than to live under the oppression of the Arabs".

And the Mullah emphasised: "We shall fight to the end. They will never succeed in dislodging us from these hills, and we shall take by force what we tried to obtain by peaceful methods".

The Observer, 23rd May 1965:

HELPING THE WEAK

Although three successive Iraqi Governments have tried unsuccessfully to subdue by force the demand of their Kurdish minority for a degree of self-government, Baghdad still refuses to seek a settlement of this painful conflict through genuine negotiations.

While there is not much Britain can do directly to help the Kurds, we could respond to the appeal of their leadership for the suspension of British arms shipments to Iraq. It would, clearly, be impossible to distinguish between the kind of arms that the Iraqis need for their war against the Kurds from their wider military requirements: but their only other military quarrel at present appears to be the sterile one with Israel. Would it not be wise to place a total embargo on British arms shipments to Iraq until their Government has substituted negotiations with the Kurds for the use of force?

The principle of an arms embargo has been adopted in the case of South Africa because a minority there oppresses a majority; should the same principle not apply where a majority is engaged in the brutal suppression of a minority?

The Daily Telegraph, 21st May 1965:

STOP ARMS SUPPLY TO IRAQ, SAY KURDS

An urgent appeal to Britain to stop sending to Iraq arms which could be used against the Kurdish rebels was made in London yesterday by Mr. Jalal Talabani.

Although Mr. Healey, Minister of Defence, refused in Parliament on Wednesday to disclose details of military supplies to Iraq, Mr. Talabani said Britain had sent armoured helicopters, Hawker Hunter jet fighters and rockets, and artillery ammunition.

Both Russia and America had said they would not send more arms to Iraq.

Mr. Talabani has seen a number of M.P.s who, he hopes, will seek to influence the Government to stop further arms supplies to Iraq.

Question for Government

Mr. Will Griffiths, Labour M.P. for Manchester Exchange, said that he and Mr. Yates, Conservative M.P. for the Wrekin, will seek opportunities to raise the question with the Government next week.

Mr. Talabani hopes also to have the Kurdish case brought to the attention of the United Nations General Assembly.

This was the third time in four years, under three different régimes, that an Iraqi Government had unleashed war against the Kurds, he said. They numbered about two million, a third of the population.

They did not ask for more than autonomy within the Iraqi Republic. All States with a variety of nationalities, such as Switzerland, Yugoslavia and India, had adopted this system of governing.

"Against our people"

"We request all Governments not to supply any arms or other military assistance to the Iraqi Government. Such arms will be used ruthlessly against our people".

Mr. Talabani, 31, a leader of the now illegal Kurdish Democratic party, leaves London on Monday for Paris and Berlin. He expects to be back by the end of the month.

The Times, 21st May, 1965:

IRAQ ACCUSED OF USING GAS

Since the fighting in Kurdistan started up again at the beginning of April the Iraq Army has used gas on at least two occasions, according to Mr. Jalal Talabani who, with two other members of the political bureau of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, gave a press conference in London yesterday.

He said that the gas, the exact nature of which had not yet been analysed, had been sent to Iraq by a Swiss firm through its branch in Italy. Gas bombs had also been supplied by Germany, and Egypt had provided the Iraq Army with 15,000 gasmasks. Napalm had also been used in the present campaign.

Mr. Talabani regretted that British arms were still being delivered to Iraq. He mentioned Hawker Hunter aircraft with rockets, helicopters, and ammunition for artillery supplied in the days of the monarchy, as arms known to have been supplied. He said that the Governments of both the United States and Russia had told the Iraq Government that it could expect no more supplies of arms as long as the fighting in Kurdistan continued.

It was clear that Mr. Talabani and his colleagues had no hopes from the present Iraq Government, which he referred to as "the military junta in Baghdad". He said that it had never really tried to negotiate seriously, and was now relying solely on force to crush the Kurds. Mr. Talabani said the Kurdish aim was autonomy within the framework of the Iraq Republic, and suggested that the Indian and Yugoslav examples were of the sort which would satisfy Kurdish nationalism.



Kurdish students performing a dance at Brunswick University in F.G.R.

“SUPPORT AND SYMPATHY For Kurds”

The following petitions and Resolutions were sent to
the Iraqi Government in support of the Kurds

**His Excellency Abdul-Salam Arif,
The President of the Iraqi Republic**

We, the undersigned youth and student organisations participating in the World Forum of Solidarity of Youth and Students in the Fight for National Independence and Liberation, for Peace in Moscow from 16 - 23 September 1964, after realising the serious situation in Iraqi Kurdistan which **can only endanger Iraq's** national independence and unity, demand that:

Your government and your excellency should act immediately to solve the Kurdish problem peacefully and justfully on the basis of the demands of the Kurdish Revolution in securing their national and democratic rights within the Iraqi Republic.

We regret to note, after seven months of signing the cease-fire agreement, that the Kurdish problem is still far from being solved and the Iraqi Authorities hesitate to admit and put into practice the lawful rights of the people of Iraqi Kurdistan. And even the terms of the cease-fire agreement have not been fulfilled.

Leaving the Kurdish problem unsolved in spite of the government's promises to recognise the national rights of the Kurds and solve the problem peacefully, puts the Iraqi people (Kurds and Arabs) in face of the danger of renewal of war between brothers, and paves the way for the reactionaries and pro-imperialist elements to pass their conspiracies against the national independence of Iraq.

We believe that the solution of the Kurdish problem in a manner that satisfies the National aspirations of the Kurdish people is in the interest of both Kurds and Arabs and would be a decisive step towards the preservation of the national unity and independence and the success of democratic and social reforms in Iraq.

Signatures on the petition

1. United Democratic Youth Organisation (EDON) — Cyprus.
2. General Union of Senegalese Students (UGES) — Senegal.
3. The Union of Communist Students of Spain — Spain.
4. Council of African Organisations — (CAO) — U.K.
5. Ceylon Students Association in Moscow — Ceylon.
6. Ceylon National Union of Students — Ceylon.
7. (WASU) West African Students Union — Europe.
8. Young Communist League — Denmark.
9. Laos Delegation to the Forum — Laos.
10. Union of Young Communists — Cuba.
11. Federation of University Students — Cuba.
12. General Union of Congolese Students — Congo.
13. Somali Youth Union — Somali.
14. Deutsche Jugend - Gemeinschaft — W. Germany.
15. Union of West African Students (UGEAO) — Africa — Dakar.
16. Democratic Youth of Portugal — Portugal.
17. Workers Union of Bolivia — Bolivia.
18. Young Communists of Perú — Perú.
19. Youth Front — Indonesia.
20. Youth Organisation — Nepal.
21. Youth Organisation — Sweden.
22. Progressive Youth Organisation — British Guiana.
23. Du Bois Clubs — U.S.A.
24. The Communist Youth — France.
25. Free German Youth — W. Berlin.
26. League of Socialist Youth — Japan.
27. Young Communist League — Britain.
28. Z.A.P.U. — Southern Rhodesia.
29. F.A.S.C.S. — Southern Rhodesia.
30. Young Communists — Argentine.
31. Partira Socialista Argentino De Vanguardia — Argentine.
32. Juventud Demo - Progresista — Argentine.
33. UNEB and All Organisations — Brazil.
34. Kenya Youth League — Kenya.
35. United National Independence Party — N. Rhodesia.
36. (MUBEF) Movement des Etudiants Universitaires Belgegue d'Expenion Française — Belgium.
37. Norwegian Liberal Youth — Norway.
38. Union of Socialist Youth in Norway — Norway.
39. Pro-Independence Youth Movement — Puerto Rico.
40. Federation of University students for Independence — Puerto Rico.
41. Unitory Patriotic Action — Puerto Rico.
42. Communist Students of Belgium — Belgium.
43. Federation se Centros Universitarios — Venezuela.
44. Frece Östen. Jugend — Austria.
45. Jeunesse du Movement National de la Revolution — Congo.
46. Jeunesse du M.P.L.A — Ango.
47. MOPOCO - Juventud — Paraguay.
48. Federation of Communist Youth — Paraguay.
49. Qdo Revolucionaris Federista — Paraguay.
50. F. I. de L. — Uruguay.
51. M.R.O. — Uruguay.
52. C.O.T. — Uruguay.
53. K.S.S.E. — Europe.
54. Committee of the Youth Organisations of USSR — USSR.
55. Young Pioneers — Ghana.
56. Polish Committee of the Co-operation of Youth Organisations — Poland.
57. Council of the National Youth of Hungary — Hungary.
58. Free German Youth — DDR.
59. French Delegation to Forum — France.
60. Communist Youth of France — France.
61. National Union of Students of France (UNEF) — France.
62. Jeunesse Armenienne de France — France.
63. Federazione Giovanile Lounlists — Italy.
64. Federazione Giovanile Socialista (PSIUP) — Italy.
65. Youth Congress — India.
66. Federation of Student Associations of Madagascar — Madagascar.
67. Federation de la Jeunesse democratique de Madagascar — Madagascar.
68. L'Union de la Jeunesse Checoslovaque — CSSR.
69. National Liberation Front — Saudi Arabia.
70. Jordanian Delegation to Forum — Jordan.
71. Federation of Democratic Forces — Arabian Peninsula.
72. National Liberation Front — Bahrain.

73. Youth Union — Tunis.
74. United Youth Organisation — Yemen.
75. Union Jeunesse Democratique du syria — Syria.
76. Lique de la Jeunesse Democratique du Liban — Lebanon.
77. Moroccan Youth Organisation — Morocco.
78. Union of Somali Students — Somalie.
79. Peoples Youth of Iran — Iran.
80. Sudanese Youth Union — Sudan.
81. Democratic Youth Federation — Iraq.
82. Organisation de la Jeunesse Democratique de Lybie — Lybia.
83. Democratic Youth of Senegal — Senegal.

His Excellency Abdul-Salam Arif
The president of the Iraqi Republic

6th February, 65

We, the undersigned personalities are very deeply concerned about the serious situation in Iraqi Kurdistan and the continual denial of the just Kurdish national rights.

We are very concerned about the late clashes, reported in the western press, between the Kurdish partisans and the government forces as a result of your government's poor handling of the situation, which can only endanger Iraq's safety and security.

Yet there is nothing in the Kurdish problem which could not be solved by negotiation, (a right which your government has denied the Kurds until now) for the Kurds are not asking for separation, but for autonomous rule within the framework of the Iraqi Republic, a demand which hardly calls for the renewal of war against the peace-loving Kurdish people. The demands of the Kurds seem to us strictly within the terms of the rights of man accepted by all freedom-loving, democratically-minded people, and we take our stand in support of them on these humanitarian grounds.

We believe that the solution of the Kurdish Question in a manner that satisfies the national aspirations of the Kurdish people is in the interests of both Kurds and Arabs and would be a decisive step towards the preservation of the national unity and independence in Iraq.

Signatories

Maxime Rodinson
 Giuliarro Pajetta
 Boris Polevoi
 Diana Pym
 M. R. Turner
 C. Whittleton
 M. Tsangarides
 H. S. Tougmachi
 Joyce Lussu
 Don Taylor
 E. O. Thompens
 Bayo Omoniye
 Thetis Kotzaki
 C. Seifert
 Will Griffiths
 Ethel Mannin
 Pierre Couteau
 Nazeem Duleyimi
 F. El-Janin
 H. K. Ahmed
 Idris Cox
 Metoui Nauedduie
 Al-Jawahiri

Country

France
 Italy
 Soviet Union
 Great Britain
 Great Britain
 Great Britain
 Cyprus
 Iraq
 Italy
 West African Students
 Umien (Gambia)
 IUS
 Nigerian Union
 Greece
 Great Britain
 Great Britain
 France
 Iraq
 Iraq
 Iraq
 Britain
 Tunisia
 Iraq

RESOLUTIONS IN SUPPORT OF THE KURDISH PEOPLE

Resolution of the World Forum on the Kurdistan Question

- Considering that the problem of the Kurdish nation — which was forcibly divided between, Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria by the imperialists — is of a democratic and anti-imperialist nature, and it is a matter of self-determination.
- Considering that the Kurdish people are deprived of all their legitimate rights.
- Supports the struggle, demands all lawful rights of the Kurdish people in all parts of Kurdistan.
- Express complete solidarity with the Kurdish students, youth and people.

The World Forum of Solidarity of Youth and Students in the Fight for National Independence and Liberation, for Peace, held in Moscow, 16-24 September, 1964 considered the Kurdish Problem in Iraq after listening to the various reports.

— welcomed the ceasefire in Iraqi Kurdistan between the Iraqi authorities and Kurdish revolution. Thus good chances have been created for the peaceful, democratic solution of the problem, but regrets the hesitation of the Iraqi authorities to implement the cease fire terms and to clearly admit the national rights of the Kurdish people.

— considered the double oppression to which the Kurdish people are subjected as a nation living in Iraq and as part of the Iraqi people who suffer from persecution and suppression of democratic liberties.

— considered the just struggle of the Kurdish people for their national rights and just demands and the realisation of which will be achieved in the common struggle of the Iraqi people, Arabs and Kurds against imperialist reactionary machination, for democracy and national construction.

— considered that the solution of the Kurdish problem democratically will deal the imperialists a decisive blow and defeat their endeavours to restore their domination in Iraq.

The World Forum of Solidarity:

- supports strongly the struggle of the Kurdish people, for their just national rights and demands.
- affirms its solidarity with Iraqi youth and people Arabs and Kurds in the struggle for the just national rights for the Kurdish people and democracy in Iraq.
- calls upon democrats and anti-imperialist youth movements to give their active moral and material solidarity to the Kurdish people, to the thousands of refugees and homeless population.

calls upon the Iraqi government to solve the Kurdish problem peacefully and justly through negotiations on the basis of the Kurdish revolution demands in order to avoid the resumption of war in Iraqi Kurdistan.

RESOLUTION ON THE KURDISH PROBLEM

The 8th Congress of the International Union of Students, meeting in Sofia, Bulgaria, from November 28th to December 7th, 1964:

Considering

- that the Kurdish nation is forcibly divided by imperialists between Turkey, Iran, Syria and Iraq, and that the rights of all Kurdish people in these countries have been and continue to be denied them;
- that the Kurdish people in Iraq, Turkey and Iran are still suffering oppression under the Governments of

these countries and are still denied the legitimate rights of a sovereign people;

- that the Kurdish people in Iraq have suffered a long history of persecution in different forms under the Nuri Said, Kassem, Baathist and the present Arif regimes, and that this has involved the destruction of their villages, the tragic loss of civilian lives and appalling human privation;
- that the new Iraqi Constitution accords to the Kurdish people no distinct nationality consonant with their political and cultural heritage and their nationalist aspirations;
- that the problems of the Kurdish people in Iraq are an integral part of the whole question of democracy in Iraq, and of the struggle against internal Iraqi reaction and the criminal activities of imperialism and its agents;

Supports

- the struggles of the Kurdish people in Turkey, Iran, Syria and in particular in Iraqi Kurdistan and demands the recognition of their legitimate national rights;
- the just demand of the Kurdish revolution in Iraq for autonomy of Iraqi Kurdistan within the framework of the Iraqi Republic and the restoration of democracy for Arabs and Kurds in the whole of Iraq;

Instructs the Secretariat to render all possible moral and material support to the struggling Kurdish people and to the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe and the General Union of Students in the Iraqi Republic in their fight for democracy in Iraq and the legitimate rights of the Kurdish people.

Deplores the negative attitude of the present Iraqi regime towards the Kurdish question which will lead to further complicating the situation in Iraq and calls on the government to solve the question peacefully and justly.

MEMORANDUM ON THE PROBLEM OF IRAQI KURDISTAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Kurdistan belongs to those rugged regions through which no invasion has passed without perishing or being transformed. It is an area of high mountains where the beginnings of the people go back into antiquity as witnessed by the customs and beliefs to which they adhere. The present habitation of the Kurds is distinguished by its structure and resources of the Anatolian plateau, the plain of Mesopotamia and the highland of Iran. Kurdistan is a geographic entity forming the lines of a ridge. Naturally protected, the area of Kurdistan favoured the formation of an integrated society with its own type of human relationship, its own civilisation.

Since June 8, 1961, there exists a state of war between the people of Kurdistan and the Iraqi government.

After the First World War, the British government created the state of Iraq by combining a part of the Arab lands with the southern part of Kurdistan. This putting together of two different peoples and countries was dictated mainly by imperial reasons and oil interests. The British government by creating Iraq in this fashion did it on the pretext that the Arab territory alone would not be viable economically and could not be defended militarily. It is evident that these proceedings were in flagrant violation of the Wilsonian principle of self-determination of peoples and the declaration of France and Great Britain on November 8, 1918, that their aim in the Near East was "the establishment of national governments and administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the indigenous populations."

Not only did the creation of Iraq in this fashion run counter to the above declaration, but the Treaty of Sevres of August 10, 1920, Section III Kurdistan, Article 64, paragraph 3 establishes conclusively that the inclusion of South Kurdistan into Iraq was provisional only, reading that "no objection will be raised by the Principal Allied Powers to the voluntary adhesion to such independent Kurdish State of the Kurds inhabiting that part of Kurdistan which has hitherto been included in the Mosul Vilayet", i.e. Iraqi Kurdistan. No consideration was taken of the aspirations of the Kurdish people motivated by their ethnic and cultural individuality. It was therefore natural that the

Kurds, as much, if not more, than the peoples of the old vilayets of Baghdad and Basrah, expected national independence. Now it appeared that the British efforts in reality aimed only in detaching the south western part of Kurdish territory (where the oil wells lie) from the rest of Kurdistan before the fate of the latter was definitely decided, in order to join it, against the unanimous will of the Kurdish population, to Iraq, a new national entity purely Arab in essence.

The Kurds resisted and there followed a series of revolts. On December 24, 1922, the British High Commissioner made the following statement: "His Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of Iraq recognise the right of the Kurds living within the frontiers of Iraq to establish a Kurdish government inside these frontiers. They hope that the different Kurdish elements will as soon as possible reach an agreement among themselves concerning the form they desire this government to take and the boundaries to which they wish to extend. The Kurds will send responsible delegates to discuss the economic and political relations with His Britannic Majesty's Government and the Iraqi Government."

This statement, like the others, remained a dead letter. An Anglo-Iraqi Treaty was signed in 1930 and thereafter Iraq became a member of the League of Nations. Great agitation resulted among the Kurds. This is how Captain Philip Mumford, for seven years member of the British Intelligence Service, reported on developments: "The Anglo-Iraqi Treaty, defining our relations with Iraq when this country would have become independent, was published in June 1930. There followed petitions and disturbances among the Kurds who attempted, wisely or not, to boycott the elections of that summer. This agitation ended by a revolt when the Iraqi army fired on a Kurdish crowd. Sheik Mahmoud took this as a pretext to launch an open revolt. Mahmoud asked for a limited form of autonomy under British protection and protested against the direct influence of the government of Baghdad. It was hoped that the government would be able to settle the conflict alone. It quickly became evident that this was out of the question owing to the depth of Kurdish feeling

and the incompetence of the Arab army. The Royal Air Force had to bear the largest part of the operations. The bombing of Kurdish villages became inevitable if the rebellion were to be got under control. And even then Sheikh Mahmoud did not surrender until eight months later..." (From a lecture given at an ordinary session of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xx, January 1933).

In a concluding note (S.G. of May 8, 1931) Sir Henry Conway Dobbs, former Iraqi High Commissioner, exactly summed up the situation of the Kurds in Iraq and defined the responsibilities of Great Britain: "It is a fact that there is a danger that British forces can come to be employed as a mercenary instrument of tyranny in the hands of a government which is encouraged to commit acts of tyranny against its subjects, knowing that they are deprived of the natural remedy against tyranny, that is, hope of a successful insurrection. And the weight of this system will fall in the first place on the non-Arabs, the most important and most warlike minority, the Kurds."

These uprisings have never completely ceased. It is a fact that for two years the Iraqi army has been unable to crush the Kurdish warriors in the field, although it has been especially trained by the British in mountain warfare and provided with small tanks designed for operations in mountainous country. It has therefore ruthlessly resorted to air bombardments, artillery and tank attacks against the civilian population in an effort to destroy the Kurdish people. Big towns like Amadiye, Raniye, Koyсандjak and others have been completely destroyed. An economic blockade of Iraqi Kurdistan deprives the people of all aid from outside.

After the coup d'état of 1958, the provisional constitution of Iraq, Article III, declared that the natural rights of the Kurds were guaranteed by that constitution. The Iraqi government stated that they were partners in the country. But no measure was taken to implement that statement.

Weakened by its military defeats, the regime of Kassem was overthrown in February 1963. The Kurdish people then stopped the fight: the new masters in Baghdad having in effect promised that the claim of autonomy in Iraqi Kurdistan will be satisfied. After a period marked by subterfuge, the National Command of the Revolutionary Council declared officially on March 11, the Vice-President of the Iraqi government, M. Saleh el Saadi declared solemnly: "The Kurdish provinces will receive their own administration in all their dominions... The decision we have taken is primarily to conform to the principles of the rights of the people to choose their future, and secondly it is the result of an objective analysis of the actual situation in Iraq."

An official delegation began then negotiations with the Government in Baghdad. On April 24, 1963, after the publication of the tripartite agreement of Cairo regarding the creation of an Egyptian--Syrian--Iraqi federation, the Kurdish delegation presented to the Iraqi government a memorandum outlining a basis for negotiations concerning the future of Kurdistan.

The Baath party in power in Iraq tried to gain time. For this Pan-Arabic, chauvinistic and Fascist party it is very difficult to recognise the autonomy of the Kurds. While the negotiations were in full progress, Baghdad suddenly in a vehement proclamation accused the General Moustapha el Barzani to be "associated with the imperialistic, reactionaries and Zionists" (!!!) and demanded of all insurgents to deliver up their arms within twentyfour hours. But the fact was that the military attack against

the Kurds had already begun and the airplanes did not cease — and still do not cease — to bombard the villages. A veritable genocide is in progress.

In September 1963 the Congress of the International Red Cross in Geneva received a message from General Barzani, commander-in-chief of the revolutionary army in Kurdistan, in which he protested against the genocide of the "civilian and unarmed masses of his people." After pointing out that the Iraqi army "blindly bombs the cities and villages of Kurdistan, killing hundred of women, children and aged people, and continue in the systematic massacre or collective transfer by force of the civilian population of the oil regions of Kurdistan", General Barzani demands compliance with the laws of warfare and invited the International Red Cross to visit the liberated regions of Kurdistan, asking at the same time for medical aid and food for a population threatened by famine. The Iraqi government has refused all aid offered to the Kurdish civilian population by the International Red Cross.

Furthermore, In August 1963 the Kurdish army command, in compliance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention, submitted a list of Iraqi army personnel which they had made prisoners, in order to effect an exchange of prisoners. The International Red Cross in turn approached the Iraqi government to furnish it with a list of Kurdish army prisoners in their hands so that an exchange may be effected in due course. The Iraqi government never replied to this request for the simple reason that they murder all Kurdish prisoners. Likewise the appeal of the Red Cross to be permitted to bring medical aid and essential food stuffs to the suffering Kurdish civilian population remained unanswered. When the Iraqi atrocities became known, American humanitarian societies and others approached the Iraqi government with a view to obtaining permission for sending help to the Kurdish population but again all efforts met with the inhuman refusal of the Iraqi government.

These developments have indeed proved beyond doubt that the Iraqi government is not, and has never been, able to solve the Kurdish and other of its problems in a peaceful and democratic way. The successive bloody coups d'état are a further evidence of its complete inability to deal successfully with its internal and external problems. Obviously, this is one of the main causes of the intense suffering of not only the Kurdish people, but also of the Arab population and the artificial animosity existing between the two nations.

The public opinion of the world, the governments of many states and a number of internationally known humanitarian societies have condemned the operations of the Iraqi government as genocide. So have many correspondents of some of the leading newspapers of the world, notably Dana Adams Schmidt of the New York Times, M. Eric Rouleau of "Le Monde", Jean Charles Clauvel of the "Figaro", Richard J. Ander Egg of the Swiss Radio. David Adamson of the Sunday Telegraph, and Peter Zahn and Mr. Lovar, who made a television film and have seen with their own eyes the outrageous crimes of the Iraqi government.

As you know, the Kurdish question has been brought to the notice of the United Nations and the Social and Economic Committee, and has been the subject of an exchange of notes between various governments. It is no longer a question within the sole competence of the Iraqi government, but has assumed international dimensions. Although the Iraqi government has for more than two years

(continued on page 28)

“CONTRIBUTIONS & LITERATURE”

THE ORIGINS OF THE KURDS AND THEIR LANGUAGE

“The unity of the Kurds must be
explained by a Median basis.”

Professor Vladimir Minorsky.

Colonel Wahby, the foremost Kurdologist of the present time, presented this lecture to the K.S.S.E., U.K. branch conference on 22nd December, 1964. His first major work was the pioneer Kurdish grammar, *Dastûr i Zemân i Kurdi* published in 1929-30. His latest is the Clarendon Press — Oxford, *Kurdish-English Dictionary* of which he is co-author with C. J. Edmonds.

KURDISTAN

When I was invited to speak here today my hosts kindly left me the choice of subject on which to speak. I decided that the best choice for this audience, would be to speak on the first and most important question in Kurdology, that is, the origins of the Kurds and their language.

Those Islamic historians who dealt with the origins of the Kurds did so in terms of myth and legend. Their work was without historical or intellectual value. But in recent centuries, particularly in the present one, European scholars have become concerned with the problem and begun research which continues today. Among those whose work and opinions we must take into account is Professor Vladimir Minorsky. In a paper presented to the 20 International Congress of Orientalists in Brussels in 1938. Professor Minorsky spoke on the origins of the Kurds. He said at that time: “The unity of the Kurds must be explained by a Median basis”. The argument made by Professor Minorsky and others in favour of a Median basis of Kurds are lengthy and for those concerned, easily available. Rather than extensively repeat them here, it seems to me more important and also better suited to this occasion to deal with some of the objections raised against connecting the Kurds with the Medes.

If we find that such objections are based on faulty evidence we, in effect, strengthen the theory which I too support that the Kurds of today are descendants of the Medes.

The most important objections to such a belief are found in an article by Dr. D. N. MacKenzie, published in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* for 1961.

In this article, ‘The Origins of Kurdish’, Dr. MacKenzie makes comparisons between Kurdish and various other Iranian languages, including Persian, based on P. Tedesco’s “*Dialektologie Der Westiranischen Turfantexte*”. From these comparisons he deduces that Kurdish should be considered as influenced by Middle Persian which belongs to the Iranian South-West. He doubts the view taken by Professor Minorsky and other scholars, the Kurdish belongs to the Iranian North-West, the area which includes the historical home of the Medes. Dr. MacKenzie dismisses the idea that the Medes are ancestors of today’s Kurds.

Dr. MacKenzie does not insist on his conclusions. He offers a hypothesis, not a proven theory. In my opinion this is just as well. Dr. MacKenzie, who is lecturer in Kurdish at the London School of African and Oriental Studies, is a linguist of repute. But I fear I must question the validity of the evidence he has collected in support of his hypothesis.

The possible identification of today’s Kurds with the Medes obviously touches vitally on the Kurds sense of their historical identity and for those who believe in this connection Dr. MacKenzie’s words sometimes fall harshly. He writes: “The modern Kurds approach to history is also refreshingly simple. Feeling a need for heroic ancestors, and finding the imperial Medes, so to speak, unemployed, they make no bones about casting them in the role. Indeed it is now fashionable among them to use a so-called Median era, obtained by adding to our date the figure 612, the date of the conquest of Ninevah by the Medes. In the face of this blend of little fact and much fiction the linguistic evidence gains in importance”.

Well, it was not the Kurds that decided to make the fall of Ninevah the beginning of an era, it was the official Persian ‘Council of Iranology’ that decided to use 612 B.C. in this way.

Dr. MacKenzie, finding the historical evidence for linking the Medes and Kurds a blend of little fact and much fiction, argues that consequently the linguistic evidence increases in importance for determining the possibility of this link.

Certainly there are problems in establishing a proven historical connection. But before passing on to Dr. MacKenzie’s linguistic arguments we should consider one puzzle of history for which I wish to suggest a possible solution. The puzzle is, what happened to the Medes?

The Northern Iraq of today to the eastern shores of the Tigris River was, in the end of the fifth Century B.C., a part of the homeland of the Medes (see Xenophane, *Anabasis*).

By the end of the seventh century the name of a nation called the Mād (Medes) was no longer known in Iran. There exist, however, historical records showing that by the end of the Sassanian period the name ‘Mād’ (Mede) continued in the developed forms of ‘Mây’ and ‘Mās’. In the early Islamic period the name survived as ‘Māh’. All these forms were names of areas. In addition the Christian Aramaic records kept the name in its original form ‘Mādāy’ up to the end of the sassanian period: ‘Mādāyā’ in Aramaic meant the Mede (Median). What then were the events that erased from memory this once imperial people? We do not know of any catastrophe in the Sassanian period which could have caused the annihilation of the Medes. I would suggest that if the name Mād disappeared the Medes themselves have certainly survived. The present sedentary Kurds are in my opinion the descendants of the Medes. The strong Indo-Iranian Kurdish tribes together with other kindred nomads, with whom they afterwards mixed, threatened Media from early

times. The Greek historian Polybius (c. 205-125 B.C.) describing Media in his General History says that all boundaries of the Median country were covered with Greek towns built, after Alexander's conquest, to check the neighbouring barbarians. In the reign of Seleucus II Callinicus (246-226 B.C.) the mountaineer tribes who had strongholds were beyond the control of the Greek government as Hasan Pir Niya, the Iranian historian tells us.

All through the Seleucid period, the government was unable to control the nomadic and semi-nomadic people. Under the Selucids' successors, the Arsacids, whose loose rule ended in 224 A.D., the local feudal rulers were more powerful and the nomadic domination increased over the peasantry. It seems that towards the end of Parthian rule the Aryan Kurds predominated in and around the mountainous parts of Media.

This suggests itself as the reason for the attack on and subjugation of Media as the first goal of the first Sassanian King, Ardashir i Pâpakân (225-241 A.D.) when he set out to impose his rule throughout the Parthian empire. The Kârnâmak i Arthaxshir i pâpakân a mixture of history and legend, which records Ardashir's conquests, shows clearly that the two names 'Mâsi' (Mâdi) and Kurd denoted one and the same nation. At least this was so at the end of the sixth century A.D., the date attributed to the Kârnâmak. The work, written in Fahlavi, and giving details of Ardashir's attack on the Medes narrates: "Ardashir (after killing the Parthian King Ardvân V) collected a large army from Zâbul and went to fight Kurdân(1) Shâhi Mâsi (Kurdân Shâ the Median) V-1"

The Kârnâmak in the same chapter says: "The Median army believed that they were safe from Ardashir who was defeated and had retreated to the Persian country." The narrative continues: "Ardashir prepared four thousand men and made a surprise raid on them (the Medians). He killed of the Kurds one thousand men, took prisoner the remainder who were broken and wounded, and captured from the King of the Kurds and his sons many goods". (V-9-11).

It is to be understood from the above quotations that the Kârnâmak's author of the end of the 6th century looked at the Medes and the Kurds as the same people, as we have already mentioned.

According to a fifth century Aramaic History of Erbil 'The Sassanian King Shâhpuhr I, in the first year of his reign (242 A.D.) fought the Medes of the mountains and conquered them in a violent battle'.

These mountaineer Medes must be Kurds.

Among fourth century Aramaic ecclesiastical records of Erbil I have found a personal name suggesting an affinity between Kurdish and Medic. The name is Kor-kshêd, who was governor of Erbil in 372 A.D. His name is developed from 'Xvar-Xshêd' which derives from Avestic 'hware xshaeta' (the shining sun) Here 'x-' has developed to 'k-', a development characteristic of the Kermânji language.

Among the Middle Persian documents in the Turfan trove this same word is given in its Persian form 'xor-shêd'.

The Avestic 'hware xshaeta' in Sassanian Pahlavi developed to 'xorshêd' and in New Persian to 'xurshid' (sun). The governor's name indicates that he was not a Persian. Un-Persian in form his name is familiar to Kurdish. If not actually a Kurd, he was a Mede.

In modern Kurdish 'sun' is 'xor' with the original xv- <hv-. But Kurdish still keeps the form 'kor' to mean (sun) in such words as 'kelâw-qori' (sun-hat), 'qori' or 'qorîtân' (chameleon); qoriX xori (related to the sun)(2)

Another interesting name, found in an Aramaic martyrology of 362 A.D., is the place name 'Qsatrâ Bêt Zabdây' 'Qsatrâ Qshatra 'Xshatra' is developed for Avestic (Median 'xshathra' (kingdom, dominion). But 'qshatrâ' could also mean district or town. Bêt Zabdây of the Aramians being a district in the classic Corduene, it may have been identical with the Kurdish town Stalka < *Xshatra-ka on the Tigris mentioned by classic Armenian writers.

'Qshatra' (Kshatra) would then have been a Kurdo Median pronunciation of the fourth century A.D.

The areas where the Kurds imposed themselves were to become the modern Kurdistan in the widest meaning of the term. But the Kurds did not impose their name on all Medes. In what became Northern Azarbayjan, a part of the inhabitants were later to become Turkified. Other areas around the north west and western shore of the Caspian Sea and in Central Iran were not called Kurdish although some of these dialects are related to Kermânji. But over a wide area the name of Kurd embraced that of Med and of other Aryan tribes. I would suggest that the name Mede was absorbed under the Kurds in a way reminiscent of developments in France, where the name of Frank superseded that of Gaul.

After the disappearance of the name 'Mâd', we do not know exactly when, a distinction began to be made between the Kurds proper, as it were, and the sedentary Kermânjis.

The first, calling themselves 'Kurd', referred to the sedentaries as Kermânji. The name 'Kermânji' has continued to be used by the people themselves.

In the Sorân and Mukri provinces villagers today are referred to as Kermânji, but as used by tribal people and town-dwellers the name connotes 'Serf'. The people of the Iranian province of Kurdistan that is of Sena and the people of Khânaqin refer to those living to their respective west and north (other than the Gorâns) as 'Kermânji'. The people of Sulaimani and Karkuk have forgotten the name although the non-Gorân sedentary elements of those provinces were doubtless Kermânji. Those who have forgotten the name Kermânji, call their villagers (serfs), 'Mesken' which may have meant (dwellers of village). The Kurds north of the greater Zâb, in particular describe themselves as 'Kermânji' and their language as 'Kermânji'. The author of the epic Mam u Zîn (1963) the greater Kurdish poet Ahmad i Khânî, writing in Northern Kermânji uses the names Kurd and Kermân interchangeably:

Dâ xalq nabijaten ku akrâd,
Bê Mârifaten, bê asl u benyâd.
Let men not say that the Kurds,
Are without knowledge, without origin.
Befker, zhe Arab hatâ va Gurjân.
Kermânji ya, bû ya shebh i burjân.
See, from the Arabs as far as the Georgians,
There are Kermânji who are become like towers.

The name Kermânji is being replaced throughout Kurdistan by 'Kurd'. As this social and linguistic change continues the word Kermânji may be preserved in use but our application of it to the greater Kurdish dialect. The greater Kurdish dialect is divided into three main groups:

1. Northern Kermânji.
2. Southern Kermânji (Sorânî—Mukri—Sulaimani—Senayî)
3. Kirmanshahî (Kalhurî—Lakî—Peshtkûhî).

(1) with pahlavî 't'.

(2) 'r' in 'qorî' is rolled

The boundary between the Northern and Southern Kermānīj runs approximately from the southern end of Lake Razāiyya to the nearest point on the Great Zāb, and thence along that river to its mouth. I have mentioned the distribution of the dialects to check the widespread present mislocation of Sorānī. I first described in detail this distribution in my article on the Kurdish dialects in the Magazine of Galāwēzh, No. 4 April 1940, Baghdad.

Now let us return to our subject: Dr. MacKenzie writes: "In fact the only evident reference to the Kurds in the classical authors before our era would seem to be those of Polybius, Livy and Strabo to the «Κύρτιοι» or 'Cyrtil' respectively. The two historians mention them only as contingents of slingers in the armies of Media and Asia Minor, while Strabo, more explicitly, names them as wild mountaineers living in Media and Armenia but also in Persia. With this solitary exception all the positive evidence points to the Kurds being a Median people, a view which professor Minorsky endorses".

Scholars who have studied a connection between «Καρδοῦχοι» and «Κύρτιοι» and between them and the name 'Kurd', all agree that the «Κύρτιοι» are the ancestors of the Kurds. But they differ about Xenophon's «Καρδοῦχοι». Some believe that «Καρδοῦ» and «Κύρτι» both are older forms of the name 'Kurd', while others deny «Καρδοῦχοι» has a connection with the name 'Kurd'.

One supporter of the first position is G. R. Driver. Driver giving a long list of names taken from the classical writers, says that these names bear the root of the name 'Kurd'. (The Name Kurd..., JRAS, 1923). Here are a few of those classical names as examples:

Καρδ - οῦ (- χοι)	«Καρδοῦχοι»
Κύρτ - ι (- οί)	«Κύρτιοι»
Cord-u (-eni)	'Ccrdueni'
Gord-y (-aeon)	'Gordyaean'
Gord-i (-aei)	'Gordiaei'
Cord-u (-ena)	'Gorduena'
Syriac: Qard-ū	'Qardū'

Driver has gone beyond that: "It is" he says "not unlikely that the earliest trace of Kurds is to be found on a Sumerian claytablet of the third millenia B.C.", on which 'the land of Kar-da' is mentioned".

This tablet belongs to the reign of King Shu-Sin of Ur (1978 - 1970 B.C.), and the name is possible to be read also 'Kardaka' (Ignate, HAS., 38).

The vowels which follow the dentals of the root in all those classical names seem to me of interest. They are either 'i' or 'u' which I conjecture to have been evolved from '-aka-'. It is possible then, if I am not mistaken, to imagine that 'Kard-u', 'Gord-i', «Κύρτ-ι» 'Cord-u', as all the other names in the list, could be developments of the form 'Kardaka' mentioned in the Sumerian tablet.

This development came to my attention through its similarity to one of the characteristics which today separate the different Kermānīj dialects from each other. To give only one example: the original form of the word for (house) has been 'xān-ak'. This word, in the Northern Kermānīj Group of dialects, the Sorānī dialect and in the Kermānīj Group of dialects, has become 'xān-i' in the Mukrī and Sulaimani dialects it is 'xān-ū' while in the Senayī dialect the form is 'xān-eg' which is the second step in the evolution from xānak: xān-ak > xān-ek > xān-eg > xān-ū, xān-i. Many other examples could be shown, particularly the past participles. The Kurdish

'-aka' is the well-known Indo-Iranian suffix which is originally Indo-European.

Dr. MacKenzie in setting out his hypothesis is concerned with linguistic evidence rather than with history. Indeed he admits that he cannot provide an historical time when and where, as he suggests, Kurdish might have come under the influence of the Middle Persian Language. So he offers only linguistic evidence to support this idea, an idea unsympathetic to our belief that the Kurds of today are descended from the Medes.

Although very little is known about the Median language its principal dialect appears to have been the Avestic. Certainly Median was the basic language of what we call the North West Group of Iranian Languages, and it is generally agreed among linguists that modern Kurdish is indeed a language of the North West Group. The forerunners of modern Kurdish included Aryan Old Kurdish and Avestic-Median.

On examining Dr. MacKenzie's evidence I find it to be something less than compelling.

Among evidence of a Middle Persian influence on Kurdish, Dr. MacKenzie raises two points familiar to students of Iranian languages.

One is the change in Persian, Kurdish and Baluchi languages from the archaic 'y' at the beginning of words to the present 'j', while in the Gorānī dialect, which shows the northern characteristics, this change did not take place. As the change in Kermānīj, Baluchi and Persian, then Kurdish, Dr. MacKenzie feels, must have been influenced by Middle Persian. But would Dr. MacKenzie, using the same reasoning, argue the same cause for the change from an initial 'y' in Baluchi and other Iranian dialects? Gorānī, which is supposed to have kept the archaic form, does in fact show the change in one of its dialects, Hawrāmī. One word showing this change is the word for 'feast', it is now 'jazhn' in Hawrāmī (Persian 'Jashn'). A few other words showing the change are 'yāma', meaning (glass), now 'jām'; 'yavan', meaning (young), is now 'jwān' meaning (beautiful) and 'yātu', (sorcerer), now 'jādū', old Persian, 'yauviyā', (stream), now 'jo'.

If the Hawrāmī words are considered to have been borrowed from Persian, rather than having evolved within the dialect, then the same explanation would be due in the case of Kermānīj and other dialects' words beginning with 'j' instead of the initial Avestic 'y'.

I find, however, in Kermānīj traces of the archaic 'Y' in the words 'kō <ku-yē <ku-yāy' corresponding to the Persian 'ku-jā' (where), and again in the words 'amē <ām-yāy' and 'awē <aw-yāy' corresponding to the Persian 'in-jā', 'ān-jā' (here), (there).

On the other hand in Kermānīj the form 'jē <yāy' is used to mean (place) as does the Persian 'Jāy'. Hawrāmī still keeps 'y' in the word 'yā-ga' which is in Kermānīj 'jēga' (place).

The second point Dr. MacKenzie raises concerning Gorānī dialects deals with another change at the beginning of words, the change from an archaic 'hw-' to the present 'w-'. Dr. MacKenzie argues that this change in Gorānī shows that these dialects are closer to Baluchi which also shows it, while Kurdish is closer to Persian, because in Kurdish and Persian 'hw-' changed to 'xw-'. I do not believe it is possible to judge from this agreement that a peculiar affinity exists between Persian and Kurdish. Nearly all the Iranian dialects from Pāmīr in the North East to Gilān and Kurdistan in the North West as well as those of central Iran have changed the initial 'hw-' to 'xw-'

just as in Persian. Exceptions to this are the Gorānī, Zāzāyī and Baluchī dialects and a single word in the Lāsgardī dialect; the word is 'wov' Avestic 'hvafna' (sleep). The Median development 'hw-> f-' will be discussed below.

Casting further doubt on the development of Kurdish from Median, Dr. MacKenzie next writes: "It is worth noticing in passing that Kurdish does not accord with one peculiarity which may be ascribable to Median, that is to say, the development of 'hw-' to 'f-'.

This peculiarity of 'hw-> f-' is found only in the word 'farnah' as it appears in the Median personal name, Vindafarnah, an aide of Darius in his recapture of the Axamaenid throne (521 B.C.). Median 'farnah' is derived from Avestic 'xvarenah' (splendid, glory).

The name of a hero in Arbil in the 4th C. A.D. was composed with 'far'. This hero was surnamed 'Qardāgh' (Kardak). According to Aramaic christian records his proper name was 'Gupar-Ashnaps', a metathesis of *'Par-Gushnasp', an Aramaic pronunciation of Median name *'Far-Gushnasp' (the glory of Gushnasp), meaning (the glory of the god 'Varhrān' or 'Bahram') whose surname means either (hero) or (Kurd), he converted to christianity and was martyred in 359 A.D.

In the New Persian there are two synonym words 'xurra' and 'farr(a)' (glory). The second one is inherited from the Median. In Kurdish we have 'far'(1) and not 'xura'; but we have a word 'wura' (moral) which seems to have developed like the Persian 'xurra' from the Avestic 'hvarenah': 'hw-> w-'.

It should not, of course, be expected of Kurdish that it preserve such a peculiarity with rare exceptions lost in all the other non-Persian dialects. The exceptions are found in a village in Fars and in two small villages in the central desert of Iran.

In the Bādīnānī (a sub-dialect of the Northern Kermānījī) in Iraqi Kurdistan, however, there are places where the people say 'fāren' instead of 'xāren' (to eat). In the Northern Kermānījī and also in Hawrāmī 'āfer' is used rather than 'Axur' (manger, stable). In the South Kermānījī we have 'fēnek' (cool) as compared with the Persian 'xunuk', and other words which show 'x-> f-'.

Today the word 'far' is used in Kurdish as well as in Persian. In its colloquial Kurdish use it is always in a compound indicating the absence of the quality it represents, as an English 'couth' is used in uncouth. In the Mukri dialect, however, 'far' is found in the compound adjective 'bad-far'. 'Bad-far' is exact modern Kurdish for the Avestic 'dush-hvarenah' meaning inglorious or villainous.

To illustrate his placing of Kurdish, Dr. MacKenzie has designed a diagram derived from a table of Iranian dialects compiled by the philologist Tedesco. Dr. MacKenzie, in describing the diagrams says, "Here again Kurdish seems to be marked off from Median if we can judge from the name of the Median capital. The Greek forms 'Αγδάτανα' 'Εκδάτανα, and the old Persian Ha(n) gmatāna are generally taken to contain the same '-gmatā-' form, not found in Kurdish".

Let us consider these two alternative forms. From the Avestic '-gat-' and '-gmat-' Kurdish has kept the form *'agat', to use in conjugating as in 'haten' the verb (to come). In Persian 'to come' is 'āmadan', which uses the other form *'agmat' in the conjugation. Dr. MacKenzie sees this as an indication that Kurdish is not closely related to Median, because Kurdish does not use '-gmat'

while Persian does. But Kurdish in fact does have a conjugated verb using this form which in its original gives 'Hangmatāna' (the modern Hamadān).

It is a verb found in Northern Kermānījī in the transitive form 'hingāwtēn' and in the intransitive form 'hingivten'. In other Kermānījī dialects it is intransitive 'angūten' and the transitive 'angāwtēn'.

Perhaps Dr. McKenzie has seen the northern forms given in Jaba's French-Kurdish dictionary. But Jaba's etymology is incorrect. Jaba writes that the verb 'hingivten' is formed from the same root as 'katen' (kaften). But I am convinced that the verb originates from 'hangmata-' with the 'm' developed into a 'v' and 'w'.

'Angāwtēn' means (hit a mark, to score), or literally, (to bring together). In southern Kurdish there is a synonym for 'angāwtēn' which is 'pēkân'. This new word seems to be composed of 'pa-yak-dân' which strictly means (to bring together), (to strike together), but in practice means (to hit the mark).

'Augūten' (hingivten), an intransitive verb universal in Kermānījī and meaning to stumble, is even nearer to original 'hangmat-'. Significantly, this verb and transitive 'angāwtēn' do not exist in either Persian or Hawrāmī. But 'angāwtēn' is found in Parthian. The Parthian verb is 'angawdan', meaning to (end) or (terminate).

Another two Kurdish words derived similarly from 'hangma-': 'ākām' (end, conclusion) and 'anjāma' (hinge), indicate a relationship with the North-West dialects.

Dr. MacKenzie suggests another characteristic which would align Kurdish with Persian while distancing it from Parthian. This is the use of izāfa in Kurdish and middle Persian but not Parthian. However, to argue from this that Kurdish is closer to the middle Persian than to Parthian is fallacious, because the izāfa, which is also used in Zāzā, Gorānī and other central dialects, derives from the Avestic relative pronoun 'ya', feminine 'yā'. Kurdish follows Avestic in using izāfa, and it is not responsible for the loss of izāfa in Parthian. The Kermānījī dialects of Kirmanshah, Sena, Karkuk Province and even the Jāfs have already dropped the izāfa after nouns ending in consonants.

Dr. MacKenzie again sees Kurdish as influenced by Middle Persian in the development of the original Iranian initial 'dw-' to 'd-'. This view is also unconvincing. The development appears also in Baluchī as well as in Persian. Its development in these three languages has two similar sources: 1. 'du-' of the Middle Persian, 2. 'du-' of the younger Avesta.

If 'd-' of the new Persian is taken as a development of the 'du-' of the middle Persian, why cannot the 'd-' of Kurdish and Baluchī be derived from the Avestic 'du-'. Neither Kurdish nor Baluchī in this development are influenced by middle Persian. I wish to recall here Tedesco's words which I should have mentioned earlier "Entwicklungen können immer unabhängig voneinander bloss parallel sein".

Tedesco, pointing to the North-Western word for milk 'shif' observes that the South-Western word is 'shir' and that 'shir' is the word used in Kurdish. Dr. MacKenzie takes this as another mean to align Kurdish with middle Persian. But the 'shir' is not used only in Kermānījī and Baluchī, it is used also in Gahwārayī and Bājalānī which are Gorānī dialects and in the central dialects such as Farizandī, Natanzī, Yarnī, Shahmīrzādī, as well as Gilakī

(1) Kurdish 'far' with rolled 'r'.

is seen in the Ossetic in the form of 'axshir', and closer the original form, in the Pāmlr dialect Munji, 'xshir'. On the other hand in the Kirmanshahī Kermānījī (milk) is 'hefta'. The form 'shir' in Kurdish may be a borrowing from new Persian or not, 'Shift' continues to be found in Kermānījī in a few words such as 'shūt' meaning (water-elon) and 'sheft-a-jē' (a perennially fertile woman).

Once more Dr. MacKenzie seeks to place Kurdish closer to Middle Persian than to the North-Western Group. He writes:

"Again Kurdish appears to share the development of old Iranian 'ōr' to 's' with Persian. The only example edesco quoted with justifiable caution was the numeral 'three', the Kurdish 'se'. But to this one can add a word most unlikely to have been borrowed, as its nearest acceptable relative is found only in the Bāshkardī dialect of Makrān. The Kurdish word is 'pē-xwās' or 'pē-xāwus' (barefoot) Bāshkardī 'pā-xwāwēs'. Gorānī, in contrast, as 'pā-wirwā', and in Zahrāi one finds 'pā-xarwā' and 'pā-xārapā'."

Dr. MacKenzie continues:

"All these forms can be traced back, as was kindly pointed out to me by Dr. I. Gershevitch, who discovered the Bāshkardī, to the Avestic xwā-aoōra (having one's own footwear), thus:

Avestic xwā-ā-aoōra- > *xwāussa- > xwās

(in Kurdish)

> *(x)wāu(h)ra > *wāwir > wirwā

(in Gorānī)

(cf. Gorānī. yarē '3' < *hrē < *ōrayah- (1), and the metathesis in Central Kurdish 'birwā' < *bāwi- (belief))

> *(w)āu(h)ra- > *xāru- (+ pā)

(in Zahrāi)

(Cf. Zahrāi xas- 'sleep' < xwāf-sa-).".

The etymology of pē-xwās, etc. is not so complicated, indeed it is simple:

Let us see beginning with the Gorānī form 'pā-wirwā'. This word is a compound adjective apparently composed of pā-wē-rwā, (a person who goes on his own feet or a barefoot man). The Zahrāi 'pā-xarwā' seems similarly composed from 'pā-xa-rwā' and has the same meaning as a second Zahrāi form 'pā-xa-rapā', with the Avestic form 'rap' instead of 'raw' meaning the same as the Gorānī 'pā-wē-rwā'.

Now we come to the Kermānījī word and find that it is 'pē-xo-ās' meaning the same as the foregoing compounds, and made with the Avestic 'ās' instead of the Avestic 'rap'. All these forms go back to a possibly Median origin.

In these circumstances there seems no reason to accept that Kurdish has followed the Persian pattern in changing 'ōr' to 's'. In passing the number 'thirty' in Hawrānī is 'si' which is the Persian form.

Dr. MacKenzie mentions still other forms to show Kurdish may be closer to Persian than to Median. On the way he attributes an imaginary origin to the Kurdish word 'pālāwten' (2) (to filter). Instead of the imaginary *para-dāwaya-, I suggest as more likely the Avestic 'apa-raethwa' which in the southern language Pāzand is 'pārūdan' and in Sassanian Pahlavi and Persian 'pālūdan'. But Kurdish 'pārūn' and Hawrānī 'parzēn' seem derived from the Avestic 'pairi-herēz' meaning (to filter thoroughly). Dr. MacKenzie finds a tendency in Kurdish for the '-rz-' to become an '-l-' as in Persian. He presents a list of words showing in their Kurdish form the allegedly more

Persian '-l-' and in Baluchī the more north-western '-rz-'. He writes that: "The difference between Kurdish and Baluchī in this respect suggests that proto-Kurdish was in closer contact with the middle Persian South."

But in fact Kermānījī has kept '-rz-' in a number of words while Baluchī in at least one word which is not a loan word from Persian has changed '-rz-' to '-l-'. The word is 'siphulk', Avestic 'sperezan' (spleen). The changing of '-rz-' to '-l-' should not be regarded as indicating a definite South-Western formative influence. The example of such words as 'sipurz' (spleen) in the Middle Persian, and 'sepel' and 'espul' (spleen) in the Central Iranian, Gahwārayī (Gorānī) and Kāshān dialects argue forcefully against such an assumption. It is also found in the Hawrānī 'mel' (Avestic 'mrz'), (neck).

Dr. MacKenzie also suggests that in Kurdish the combination '-nd-' as in Middle Persian has become simply '-n-'.

The answer is that the combined sound 'nd' does not exist in Northern Kermānījī, Mukrī, or Sorānī dialects. Both sounds are pronounced separately and 'd' is not dropped. There are, however, in these dialects a very few words in which 'd' and 'g' of Sulaimani 'nd'(3), 'ng' combination are dropped, such as 'banī' (tied) ['bani' in Sena means (tied, prisoner), in Sorānī, Mukrī and Sulaimani, however, in the form of 'bandī' (prisoner)], hinak, hanek (little), dan (sound), ban (call).

In Sulaimani 'nd'(3) is combined and interchanged with the combination 'ng' and vice versa; each is pronounced as a single sound and with something of twang 'nd'(1) being nasal and 'ng' guttural. On the other hand in Sulaimani often and Senayī and Kirmanshahī always 'nd'(1) becomes 'n'. Even in Hawrānī 'nd'(1) has become 'n'.

(My detailed study of the development of 'd' in Kurdish be found in Galāwēzh, No. 4, 1940, where it was first published.)

Have the Kirmanshahī, particularly, Hawrānī dropped 'd' in the 'nd'(1) combination under the influence of the Middle Persian? Of course not. It must be noted that neither in the Sassanian Pahlavi (unlike the Manichaean Middle Persian) nor in the New Persian has the 'nd' been dropped in favour of 'n' alone.

Finally Dr. MacKenzie writes: "A last agreement between Kurdish and Persian is in the preservation of initial 'fr-' while in many North-West Iranian dialects this has become 'hr-' of the like and in Baluchi's".

But in Hawrānī where the 'fr-' has been changed to 'har-' as in the word 'harmana' (work), the original 'f-' is kept in the infinitive 'farmāwāy' (to order).

Dr. MacKenzie's point is weakened by the example of Kermānījī words in which the original 'f' in 'fr' has changed to 'h'. For example the Avestic 'frāyah', comparative adjective (more) is now in Sulaimani 'hara' (most) which is used with an adjective to make it superlative, as 'hara kurt' (shortest). Similarly the Avestic 'frā-' meaning (forth), has become in Kermānījī 'harā'(2) and 'rā'(2), e.g. 'harā'(2) kerden, 'rā'(2) kerden', to run.

Dr. MacKenzie set out on a bold and original venture of linguistic detection. Unfortunately an examination of the suggestions he offers in support of his hypothesis are, as I hope this talk has shown, not satisfactory.

Indeed investigation of Dr. MacKenzie's account reinforces the more familiar belief. In so far as we can now

(1) with rolled 'r'. (2) with velar 'r'. (3) with softened 'd'.

determine, the weight of evidence strongly indicates that the position of the Kurdish language is among the North-Western Iranian group. By an unexceptional extension we may properly assume that Kurdish is in direct descent from the Aryan Kurdish-Avestic-Median languages.

I wish to conclude by reiterating the crucially important assertion made by Professor Minorsky. For me there is no reason to qualify, as Dr. McKenzie did, Minorsky's statement that "the unity of the Kurds must be explained by its Median basis." On the contrary I see every reason to support it.

To put it another way: I would say that "while the first proto Indo-Iranian Kurds were not, the Kurds of today are Medes".

This evening I have been occupied with refuting arguments which cast doubt on a Kurdish Median connection. But on another occasion I should like to present to you positive evidence for the relationship between Avestic-Median and Kurdish, including evidence from my own observations.

(1) with softened 'd'.

(2) with rolled 'r'.

(continued from page 22)

announced to the world that the Kurdish Liberation Movement has been crushed, yet in spite of the gigantic array of tanks, heavy artillery, airplanes throwing incendiary bombs, etc., the world knows that the very opposite is true, that the Kurdish Liberation Army is today more successful in its operations than ever.

Since the establishment of the United Nations, this great organisation has been instrumental in obtaining the independence of many nations, some of them even smaller in number and of less ancient civilisation than the Kurds. The United Nations has acted in this matter as the sensitive conscience of mankind. The Kurdish people in Iraq, who number two millions, almost a third of the total population, form a distinct ethnic group and have a right to the fulfilment of their national aspirations. Despite the incredible injustice and cruelties perpetrated against them and in spite of their deep attachment to their national identity, knowing that their inalienable rights are more precious than considerations of appeasement, they demand nothing more than national autonomy within the state of Iraq. This modest demand is a clear evidence that there exists no animosity between the Kurdish and Arab peoples, and that it is the burden of the Iraqi government to have to recognise the natural and historical claims of the Kurds. For centuries there has existed a bond of friendship and mutual respect between the Kurds and the Arabs.

The Kurdish people appeal to the conscience of all nations for active and sympathetic help. They are entitled

to the right of self-determination conceded to all peoples, great and small. They cannot achieve their freedom without the moral support of the governments assembled at the United Nations. We would wish that every delegate to the United Nations would acquaint himself with all the facts concerning the Kurdish problem which cries out for a just solution. We call on all governments to put aside all considerations of a false peace and co-operate wholeheartedly in the struggle of the Kurdish people for self-determination.

It is almost half a century since the Kurdish people have pressed for the fulfilment of the promises made to them after the First World War. Tens of thousands of Kurdish men, women and children have been slaughtered, thousands of Kurdish towns and villages destroyed, unspeakable tragedies occur daily, and yet the Iraqi government is allowed to continue its dreadful course without any action taken against it or official protest from the United Nations members.

As you are aware, the Mongolian delegation to the United Nations very graciously consented to bring the Kurdish Problem before the present session of the United Nations but was obliged to withdraw its proposal for lack of sufficient support. It is the fervent hope of the Kurdish people that in the not distant future the governments represented at the United Nations in sufficient number will realise the importance of the Kurdish problem and support placing it on the agenda of the United Nations meetings.

DR. K. BEDIR-KHAN



MY FRIENDS THE KURDS

By A. M. Hamilton.

Whenever the subject of "Kurdish Uprisings" and the suggested Kurdish Autonomy crops up I find I am suspected, unreasonably it seems to me, of taking sides with the Kurds. For I say that an apparently insoluble problem is really easy both to understand and to solve if one cares to study the matter. This may be because I lived for some 4 years in the heart of Kurdistan and know the history of the present troubles so well that I get restive and impatient with those who don't care to listen when I insist that the Kurds, far from being the robbers and ogres of the Middle East are just as understandable in their outlook as myself or my next door neighbour. They have however a weakness common to nearly all highland peoples and in the past have been noted for quarrels and feuds amongst themselves, sometimes very sanguinary affairs. This they must overcome and be helped to overcome by all who wish them well. If they can agree and work with a common policy under leaders all accept, they will become at once a great people. For they have fine basic qualities, not the least being a burning pride "Az Kurmanj" meaning "I am a Kurd!"

To show that until recently the world believed the Kurds to be savages and always in the wrong — a view now changing as shown in recent press reports and books — I recall many years ago being at a meeting of a learned society in London which was discussing the part played by the RAF in 1931-32 in extricating Iraq Army columns then in great difficulties in the Barzan area near where I was constructing the Rowanduz Road. Thinking that with my on-the-spot knowledge I could give useful and interesting information I stood up rather hesitantly (I was very young then) at the end of this discussion on "mountain warfare" and almost wrecked the meeting! For I said that a mere local Kurdish dispute between Shaikh Ahmad of Barzan and a neighbouring Shaikh should not have involved a major Iraq Army movement at all. The RAF action in support of it would then never have been needed. As we had treated a casualty of this local dispute in my road construction First Aid tent (for we treated anyone who liked to come there with whatever injury or illness, my own men or any others) I knew enough of the details and that it was a local feud such as there had always been. There was certainly nothing fighting a war about! I believe I went on to say that I considered the Iraq Army could just as well have conducted its manoeuvres on the deserts near Baghdad, and the RAF could then have been spared the distasteful task of wasting time and ammunition on tribal folk they hadn't the slightest animosity towards. Nor, I insisted, had these tribesmen any towards the RAF. This was shown by the kindly, indeed fraternal treatment, of the one or two injured pilots who had fallen into the Kurds hands. They were nursed till better, then returned to their units. Strange warfare indeed! To say at such a meeting that the objects of a war were non-existent against people with the reputation of the Kurds was sheer blasphemy: the chairman, an elderly Air Marshal whom I afterwards came to know much better thought then that at least I must be an imposter. So in summing up he said acidly "As for the speaker who claims he has lived amongst Kurds I need say no more."

None of us knew it then thought it is clear enough now that this ill judged action against Shaikh Ahmad and his brother Mulla Mustapha would have such far reaching

consequences. History may well have turned on the little Barzan affair. Though the RAF may have scorned to attack defenceless Kurdish tribal villages — I don't recall that they ever did — the recent Iraq revolutionary administrations have thought very differently. They have regarded it as a matter of prestige to harm Kurdistan from the air and on the ground to the greatest extent they can even to the destruction of crops and Kurdish economy. No small part of Iraq's income has been wasted on weapons and operations to this end. The Kurd feels, and who wouldn't? that he has a right to peaceful existence in his own country, through Kurdish Autonomy if not otherwise.

Perhaps as an engineer I am apt to put forward engineering as an answer to many present world problems — provided always that the engineering work, when it is done, is correctly used for the benefit of all. For instance it is no use engineers erecting countless broadcasting stations if all they can recite is the claptrap of "colonialism and imperialism abolished, democracy upheld" or else "communism rooted out" for these phrases are meaningless in themselves and they harm cooperation. They will not feed, shelter or keep mankind warm or cool. The world today just as always has to sow and to reap. That is what matters. In dry countries this means dams, irrigation and scientific cropping. The last edition of my book Road Through Kurdistan includes articles I wrote for the Baghdad Times in 1930 on my suggested plans for Iraq covering buildings, communications, inland water transport, dams and hydro-electric power. These were ambitious proposals for a small country like Iraq but much was happening in the way of carrying them out. These schemes were to apply to all Iraq and very much to Kurdistan where the mountains presented an even more challenging problem to development and improvement of human affairs than did the plains. At the same time the accompanying requirements of education, medical, welfare and many other services were to be met. I was the Iraq appointments officer in London at that time and sent many engineers to Iraq. Few of them are there now owing to so great a part of Iraq's money being spent on unnecessary war and so little on construction.

One might say that my own engineering formula, call it Hamilton's Law if you like or "Pulling the same way gets further than pulling opposite ways", PROGRESS = COOPERATIVE WORK + EVERYONE'S EFFORTS has special application to Kurdistan and to Iraq. I once mentioned a similar engineering solution for the problems of another country' pre-Suez Egypt. It was at a similar learned gathering to the one first mentioned and I said that the already spectacular work of British engineers in the Nile Valley with dams like Aswan should be pressed on with rather than the encouraging of new race issues in the Middle East, then as now such a sore point. The Israeli issue which I refer to has I think lost Britain her former place in Nile development work, but I wish all success to the Russian engineers who are carrying our labours on. Engineering progress at least seems to have world-wide acceptance when politics and race issues can be poles apart!

Returning now to Kurdistan, if the development of this land cannot be conducted peacefully with the co-operation of Iraq then some line must be drawn the north and east of which will be Autonomous Kurdistan or just

Kurdistan and the development of this region must go on independently. I may say this is not an entirely new idea. One of the last Air Vice Marshals who commanded the RAF in Iraq once drew such a line demarcating Iraqi-Kurdistan as he thought it should be to meet some deep differences of outlook that he believed lay between Kurd and Arab. He showed it to me and I know it was seriously discussed at a high level. It might suit the Assyrians too he thought. But with the coming of Qazzaz as both a Kurd and a senior Minister there then appeared to be no

need to consider Kurdistan as better off out of Iraq — with proper cooperation they were better together.

If the Kurds become completely united in their aim then all things are possible. In any new "set up" they will have to win to their side not only Kurds of all tribes and outlook but their fellow mountain peoples and neighbours, Assyrians, Yezidis, Turkomans, Armenians, even win grace also with Iran and Turkey. At their peril they must not repeat feuding or division amongst themselves.

THE CONQUEST OF FORTRESS DIMDIM

Based on the Narration of TARIKHI ALAMARAI
and the Kurdish Folklore (1)

by Kamal Fuad

1. The Kurds in the Time of the SAFAWID State and the Ottoman Realm

The continuous wars between the Safawid State and the Ottoman Realm plunged the Kurds into extreme misery. Kurdistan was always the battlefield of these two states when they attacked each other. The end, at which either of the two states aimed, was to conquer the Kurdish principalities existing at that time and to use them as their "chess-men". When (1501) Shah Ismail I came into power, he continued the cruel policy of Aq-Qoyunlu (2) against the Kurds. He tried to abolish the last remaining Kurdish principalities. He treated the Kurds particularly cruelly because of the religious conflicts. (3)

The policy of the Ottomans towards the Kurds differed not essentially from that of the Safawids. In diplomatic ways and by promises they tried to get the Kurds under their rule. Sultan Saleem (1467-1520) invited the famous theologian Mulla Idris al-Bidlisi (4), who at that time had a great influence of the Kurds, to meet him. He provided him with facilities, made him gifts and ordered him to speak in his name of the Kurdish sovereigns to gain them over to him in case of war against the "common enemy", the Shiites and their leader, Shah Ismail. Bidlisi succeeded in accomplishing his "task".

When the Sultan invaded Iran, sixteen Kurdish sovereigns joined him. During the victorious battle of Chaldiran (1514),

the Sultan became aware of what importance the help of the Kurds had been to him.

Back to his residence Edirne, assisted by Bidlisi the sultan succeeded in uniting the Kurdish principalities to his realm. Bidlisi concluded a treaty with the Kurdish princes in the name of the sultan, which secured full independency regarding their properties to the Kurdish princes and assistance in case of attacks by foreign powers. In return the Kurds engaged themselves to pay tribute to the sultan and assist him in case of war.

Before fifteen years had passed, however, the treaty was violated by the Turks. Step by step they abolished the independency of the Kurdish principalities. By the mid of the nineteenth century they had exterminated even the last independent Kurdish principality, Botan (1848).

So the Kurds lost their independency little by little by the Safawids and Ottomans.

Kurdistan was divided into two great parts. One part of the country was incorporated into the Ottoman, the other one into the Persian realm.

But the Kurds did not humble themselves to foreign rule. Many bloody revolts occurred during that time. One of the numerous battles for the defence of their liberty was the heroic combat of the Kurds on the Fortress Dimdim.

(to be continued)

(1) Homework for the civil-service examination 1962. The theme was given by Professor Dr. Heinrich F. J. Junker, director of the Near Eastern Institute of Humboldt University of Berlin. The theme embraces the following: i) The Kurds at the time of the Safawid State. ii) The conquest of Fortress Dimdim according to the narration of Iskender Munshi. iii) The conquest of Fortress Dimdim according to the Kurdish folklore. iv) The conquest of Fortress Dimdim according to the new Kurdish literature. v) Mukri wording in Kurdishized Arab transcription: a) as a tale in prose, b) epic songs and as appendix, Mukri textes spoken on tape recorders with a sketch of the fortress Dimdim.

(2) Aq-Qoyunlu (1378-1502) and Qara-Qoyunlu (1378-1468) two Turkish dynasties. Verbal translation: the white sheep and the black sheep.

(3) The greater part of the Kurds are Sunnits. This is

why the Shi'ite Safawids did not trust the Kurds, particularly in war against the Sunnite Ottomans.

(4) Mulla Idris al-Bidlisi, the famous Kurdish theologian, contemporary and constant companion of Sultan Saleem exercised a great influence on the Kurds. It was by him that Sultan Saleem succeeded in annexing the Kurdish principalities to his realm. His most famous works are 'Hesht Bihisht' and 'Salim Name'. The later work is written in prose and verse. He died shortly after the death of Sultan Saleem in Istanbul (end 1520). (see Encyclopaedia of Islam, volume I page 1207/8; London 1980). The meanings of the Kurdish historians about his behaviour are different. Some say he assisted the Sultan to annex the Kurdish principalities to his realm for the benefit of the Kurds, others see in him the greatest traitor in Kurdish history.

THE NEWROZ - FEAST

Every year at the first night in spring, the Kurds say Fare - Well to the winter, its cold, its frost and its dark days and welcome the new year by a great celebration. The flames of a big fire flare up to the sky from all peaks of the high Kurdish mountains at that night and show the Kurds that the winter has gone. This feast symbolizes also the inner feelings of the Kurds, and their national feelings. A national feeling that could not be eliminated in spite of the difficulties and oppressions they had to endure during various centuries. This feast (Newroz, meaning New Day) is said to have been celebrated from time immemorial. The People of Iran have celebrated it as their New Year Day when the winter goes and spring comes with its warmth, its light, its beauty and colourfulness.



Newroz in Prague

There are many opinions on why the Kurds consider this feast as their national holiday. One legend accounts for the feast as follows:

Once upon a time, hundreds of years ago, there lived a very cruel sovereign in Iran, whose name was EJDEHAK. They say he had been of Semetic origine. He possessed two huge snakes. Every day they were fed with the cerebrum of two young people. At the same time there lived also a black smith named KAWÉ, who had eighteen children. 17 of them had been killed by EJDEHAK in order to feed his snakes. One day, EJDEHAK requested the last child. This day was NEWROZ. EJDEHAK celebrated this feast with his courtmen. They spent the whole night in high spirits, drinking and dancing. KAWÉ, however, for grief

about his last son, could not celebrate this feast. All over again he sought for a way to save his child. So he took a hammer, made a flag out of his loin-cloth and called the Kurds to make themselves free from this cruel tyrant. The people crowded around him and they set out for EJDEHAK's Palace. They made an assault upon his palace, conquered it and KAWÉ killed EJDEHAK with his hammer. Thereupon the Kurds chose the most able man among them as leader. His name was FERÉYDUN.

Every year from that time on, the Kurds celebrate a great feast on this day in order to reminded of the bold deeds of the blacksmith KAWÉ. And every year anew the Kurds promise to strive after the liberty of the Kurdish people.

When the Ottomans had conquered Kurdistan, they did not allow to celebrate this festival any longer, pretend-



ing that these ideas were against the Islam religion. But the Kurds, as they never esteemed the foreign rulers, kept on celebrating their festival. On Newroz, the fires lit the mountains of Kurdistan even during the hardest time they had to go through, and when the flames blazed high up, also the hearts of the Kurds beat higher.

After the end of the second world war, this festival got a new sense. By celebrating Newroz, the friendship and the fight for peace and democracy grew more vigorous.

Let the fires of this year's Newroz-feast burn brighter than ever to outshine the dark nights of the Kurds and to encourage them in their ardent hope that the day will come when also they will be liberated from all oppressors, together with their Arab, Persian and Turkish friends.

Berlin, 21st March 1965

1st Newroz 2577*)

1) The Kurdish Scholar Colonel Taufiq Wahby sees the Kurdish Calendar as follows:

Kurdish Months

NÖROJ	March — April
GULAN	April — May
BARANBIRAN	May — June
CERMACIMAN	June — July
GELAWÊJ	July — August
BEREPAYTZ	August — September
MİRAN	September — October
GELARÊZA N	October to November
AGIRDAN	November — December
SEHOLBENDAN	December — January
NAWZISTAN	January — February
POLAN	February — March

This calendar is to be published in the Kurdish - English dictionary by Col. T. Wahby and C. J. Edmonds.

The Kurdish callendar is divided into:

Spring	Newroz	(21st March — 20th April)
	Gulan	(21st April — 21 May) and
	Cozerdan	22nd May — 21st June).
Summer	Xermanan	(22nd June — 22nd July)
	Pûşper	(23rd July — 22nd August and
	Gelawêj	(23rd August — 22nd September).
Autumn	Rezber	23rd September — 22nd October)
	Gelarêzan	(23rd October — 21st November) and
	Sermawez	22nd November — 20th December)
Winter	Befranbar	21st December — 20th January)
	Rêbendan	21st January — 20th February) and
	Reşemê	21st February — 20th March).

WÊJY KURDî (Kurdish Literature)

DWA TIRI KEWAN

IBRAHIM EHMED 1949

Dwa tîrî kewanî xot bihawêje, hele duşmin!
Dwa serkewtinî toye, dwa nûçî gele duşmin!
Şewî tirsandîni samî nemawe, tarîk û rûne
Be asoy erxwanîda, hetaw lewdîw keke Duşmin!

Ç gewecî hej beser key xor be hêlek pêşî girawe
We yaxû çerxî mejû key be berdî ewe westawe
Hemû (pê-şkewtinêkî) to, berew çalî neman etba
Hemû serkewtinêkîşit, be wênay bilqî ser awe

Ewa Hitler xudawendî şerî ser rûy zamîn bû xo
Qelay sermayedarî pir tifaqî asinîn bû xo
Le rûy azadî xwazana wekû şûrayî çîn bû xo
Hemû Elmanîyay nazî le dasta wek nigîn bû xo

Kwa vermaxtî elmanî ke etwit her zarûy xwêne?
Kwa luftvafe ew hêze neparêze merg çêne?
Kwa topî? kwa tankî? kwa istolî bê wêne?
Be carê gorî gum bû, giştî wek xoy bê ser û şwêne

Le lay ême helengutin yekem hengawî zal bûne
Le naw botey xebata tuwanewe her şertî qal bûne
Le nûçdan û helengûtîn, niye bakî gelî kurdan
We kû rêgey xebatî xoy şikanî toy lela rûne

Legel karwanî rizgarî gelan erwa be çalakî
Le dûrî rêw, lesexî cêw, dirî duşmin niye bakî
Ne ladan û, ne koldan û, ne westanî heye hergîz
Pişû nada heta nebrê regî çewasanewew makî.



Newroz in Sulaimania

MELAY BITLÎSÎ(*)

IHSAN FUAD

Ba Melay Bitlîsî sed car giyanî zindû bêtewe
Xo firoşî baw bisênê, Kurd biçewsênêtewe
Leşkirî zordarî sed car danî ba rîç bêtewe
Hêrişî Kurd kuştinî, xwên riştinî nebrêtewe
Kurdê ta em serdeme mabê le nasorû xema
Xawen niyazî duşminanî, taze çon etwêtewe
Heyfe kurdê rast le naw em xakêda perwerde bê
Bawerî kurdîyetî perkaw le birî çêtewe
Hênde rara bê leber tirsî jîyan ser şor bika
Rêy neberdî ber bida, bo dîlî biygorêtewe
Peşte-malê bê be ber bêganewe negrîs û pîs
Bo meramî xo firoşî gwê bicûlênêtewe
Rûn be dû çawî bibinê qewmekey xwên dabînê
Çawî daxa malî bo duşmin birazênêtewe
Herçî wicdan bê be serya pê binê bakî nebê
Rû reşê bê şermezarî rûy reşî negrêtewe
Xaw ê xêzanî feramoşî biyabanê bika
Gurg û seg tîy ber bibin wicdanî nekulênêtewe
Xak û xollî tîkelî xwênî ciger goşey bika
Koşkî axay pê durust ka xelkî pê berz bêtewe
Heyfe kurdêkî wiha lem xakêda bibyew bijî
Meşkî wek ejdehak nepjê û pan nekrêtewe
Helgîrî dinyayê hîway Komeley Xwendkarî Kurd
Mangî hiwaman legelîta berze edrewêtewe
Sercemî ba giştî sercê beyne xakî mîdya
Rûberûy zordar biwestîn kurd nerûtênêtewe
Xwên le cergî kurdewar dête xwarê sûr û ges
Wek Siyawayşe le binda ta be key nebrêtewe
Tubî xwa besye îtir, dîlî le rade tî perî
Em gele ta key be damawî bilawênêtewe
Boç newey tazey le tewqa bê, serû pay darizê
Her le naw eşkenceda bê beş le jîn bitlêtewe
Sa be qurbane pelamarê qelay reş leq bika
Hêrşê merdane bê kurdane danemrêtewe
Agîrê her ços bisênê, toleyek pîrşing bida
Şorişêk gerdûn le ber demya serî şor bêtewe
Em pelaney laperey kurdî pelawî kirduwe
Her Meger lafawî xwênî wek şebec biysirêtewe.

(x) Le kongirey noye-mî komele da (Hanover, 3-9, 8, 64)
le layen Kak Ihsan xoye-we xwêndirayewe.

2) The *Shāhnāma* of Firdausi, translated from Persian by A.G. Warner & E. Warner, has made a mention of the relation between Kawe, Ej:ehak (Zahak) and Fereydan as follows:

With the accession of Zahhak evil becomes triumphant everywhere. He practices and encourages black acts, Idolatry, and human sacrifice. He has a warning dream concerning his destined Conqueror Faridun, whom he strives in vain to capture. At length the people, driven to exasperation by Zahhak, revolt to Faridun at the instigation of Kawe the smith, Faridun and Zahhak meet, and the latter

is taken prisoner.

The reader will notice that Zahhak is not slain by Faridun but imprisoned — a point indicative of his supernatural character; and also that the legend of Kawa the smith is, as one would naturally expect, a West Iranian tradition, as shown by its association with the city of Isfahan.

The natives of the town of Damawand, situated on the south side of the mountain of that name, still celebrate a feast, called "Idi Kurd", or the Kurds' Holiday, to commemorate the death of Zahhak.

KURDISH PROVERBS

- 1— A thousand years faithful service to the foreigner and all you get is trouble.
Hezar sal bikey bêgane peristî har d'ênî nishistî
- 2— The tree says if the axe handle isn't my wood, the axe head will never cut me.
Dar elê tewr kilk y le xom nebê, na m birê.
- 3— We make it, others take it.
Kirde y ême w birde y xelkî.
- 4— "Blind man, what do you want?" — Two good eyes".
Köre chît ewe? Dû chaw y sagh.
- 5— When you sabre with one hand have a shield in the other.
Ke shîr it weshand qelghan it pê bê.
- 6— For the poor Kurd wolf or horseman is all the same.
Bo Kurd y hejar, chi gurg chi suwar.
- 7— I prayed to my patron saint — he turned out to be an Arab.
Hiwa man be Weys bu, ew ysh Areb der chu.
Hiwa man be Weys bu, ew ysh Arebe der chu.
- 8— Brothers together but purses separate.
Bira man birayî, kîse man ciyayî.
- 9— One rose doesn't make it springtime.
Be gulêk behar na yê.
- 10— A thousand friends, too few — one enemy, too many.
Hezar dost kem e yek, duşmin zor e.
- 11— Asked who his witness was the fox answered: "My tail".
Be rêwî yan wut: kê shahêd it e, wuty: kilk im.
- 12— Thieves' mate and traveller's companion.
Sherîk y diz e w refiq y qafîle ye.
- 13— Words by the thousands and two are useful.
Qise hezar e w duwan y bekar e.
- 14— Hardly room enough for the fox and he brings his brush.
Rêwî be kunewe ne echu, hejkêk y be duwawe bu.
- 15— Some bread for me and some barley for my donkey.
Nan bo xom u co bo kereke m.
- 16— Asked why he was thin bellied the ant replied. "I do my own work myself."
Le mêrdle yan pîrî: bochî nowqed it varik e.
wuty: îsh y xom xom ey bînim.
- 17— He has one head but a thousand plans.
Serêk y be ye w hezar sewda.
- 18— Every wisdom from a loss.
Her eqle le xesarêk.
- 19— Nobody calls his own dough sour.
Kes be do y xoy na lê tirsh e.
- 20— Scared of the donkey he plays the lion with its pack.
Be ker na wêrê, be kurîan shêr e.
- 21— A full plate, a peaceful home.
Kase y pin ashtî y mal e.

BOOK REVIEW

THE KURDISH REPUBLIC OF 1946.

By William Eagleton, Jr.

PP. VII, 142, 32 plates.

Oxford University Press, 1963, 30 s. in U.K.

It is a great pleasure to me, as a Kurd, to record my admiration for this capable and neutral author and his infatigable endeavours in gathering together the recollections of people in various countries on the growth of the Kurdish national movement, the formation of the political parties in Mahabad, the consecutive events of the creation of a Kurdish republic there, and the inevitable end of it and of its unfortunate leaders.

Mr. W. Eagleton has selected with great intelligence reliable accounts and put them together in this excellent book, in a chain interpolated by his critical comments and explanations.

He believes that the Kurds are not of the Indo-European origin (pp. 1-3). This theory has already its adherents. There are, however, strong arguments against it, which there is no room here to amplify. According to these arguments one can believe that the Nordic Kurds may have, in the end of the 3rd millenium B.C., been among those Indo-Iranians who afterwards formed the Mittannian Kingdom in Northern Mesopotamia.

Unfortunately the author's map of Kurdistan (p. 37) does not show more than the boundary of the Kirmanjî dialect speaking Kurds, including small islands of Zaza and Goran dialects. The figures he gives for the total number of the Kurds (p. 38) are based on official estimates which have, for political reasons, tended to minimise the population.

Mr. Eagleton tells the story of the retreat of the Barzanis to the U.S.S.R. under the command of Mulla Mustafa, which started on 11th March, 1947 and was carried out successfully through the territories of three states: Iran — Iraq — Turkey — Iran, the Barzanis fighting the Iranian army troops, that attacked them from the rear and tried to block their way. It deserves to be regarded as a smaller version of the retreat of the Ten Thousands under Xenophon 2348 years earlier. It is a pity that there was not a Xenophon among the retreating force to immortalize its heroism. Many thanks however, are due to the author who has shown very clearly the gallantry of the operation.

It is to be hoped that this worthwhile book will be translated into Kurdish. For it is full of important lessons for them.

TAUFIQ WAHBY*

* Published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Part 1/2 — 1964.

Review of "Journey Among Brave Men"

by Dana Adams Schmidt 1964

It is very rare that a book can be so topical, yet certain such a fascinating panorama of adventure and experience as this book does. It has all the thrill and dash of an adventure story, coupled with a vivid and emotional description of a people fighting to be left to their own. In one respect it is a work of tragedy; in this it is almost Shakespearian in aspect as it reveals to us the way tragedy can be avoided.

This moving story of the two million Kurds of Iraq brings to light an area which is shrouded in the isolation of both the Cold War and its mountain fastness. Iraqi Kurdistan is engaged in its war for autonomy as the author mysteriously and lugubriously leaves the safety of Beirut to be led in a circumspective route to the war term area.

The beauty of the land, its richness, the spirit of its people, as well as the ever annoying flies comes through to the reader as the author attempts to follow a line of the leader of the Kurdish rebellion Mustafa Barzani. Barzani is typical of his people in his love of honour, his will to endure and fight, and in his intellectual isolation. The Kurds know as little of the "outside world" as the outside world knows of them. The world is one in which small nations have no rights, and the will of the two great powers, the Soviet Union and the United States of America, remains the ultimate hope of success or failure of an autonomous Kurdistan.

Education seems to Barzani's people to be the panacea for all their difficulties, and the subjugation of Kurdistan under the Turks and later the Arabs is held to be the reason for this glaring deficiency in intellectual growth. In some 290 pages emerges the story of a Kurdish language and culture; an emotional affiliation more to the Indo-European than the Arab world.

There exists among the Kurds a consciousness of a national identity that has been established in brilliant flickerings of past glories; glories that are not forgotten but are rather relayed from generation to generation in fable, legend, and apocryphal tale.

To the Kurds the author was the American Government and people. He was the first American who had come to them during their struggle, and it was to him that Barzani and his colleagues made their appeal for American aid. The Migs, and Illusins of the Iraqi government were constant reminders to the Kurds of the Soviet Union's participation in the rebellion. The burnt villages and the maimed bodies of innocent villagers bear full witness to this modern tragedy.

The author tries to explain America's responsibility to her neighboring allies Turkey and Iran which have substantial Kurdish populations. To those who see little beyond their own borders it is the business at hand that worries them, and not the thought of tomorrow's fears. Barzani declared that if the American's had an opportunity they would also supply arms to the Iraqi government. This statement has been borne out by recent announcements of the American intention to conclude an arms deal with Iraq. To the Kurds it is clear that "East and West in their struggle for power think only of themselves". Help us and we will be your friends; Do not help us and we will have to find other friends, Barzani says. No country could wish for a more straightforward appeal. That the United States will have to pay for its blindness later is not the tragedy.

The tragedy is that the Kurds have to pay it now. Life may pass, but the honour of "Brave Men" will always remain.

B. KAPLAN

American Research Student

THE KURDS AND KURDISTAN

By Derek Kinnane

(Institute of race-relations, Oxford University Press,

London 1964, 8s. 6d. in U.K.)

Mr. Kinnane has managed in his book to handle a broad subject in concise and authoritative terms. Often in an attempt to be concise authors either sacrifice important points or have their readers in a confused and perplexed state, but fortunately Mr. Kinnane demonstrates neither of these failings. Within a span of 85 pages he introduces us to the present-day Kurdish struggles, especially in Iraq, to Kurdish society, and to Kurdish history nearly avoiding, however, the "scholarly dispute" of the origins of the Kurds.

He has offered several points which are controversial, one being the population of the Kurds. His estimate is around six millions, which only recently Dana Adams Schmidt, author of *Journey Among Brave Men*, thought the Kurdish population to be more than ten million. But on the whole Mr. Kinnane has written the kind of book which can be well used as an introduction to "the Kurds and their national problem".

Of particular interest was Chapter IX, "The present War in Iraq". The author gives us the background of the war, considers in some detail the Kurdish fight against Kassim, the Baathists, and Arif, and also discusses the leadership and ideology of Mulla Mustafa Barzani and the Kurdistan Democratic Party. This chapter is particularly important because it reveals to us many facts which were not generally known to the world. For example, Mr. Kinnane notes that:

"On 28th October 1963 the International League for the Rights of Man, a body recognised by the United Nations, condemned the Iraqi Government for its 'mass slaughter' and 'virtual genocide'."

The *Kurds and Kurdistan* is extremely helpful to those in Europe following the present struggle of the Kurdish people in Iraq.

from *The Kurdish Journal*

Vol. 1, No. 4 Oct. 1964

(The Magazine of the Kurdish Students Organisation in USA)

(Ed. during 1964 many books were published on the Kurdistan Question of which we mention the following which are to be reviewed in our next issue:

- 1— *The Kurdish War*
by David Adamson — London — 1964.
- 2— *Alt-kurdische Kampfe — und Liebeslieder* —
München — 1964. by Abbas Hilmi.
- 3— *Barba za Kurdistan* —
by Khalifin, N.A. — Moskva 1964.
- 4— *Kurdistan i Kurds kaya problema*
by Lazarev, M.S. — Moskva 1964.

KURDISH SPOKESMEN VISIT EUROPE

Jalal Talabani and Dr. Aziz, leaders of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, have been touring Europe for the past few months explaining to public opinion the justice of the Kurdish cause in Iraq and exposing the Iraq Government's attempts to keep its war against the Kurds secret. While in London in May Mr. Talabani met a group of MPs at the House of Commons, and held a press conference, explained the Kurdish Question to the British public on B.B.C. Television. At every opportunity he emphasized the Kurd's desire for a peaceful settlement, yet failing this, he made clear our determination to resist aggression.

PRESS STATEMENT

20 May, 1965.

The Iraqi Government is continuing its aggressive war against the Kurdish people. This is the third time in four years, and under three different regimes, that an Iraqi Government has unleashed war against the Kurds, who constitute one third of the Iraqi population. Like its predecessor the Arif government is using the most modern conventional weapons of mass destruction against our people, including napalm. Our demands are legitimate and minimal, in this nuclear and space age. We do not ask for more than autonomy within the Iraqi Republic. All modern States with a variety of nationalities have adopted this rule of Government, e.g. Switzerland, India, Yugoslavia.

It is not difficult to understand the aggressive attitude

of successive Iraqi Governments towards the Kurdish problem. It lies in the fact that all these Governments, while trying to exterminate the Kurdish people, were pursuing, at the same time, a repressive and dictatorial policy against the Arabs and against other minorities in Iraq.

We believe that our problem will not be solved until a democratic parliamentary regime is established in Baghdad.

In order to achieve this aim, we will continue our armed struggle in Iraqi Kurdistan, at the same time trying to unite all the nationalist and democratic forces of the whole country to remove the present Government and to establish a democratic parliamentary and non-aligned regime, which will guarantee autonomy for the Kurds and democracy for all the Iraqi people.

We request all governments not to supply any arms or other military assistance to the present Iraqi Government. Such arms will be used ruthlessly and crudely against our people. Our final aim is peace, based on justice and democracy. We call upon all nations and governments to use all that is in their power to put an end to this cruel and aggressive war.

On behalf of the
KURDISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF IRAQ
JELAL TALABANI
Dr. AZIZ

MISCELLANEOUS

Telegram to Great Powers and U.N.

The following are the texts of two telegrams sent by the "COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF KURDISH PEOPLE'S RIGHTS" to the foreign Ministers of the Great Powers while in Vienna in May 1965, and to U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations on the renewal of war in Iraqi Kurdistan.

His Excellency

The Foreign Minister of U.S.A.
The Foreign Minister of England
The Foreign Minister of France
The Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R.

Despite the cease-fire agreement between the Iraqi Dictatorial Regime and the Kurdish leader on February 10th 1964, the military government in Baghdad again started war against the Kurdish people.

The Kurdish problem is not an internal one for Iraq as the government of Baghdad asserts without justification. It is an international problem for the following reasons:—

A. The precedent of the treaty of Severs of August 10,

1920 which anticipated in article 62, 63, 64 the independence of Kurdistan including South Kurdistan (now Iraqi Kurdistan).

- B. The British, after the first world war linked South Kurdistan to Iraq, the state created by them and against the will of the Kurdish people.
- C. The joint Anglo-Iraqi declaration of December 24, 1922, communicated to the League of Nations formally recognized the rights of the Kurds so included within the frontiers of Iraq to establish an Autonomous government.
- D. The People of Southern Kurdistan have never agreed that their Country could be annexed to Iraq against their will. The decision of December 16, 1925 of the Council of the League of Nations, concerning the matter of Mosul vilayet and confirming this annexation changed, The government of Baghdad with precise international obligations having as its aim the setting up of a Kurdish administrative and cultural Autonomy under international guarantees covering the Kurd provinces within the frontiers of Iraq. However none of this has been honored by the Iraqi government.

- E. The new war now being waged by the Iraqi government against Kurdistan is clearly violating the convention for the repression and punishment of the crime of Genocide, as well as the universal declaration of the rights of man and of the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations on the right of peoples of self-determination.
- F. Finally, there was a foreign military intervention in the war against the Kurdish people waged by the Syrian army in the summer of 1963. Presently military forces of United Arab Republic are stationed in Iraq. For the mentioned reasons we request your excellency to take the necessary measures:
1. To stop the Iraqi military operations in Kurdistan and to stop without delay the war of Genocide against the Kurdish people.
 2. Not to send ARMS and MUNITIONS to the dictatorial regime in Baghdad because these arms are used to kill the people in Iraq and to DESTROY KURDISTAN MORE.
 3. To advise the Iraqi-government to solve the problem peacefully in giving Autonomy to Iraqi Kurdistan in the framework of Iraqi Republic with adequate international guarantees provided Iraq remains independent.

On the other hand if Iraq decides to join any sort of an Arab union the solution to the question will be that freely chosen by the Kurdistan people by an act of self-determination carried out under international control and with adequate international guarantees.

COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF KURDISH PEOPLE'S RIGHTS

14. 5. 1965 West-Berlin

Excellency U-Thant,
UN Secretary General
Vienna I.
Your Excellency!

In the past we have submitted to you telegrams and memoranda, copies of which were at the same time passed to the Heads of States of the great powers and heads of Governments of Nations not aligned to either power block. In these we explained at length and in detail the position of the Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan, as well as suggestions aimed at finding a solution for the problems involved.

Unfortunately back in 1962-63 the Kurdish delegation in New York was not given an opportunity of a personal talk with your excellency.

Despite the fact of the armistice between the military government in Baghdad and the leaders of the Kurdish revolution for 14 months, the Kurds in Iraq did not get autonomy. The Kurds did and do everything in their power to solve the problem by peaceful means, or at least bring solution nearer by way of negotiations.

The extensive arms purchases that were recently made by the Baghdad-regime (gas masks and gas bombs, napalm and poison gas grenades) give cause to worry and anxiety. Our experience with the ever changing governments in Baghdad justify our worst fears, i.e. that these terrible and internationally repudiated arms will be used against our Kurdish people.

The campaign of propaganda and calumnisation launched recently against us by the dictator-regime in Baghdad with a view to slandering the Kurdish movement in all parts of the world in reality is nothing but a curtain behind which the Baghdad government tries to hide the recent attack on our homeland and further measures to suppress our people.

Although every people is entitled to self-determination and many peoples have secured their full independence, the Kurdish people does not ask for more than administrative and cultural autonomy under the sovereignty of the Iraqi Republic. It will be recalled that the refusal and suppression of these justified demands brought about, at the time, the downfall of both the Kassem and the Ba'ath regimes.

Despite the last appeal made by president Nasser to both the Iraqi Government and the Kurds to solve the problem peacefully, the Iraqi Government has begun the war against the Kurds.

On April 4, 1965, the Iraqi troops opened fire on the civilian population of Sulaimania in streets, shops and coffee-houses, killing more than 30 men, women and children, and wounding more than one hundred. The corpses lied in the streets for many days. On the 10th of April a second massacre of Kurdish people took place again in Sulaimania.

Since April 15, 1965 Iraqi jet planes are again bombing Kurdish territory with rockets and napalm bombs.

We therefore ask you, your Excellency, to afford to the Kurdish delegation presently in New York the opportunity of expounding the Kurdish problem to you as it really is.

Believing in right and justice and trusting in the high aims of the UNO and the Human Rights Declaration, and, last but not least, deeply interested in maintaining peace in the Near East, we ask your Excellency to take up personally the thoroughly justified cause of the Kurdish people and to stop the Baghdad regime from carrying out the extrmination of our people.

The responsibility for this resumed military aggression lies solely with the Baghdad regime.

COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE KURDISH PEOPLE'S RIGHTS TELEGRAM

Vienna

Hotel Imperial

West-Berlin, 27. 4. 1965

TELEGRAM

The Kurdish delegation in U.S.A.

Mr. Ismet Cheriff Secretary General of the Committee for the Defense of the Kurdish People's Rights, and Mr. Saadi Dizayee, KSSE Gen. Sec/ry, while in N.Y. to bring the Kurdish question in Iraq to the attention of the U.N. and U Thant the Secretary-General, and to inform the American public of the war being waged against the Kurds by the military junta of Baghdad submitted the following Communication:

His Excellency U Thant
Secretary - General
United Nations
New York, New York.
Your Excellency:

Enclosed we have the honor to present to you a letter dated January 7, 1965, that General Mustafa Barzani, President of the Command Council of the Revolution of Iraqi-Kurdistan, entrusted to me for your Excellency, dealing with the situation in Iraqi-Kurdistan.

We would like to state that since January 7, 1965, the fears of General Barzani have been proved exact, and a new Iraqi military aggression, not declared officially by the Baghdad government, is actually under way against the Iraqi - Kurdistan people, and against the defensive positions of our revolutionary army, supported by planes, artillery and tanks.

In these circumstances, and in conformity with the last instructions that we have received from the Command Council of the Kurdish revolution, and of its President, and in view of the extreme gravity of the situation, and the fact that it threatens the peace of the entire region, we are urgently addressing your Excellency and the United Nations, requesting you to consent to make use of the authority given you under Article 99 of the Charter on the following lines:

1. Call a quick meeting of the Security Council and inform it of the national issue of Iraqi-Kurdistan, and of the aggressive and semi-colonial war taking place since September 1961.
2. Put the same question on the agenda of the next General Assembly of the United Nations.
3. We request the United Nations to intervene rapidly in the conflict and to take in this respect the following decisions:

a) Halt immediately the Iraqi military operations in Kurdistan, and stop without delay the war of genocide against the Kurdish people.

b) Send an international commission of inquiry and international force to Kurdistan, pending the finding of a peaceable solution to the conflict.

c) Under the auspices of the United Nations, find a peaceful solution to the national question of Iraqi Kurdistan on the following terms:

Autonomy of Iraqi-Kurdistan in the framework of the Iraqi Republic, with adequate international guarantees, provided Iraq remains independent.

On the other hand, if Iraq decides to join any sort of an Arab union, the question will be that freely chosen by the Kurdish people by an act of self-determination carried out under international control, and with adequate international guarantees.

4. We request you to kindly grant us a meeting so that we may discuss with your Excellency full details of the problem and the steps to be taken with regard to it.

May we also invite the attention of your Excellency to the fact that the national question of Iraqi-Kurdistan and the war which is getting under way is not an internal problem for Iraq as the government of Baghdad asserts without justification. It is an international problem for the following reasons:

a) The precedent of the Treaty of Sevres of August 10, 1920 which anticipated in Article 62, 63, and 64, the independence of Kurdistan, including southern Kurdistan, which it today called Iraqi.

b) The British, after the first World War, linked Southern Kurdistan to Iraq, the state created by them, and against the will of the Kurdish people.

c) The joint Anglo-Iraqi declaration of December 24, 1922, communicated to the League of Nations, formally recognized the rights of the Kurds so included within the frontiers of Iraq to establish an autonomous Kurd government.

d) The people of Southern Kurdistan have never agreed that their country could be annexed to Iraq against their will. Even the decision of December 16, 1925 of the Council of the League of Nations concerning the matter of the Mosul vilayet, confirming this annexation, charged the government of Baghdad with precise international obligations, having as its aim the setting up of a Kurd administrative and cultural autonomy under international guarantees, covering the Kurd provinces within the frontiers of Iraq. However, none of this has been honored by the Iraq government.

e) The Iraqi government in waging war against Kurdistan is conspicuously violating the Convention for the Repression and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in addition to the Universal Declaration of human rights, the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations on the right of peoples of self-determination.

f) Finally, there was a foreign military intervention in the war against the Kurdish people waged by the Syrian Army in the summer of 1963. Presently military forces of the UAR are stationed in Iraq.

In expectation of having the honor of an interview with your Excellency we express our highest regards.

Respectfully,
Kurdish Delegation
New York
April 20, 1965

In a further communication addressed to the U.N. delegates they stated: "We wish to call to the attention of your Delegation that in our letter of April 20 to U Thant as well as in "fact sheet", we have listed the legal, historical and political facts which made our question of autonomy an international one, falling within the jurisdiction of the U.N. and not, as the Baghdad Government insists without basis, an internal Iraqi problem.

In this Connection we wish to recall how quickly the U.N. took steps in the Algerian - French conflict while Algeria was considered by France a "French province" and France was a member of the U.N.; we also point out that the Iraqi-Kurdistan war is now in the fourth year."

Views Expressed in the British press

A Letter to "The Observer" — June 6, 1965

Sir.—I read with great surprise your comments, in your issue dated May 23, about the Kurds in Iraq under the heading "Helping the weak".

The trouble in north Iraq is essentially between a band of mutineers, who happen to be of Kurdish origin and who are supported mostly through fear and terror by a fraction of the Iraqi Kurds, and the legitimate Government of the Republic of Iraq.

Whereas the Government of South Africa has created a policy of *apartheid* and thus deprived the vast majority of the indigenous population of their basic human rights, in contrast the Kurds in Iraq, who constitute barely one-seventh of the total population, play a great part in the Iraqi Government, both as Ambassadors Ministers and Army officials, as well as in all aspects of political life. Their participation in the government of the country is high in relation to their numbers and they are, in fact, fully integrated, through inter-marriage in all parts of the country, with the political, economic, social and public life of the country in all its phases. It is apparent, therefore, that to suggest an analogy as between South Africa and Iraq is quite out of place.

The suggestion that an embargo should be placed on the shipment of arms to Iraq is very astonishing, since it covertly advocates British interference in the internal affairs of any country with which a deal is concluded — a situation which would lead other countries to look to other sources than British with which to conclude their commercial deals, where unconditional transactions are obtainable.

Abdul Rahman Al-Bazzaz

Iraqi Embassy, S.W.7.

A Letter to "The Observer" — June 13, 1965

Sir.—As one who recently visited the Kurdish areas of Iraq, I would like to dispute the statements made by H.E. the Ambassador of Iraq, Mr Al-Pazzaz, regarding the war being waged in Iraqi Kurdistan.

Far from being "a band of mutineers", as the Iraqi Ambassador claimed, the Kurds of Iraq are a well-organised political entity fighting a war of national independence, and the vast majority of the Kurdish population of Iraq is supporting this struggle. I saw ample evidence of this during my visit.

In contrast to the rosy picture painted by the Ambassador, the Kurds are being treated as second-class citizens in Iraq; their integration into the life of the country, about which the Ambassador wrote so enthusiastically, is in fact carried out forcibly, as the inhabitants of entire Kurdish villages in the north are removed to the south and Arab tribes are settled in their stead. As for their participation in the government of the country, nearly all the Kurds have been removed from positions of responsibility in Government offices, and many Kurdish students in the universities and academies have been forced to quit their studies.

The analogy between Iraq and South Africa is, therefore, not so out of place as would seem from the Amba-

sador's letter. The Kurds are in fact fighting a war against colonialism — Arab colonialism.

Brussels.

B. Seal

A Letter to "The Daily Telegraph" — June 2, 1965

Sir.—May I express appreciation of Mr. Edmund Townshend's article (May 21) giving the case for the Kurds, as stated to some Members of the House of Commons by Jalal Talabani?

Though Kurdish autonomy within Iraq is to some extent a new idea it has been suggested before. In 1925 Sheikh Mahmoud of Sulaimania wanted a completely independent Kurdistan, printed his own stamps and created his own force — armed with British rifles! And immediately after World War II Air Vice-Marshal de Crespigny, then in command of RAF bases in Iraq, recommended an independent or autonomous Kurdistan. He proposed defining a boundary to the Kurdish mountainous areas where-in Kurds, Assyrians and other mountain peoples should manage their own affairs.

The proposed "de Crespigny Line" was not dissimilar in position from that given recently on a map of Iraqi Kurdistan in "Journey Among Brave Men" by the *New York Times* journalist Dana Adams Schmidt, which shows the line actually held by the Kurds when Schmidt visited them in 1964.

Thus if the Iraq Government has the wisdom to disengage her Army (supported it is said by a considerable and expensive and unpopular Egyptian force) from Kurdistan it will find it a far better investment in the long run to pay to an autonomous Kurdistan such oil royalties as are due to her with her two million population, rather than to face endless and recurrent war.

If this is considered loss of face it is even more undesirable for the Iraq Government to have to look forward to steadily growing world opinion against it. The attack upon two million Kurds by Arab forces combined to annihilate them is as gross "Imperialism" as could be imagined, and Egypt's liberated African neighbours are likely to say so.

It has been suggested that Britain is not guiltless in that arms were offered to Iraq when Russia dried up her supplies, provided they were not employed against Kuwait — the inference being that they could be used against Kurdistan, and are being so used. This surely is not true and we must find means to dispel or disprove it. Perhaps the best way would be to refuse to take oil from Iraq as long as the war against Kurdistan continues. Or alternatively let the oil be purchased but under the condition that the appropriate proportion of the payment due from the United Kingdom should be handed over to the Kurds through their leaders Mulla Mustapha and Jalal Talabani.

The need for funds in Kurdistan to cope even with their casualties, their burnt crops and ruined villages is not inconsiderable for no Red Cross can as yet help them in their mountain isolation. Their legal position in being entitled to their share of Iraq oil revenue (some £100 million a year) is undeniable — they helped to produce it.

Yours faithfully,
A. M. HAMILTON

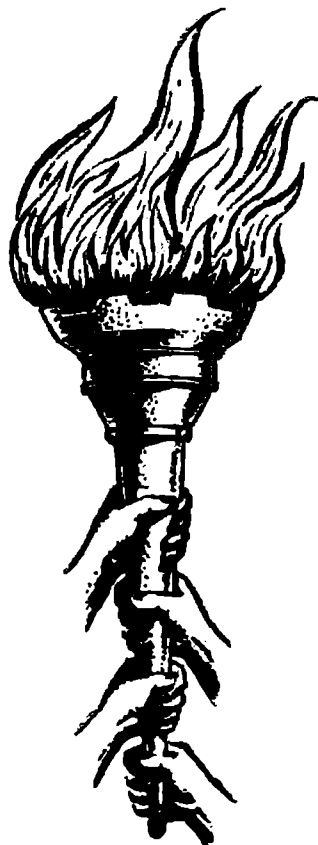
London, S.W.1.

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KURDISTAN



Kurdish Students' Society in Europe

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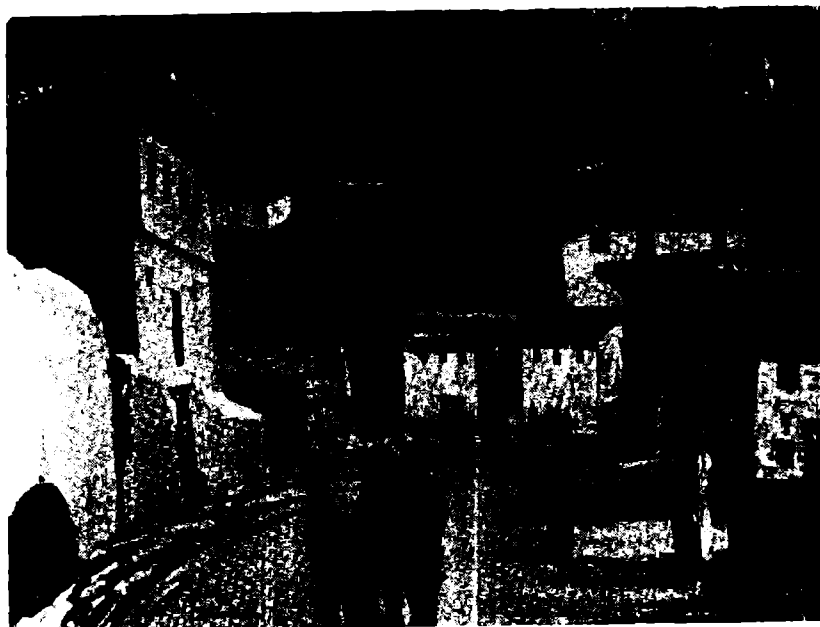
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KOMELEY XWENDIKARANI KURD LE EWROPA



Romantic village of Kurdistan

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Opinions and statistical data submitted by individuals
do not necessarily bind the Society

Editorial

The Twelfth Congress :

With the exception of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe's Second Congress, which was held in London at the end of December 1957, all other congresses have been held in summer, and mostly in August. The Twelfth Congress was also to take place from 17th to 22nd August of this year. While everything in Vienna was set and delegates from all over Europe were preparing for departure, the Austrian authorities announced on August 10th 1967 that the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe Congress was not going to be allowed in Vienna, and measures would be taken by various Austrian Embassies in Europe not to grant entry visas to the Kurds. This sudden and surprise action by the Austrian Government, at such short notice, caused understandably numerous problems and inconvenience for us. According to some Austrian papers the Iraqi Government had exerted pressure on the Austrians and threatened them with a break in diplomatic relations. The same papers have later published a Government Communique stating that the action was taken by the Austrians alone and under no pressure whatever. The Executive Committee of the K.S.S.E. had promptly sent a letter to the Austrian Ministry of Internal Affairs deploring their action, which was considered unfair, to say the least. In a very long letter, dated November 1967, to the K.S.S.E. Secretariat the Austrian Government tries to defend its action and gives its neutrality and good relations with the countries dividing Kurdistan as main reasons behind that stand. We do not wish to go into details of how wide a country's neutrality can be interpreted, but we do wish to point out that there have been in Austria, since 1955, various activities from different organisations which have not always pleased some governments with whom Austria has good relations.

The Kurdish Students, in their divided land, are deprived of all academic rights, let alone the right to meet and form their own organisations openly, and they see the Austrian Government's action as an indirect support to the fascist and narrow-minded policies of the governments in Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria in their desperate attempt to silence the ever-rising voices of the Kurdish students and people will condemn the action of their government in forbidding our Congress in such a manner.

The Congress had to be postponed. Now, thanks to the efforts of Yugoslav students and the authorities concerned, our Twelfth Congress will be held in Belgrade from 27th to 31st December 1967.

Holding the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe's Annual Congress this year in Yugoslavia has a great significance: it is the first time for a general Kurdish Students' Congress in Europe to take place in a socialist country; it proves that the world is much wider than Austrian territories and shows that the Kurds are not, after all, entirely alone, friendless and without sympathies in this wide world. In the name of all Kurdish students in fifteen European countries, the Executive Committee of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe expresses its profound thanks and gratitude to the Yugoslav students and Government.

Kurdistan :

Towards the end of June 1966, a twelve-point agreement was reached between the Kurds and the Iraqi Government in order to "end the bloodshed and guarantee the equal rights of the Kurds and Arabs". The Kurdish Students in Europe, at the conclusion of the Eleventh Congress in August 1966, in West Berlin, found these point insufficient and unanimously adopted a resolution calling for a speedy implementation of the twelve points which were regarded as a step towards achieving the Kurdish revolution's main objectives, viz. Autonomy for Kurdistan within the framework of a democratic Iraq.

Eighteen months have passed since the agreement was announced, and each of the four government which came to power during this period endorsed the "Peace Plan" without taking any serious action to apply it. The present government forms, now and then, committees and sub-committees to "deal with the Kurdish problem", but these committees have had no effective say and even their authorities are vaguely defined, therefore they, in effect, only help to prolong the present state of stalemate in Kurdistan, which could before long become explosive again. The rulers in Baghdad do not seem to realise that the Kurdish question is the most important problem facing Iraq today, and without a just and honourable solution to it there can be no stability and peace in the country. It is high time for the present government in Baghdad to learn, even a little, from the events of the past six years. Leaving the Kurdish question unresolved, continuing the policy of previous governments in detailing a large number of political prisoners, Kurds and Arabs, and denying the Iraqi people all democratic rights will undoubtedly result in no better end for this government than that of the numerous government which have come and gone since 1961. This policy would leave Iraq continuing to struggle between survival and complete destruction.

While the cause of present anarchy in Iraq is well known to the world in general and neighbouring countries in particular, the short-sighted leaders of Turkey, Iran and Syria have renewed their activities in oppressing the Kurdish people. Governments of Turkey and Iran have recently intensified the persecution of the Kurds. There have been talks in Iran of armed resistance to these measures. These governments should at long last realize that the policies of force can actually be substituted by reason and logic in solving the Kurdish question.

The ruling Syrian Ba'athists, who claim to be progressive and true socialists, are busy carrying out their "Arab Belt" plan, whereby nearly 150,000 Kurdish peasants living on a strip of land seven miles deep, adjacent to the Iraqi and Turkish frontiers, are to be removed southwards to the desert and to be replaced by Arabs and Bedouins from elsewhere. Another 150,000 Kurds have been, as a result of a new population census, deprived of their Syrian nationality. The Kurds in Syria are being persecuted in a most ugly manner, their land and properties are being confiscated and they have become victims of the reactionary fascist policy, no matter how loud the Ba'athists in Damascus may boast of their socialism and "progressive policies". It is quite a paradox when 100 square miles of Syrian territory is under Israeli occu-

pation, the Syrian Ba'athists should display their own meagre muscles in the face of the peaceful Kurdish population, which has no wish other than to live in peace and harmony with its Arab compatriots. It is an absolute hypocrisy to talk of socialism and equality when nearly half a million Kurds in Syria do not have the right to lead a normal life, without even considering their national rights within the Syrian Republic.

"Human Rights Year" has just started (December

10th) to mark the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The twelve million Kurds have no reason to celebrate this important occasion. They are fallen victims of world politics. We hope that in the coming year some pressure from the signatories of the U.D.H.R. would be put upon the governments of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria in order to put an end to this neo-barbarism, injustice and human suffering in Kurdistan. It is their moral duty.

KURDISH STUDENTS SOCIETY IN EUROPE 1966-1967

on the 16th August, 1957, seventeen Kurdish students in Wiesbaden (F.G.R.), at a meeting decided to establish a Cultural Society of the Kurdish Students in Europe.

The SECOND CONGRESS of the Society, was held from 2nd to 4th January, 1958, in London, and it was attended by twenty-two Kurdish students.

The THIRD CONGRESS was held from the 4th to 8th August, 1958, in Munich, and it was attended by seventeen Kurdish students. During this Congress it was decided to change the name of the Society to the KURDISH STUDENTS SOCIETY IN EUROPE.

The FOURTH CONGRESS was held from the 23rd to 26th July, 1959, in Vienna, and it was attended by forty Kurdish students.

The FIFTH CONGRESS was held from the 22nd to 26th August, 1960, in West Berlin, and it was attended by seventy-three Kurdish students.

The SIXTH CONGRESS was held from the 21st to 26th August, 1961, in Münster (F.G.R.) and it was attended by one hundred and nine Kurdish students.

The SEVENTH CONGRESS was held from the 9th to 10th August, 1962, in Braunschweig (F.G.R.), and it was attended by one hundred and ten Kurdish students.

The EIGHTH CONGRESS was held from the 9th to 15th August, 1963, in Munich, and it was attended by one hundred and fifty-six Kurdish students.

The NINTH CONGRESS was held from the 3rd to 9th August, 1964, in Hanover, and it was attended by one hundred and eighty-three Kurdish students.

The TENTH CONGRESS was held from 17th to 22nd August, 1965, in West Berlin, and it was attended by one hundred and twenty-five Kurdish students.

The ELEVENTH CONGRESS was held from the 26th to 30th August, 1966, in West Berlin, and it was attended by one hundred and seventeen Kurdish students.

Apart from the Kurdish students who are studying at various Universities in Europe, many representatives of other organisations and a number of Journalists and distinguished guests were present at the Congresses.

The Organ of the Society is the KURDISTAN MAGAZINE and so far ten issues of it in English, one in German in

1958, and one in Arabic in 1960, have been published and many other publications in different European languages have been published by the General Committee and Branch Committees.

In June 1966, the General Committee, issued the first edition of PIRING MAGAZINE, literary and cultural magazine, which is published in the Kurdish language.

The Society has four hundred and fifty members and they are studying in the following countries:-

Sweden, U.K., France, Austria, F.G.R., West Berlin, G.D.R., Poland, C.S.S.R., Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Roumania, and U.S.S.R.

The Society has contact with about one hundred students and non-student organisations for exchanging publications and delegations in their Conferences.

The Society has been a member of I.U.S. since December, 1964.

Basic Aims:

- 1 Strengthen the relationship of the Kurdish students in Europe, and to help solve their academic problems.
- 2 Facilitate mutual aid between Kurdish Students in Europe.
- 3 Promote the Kurdish National Culture, and work towards the good of the people and its national question.
- 4 Enlighten the world on the culture, country (Kurdistan), and condition of the Kurdish people and its national question.
- 5 Strengthen the spirit of co-operation and friendship between the Kurdish students and the students of other countries, and contact student and non-student organisations, both national and international, and co-operate with them in the scope of our mutual aims and interests.
- 6 Contribute in the struggle of our people and support all peoples in the struggle against Imperialism, Reactionaries and Dictatorial Regimes for world peace, democracy and liberty.

THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF THE ELEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE KURDISH STUDENTS SOCIETY IN EUROPE

The Eleventh Congress of the K.S.S.E. took place in West Berlin from the 26th to 30th August, 1966, under the slogan:-

"For a peaceful settlement of the Kurdish Problem in Iraq on the basis of Autonomy and Democracy."

The Congress was attended by one hundred and seventeen Kurdish students studying at various universities in Europe, representing the following branches:-

The United Kingdom, France, The Federal German Republic, West Berlin, The German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, and the U.S.S.R.

Messages and telegrams were received from those who could not attend because of their difficult circumstances.

The Congress was opened in the (Free University), in West Berlin, and all the participants stood in silence for one minute in memory of the Martyrs of Kurdistan.

The Congress was then addressed by the President, who began by welcoming the guests and he gave an account of the political situation in Kurdistan. Then there followed speeches from the guests.

The Congress' settings continued up to the 30th August during these settings, the Executive report, the Finance and the Branch reports were discussed.

The Congress passed important resolutions and many recommendations were adopted by the Congress. Finally the new members of the Executive Committee were elected and the Congress ended with the Kurdish National Anthem (Ey regeb her mawe gewmi Kurd Ziman).

The Executive Committee of the K.S.S.E.
31st August, 1966.

Some of the Resolutions of the Eleventh Congress

Considering that the cease-fire is a right step towards solving the Kurdish problem peacefully, the Congress urges the sincere Partisans of Kurdistan to be aware of the plans of imperialists and reactionaries in their efforts to split our revolution, without fulfilling our aims in an Autonomous Kurdistan within the framework of a democratic Iraq, and this mainly depends on ending the military dictatorship regime and establishing a parliamentary and democratic system.

The Congress salutes all the democratic and national forces in Iraq, and calls on all of them to unite in a National Democratic Front to overcome the dictatorship regime and to establish a parliamentary democratic government which will bring in the Kurdish National Rights (Autonomy for Kurdistan), and defend freedom, peace and unity of the Republic of Iraq, and stand against Imperialistic plans and its tools.

The Congress asks for Democratic Freedom in Iraq, and demands the release of all political prisoners.

The Congress condemns the re-arrest of Syrian Kurds, and demands their release and asks for equality among Syrians and to return national identities which have been taken away by unjustifiable action from thousands of Kurds and the Congress asks for national and cultural rights for the Kurdish people in Syria.

The Congress requests the government of Iran to grant cultural and national rights in Iran, and to open schools

and to allow Kurdish publications and to improve the social and economic situation of the Kurdish people, and to release all political prisoners.

The Congress showed its approval with the explanation of the Kurdish question in the Turkish Press and magazines by progressive and democratic Turks; and the Congress asks the Turkish Government to grant the national rights of the Kurdish people in Turkey and to allow the opening of schools and publications in the Kurdish language and to improve the social and economic situation of the Kurdish people in Turkey.

The Congress supports all the nations in the world in their struggle against imperialism and reactionaries for peace, liberty, democracy and equality.

The Congress condemns the action of aggression by imperialistic countries in the internal affairs of other countries and it supports the struggle of the Vietnamese people against American aggression in their country.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY AFTER THE ELEVENTH CONGRESS

Submitting a memorandum to the Iraqi Government.

Submitting a memorandum to the Syrian Government about the exploitation of the Kurdish people in Syria and excluding them from their national rights.

An appeal to all the national forces in Kurdistan to co-operate and work together to strengthen our revolution and to achieve the aims of the revolution.

The second number of Pirsing was published in the Kurdish language, and its contents were:-

- 1 Witari Pirsing - Destay Nuscran.
- 2 Yadi Shidani Kurdistan - K.B.G.
- 3 Berew Rûnaki - I.A.
- 4 Pirsing le tay terazûda - K.M.
- 5 Tanya Kijoley Rûs - Kakay Rêbwar.
- 6 Le Cwarinekani Besir Mûsir - K.C.K.
- 7 Pirsing La esoy derbederiya - I.F.
- 8 Le sire bilaw nekrawekani
Haci Qadiri Koyi.
- 9 Le baxi gulek.
- 10 Tifeny u demancey Sikaw.
- 11 Zimane Eraniyekan.
- 12 Ehmedi Xani

Preparation for the Twelfth Congress which was to be held in August 1967, in Vienna.

Strengthen relationship between our society and other national and international organisations in the scope of our mutual aims and interests.

A delegation of the Society attended the Ninth Congress of the International Union of Students, held in Ulan Bator, Mongolia, from the 27th March to 5th April, 1967. At the Congress our delegation presented a report on the political situation in Kurdistan and introduced a plan on the Kurdish situation which was accepted by all the delegates, and the Congress passed a few resolutions in support of the Kurdistan people.

Two representatives of our society attended a seminar organised by the I.U.S. and F.D.J. from the 8th to 14th February, 1967.

A delegation of the Society attended a seminar held by the Yugoslav Union of Students from the 20th to 30th July, 1967 in Yugoslavia.

A SELECTION OF THE MAIN PUBLICATIONS OF OUR SOCIETY WILL NOW FOLLOW.

FACTS CONCERNING THE PRESENT SITUATION IN IRAQI KURDISTAN

On the 29th June, 1966, the Iraqi Government declared a plan consisting of 12 clauses as a settlement to the Kurdish problem at present existing in Iraqi Kurdistan. Excluding the clauses which are no more than attempts to re-establish the situation before the flare up of the revolution of September, 1961, this plan does not exceed, first civil rights, and secondly cultural rights.

These rights, and even the autonomy which is demanded by our people do not exceed the rights of any minority group. It is obvious that the Kurds of Iraq are not a mere minority group but constitute one third of the Iraqi population. We believe that there will not be a complete settlement without a democratic regime which could guarantee autonomy for Iraqi Kurdistan within the Iraqi republic and respect all the minority rights which have been achieved by many countries in the world. For example Yugoslavia which, despite being formed from six unitary republics and two autonomous regions, allows full cultural rights to any national minority living in any one of these republics. This solution of the national question in Yugoslavia has resulted in a strengthening of unity and progress in the welfare of the people.

In spite of this our Society welcomed the Government plans as a step towards re-establishing normality in the country and put an end to the blood shed between Kurds and Arabs. Now, six months after the declaration of the 29th of June 1966, the Iraqi Government has only fulfilled a very small part of the 12 clauses of the plan. They have released a small number of Kurdish prisoners, re-employed some Kurdish individuals and paid some compensation to those who suffered because of the war. This does not fulfill the demands for which our people have been struggling.

The Government has not yet made any effort to allow our people any cultural rights. Publications in Kurdish are prohibited and Kurdish is not recognised as an official language in Kurdistan. The agreement made, that Kurdish villagers who had been forced from their homes and replaced by Arabs would be allowed to return, has not been honoured.

The Government should not hesitate to fulfil its plan with the utmost speed so as to avoid a resumption of the fruitless war and the same hazards and troubles for itself and for Iraqi people, otherwise the full responsibility of a resumption of war will fall entirely on the Iraqi Government.

The present attempts to make use of existing differences between some Kurdish National forces will not help in solving the crises; on the contrary it will undoubtedly add further complications. The previous Government tried this method in 1964 and failed; its fate is not likely to be any better today. The right approach towards solving the Kurdish problem is by granting the just demands of the Kurdish people. Safeguarding the countries independence and its national unity requires an acceleration in the fulfilment of these primary demands and ending the situation of emergency in Iraq.

The Iraqi Government would be better to follow a course of wisdom and abandon past methods which have proved to be useless. National progressive Forces in Iraq, those whose concern is in the best interest of both Arab and Kurd, are called to do their utmost to prevent a resumption of conflict in Kurdistan by compelling the Iraqi Government to fulfill the plan of the 29th of June 1966, concerning the Kurdish people.

19th February 1967

General Committee of K.S.S.E.

AN EXPOSITION FROM K.S.S.E. ABOUT THE OPPRESSION OF THE KURDISH PEOPLE IN SYRIA

Our Society welcomed the changes in the policies of the 'Ba'ath Socialist Party, which rules Syria, and we were very optimistic about these changes, both as far as the situation in Syria and the attitude of this Party towards the Kurdish question are concerned. The change from National Socialism to Scientific Socialism it was hoped would be accompanied by a change in its policies towards the Kurdish question generally, and the Kurds in Syria in particular. We very much regret to say that its attitude has worsened daily towards the Kurdish question in spite of increased claims of its 'leftist policies'. For instance, after the ceasefire agreement between the Iraqi Government and Kurdish forces and the subsequent declaration of 29th July, 1966, which contained some rights for the Kurds in Iraq, the Syrian Government took a very aggressive attitude towards the declaration and described as a 'plot' and 'separation' and so forth, customary accusations to which the Arab and international public opinion are used to hearing, without considering the miseries this war has brought to both the Kurds and Arabs since 1961, and the damage it has done to their struggle against their common enemy — the Imperialist.

It did not stop there, the Syrian Government increased its fascist methods towards the Kurds in Syria. Hundreds were subjected to imprisonment and the 'Syrian National identity' was withdrawn from hundreds of others. They were also forced to evacuate their villages and the 'Land Reform Scheme' was not applied to Kurdish farmers. They also refused to accept Kurdish graduates in the civil service and other posts.

Briefly, the Syrian Government looks towards the Kurds as an enemy, and tries by all methods to withdraw the simplest of nationalist rights. Clearly these methods do not agree at all with the principles the Ba'ath Party demands and neither do they do the Syrian or the Arab cause any good.

The Syrian Government ought to take a firm stand against the plots of Imperialism and its oil companies in the area, instead of using its power on a friendly nation. Had the Syrian Government been truthful about its claims of 'liberty, unity and Socialism', it would offer a friendly helping hand to the Kurdish people and ensure their equality in Syria, not to exercise against them an outdated racist policy. The Syrian struggle is against Imperialism and Zionism, not against a people friendly towards the Arabs.

The suppression of 10% of Syria's population from their national rights does not agree at all with 'Scientific Socialism' which is what the Ba'ath Party claims. The progressive steps in the political and economical fields should be free from chauvinism. Indeed the 'Scientific Socialism' and 'National Suppression' contradict each other. Talk of unity will not mean anything as long as those doing it do their best to widen the gap of hatred between the citizens of one country. We, therefore, call upon all those who defend human rights, to support the removal of 'Nationalist suppression' to which our Kurdish people in Syria are being subjected. We also call upon all Arabs and Kurds to work towards strengthening friendship ties and uniting on one front, as our struggle for the rights of both nations requires.

March 1967

General Committee of K.S.S.E.

THE KURDISH STUDENT SOCIETY IN EUROPE CONDEMNS THE ISRAELI-IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION AGAINST THE ARABS, DESPITE :

- 1 The chauvinistic stand taken by the Nationalist forces in the Arab countries towards the Kurdish question.
- 2 The armed aggression against our people in Iraq over a period of five years at the hands of the military dictators.
- 3 The suppression of the Kurdish citizens in Syria at the hands of the ruling Ba'ath Party.

Starting from its belief in the principles of the solidarity amongst all the peoples of the world in their struggle against imperialism and dictatorship, and moving towards freedom, democracy and world peace", and owing to the Eleventh Annual Congress' resolution affirming its support of the Arab Liberation Movement against Imperialism and Zionism and for independence and democracy. Our Society reaffirms its support to the rightful demands of the Arab people in Palestine, and fully supports the national liberation movement of the Arab countries.

It is our belief that the only way to the realisation of the Arab people's hopes—eliminating the imperialist influence, the completion of its independence, checking the results of the last aggression and solving the Palestine problem in a manner which guarantees the rights of the Arab in Palestine together with the peace and stability of that area, thus silencing both the Imperialists and Israel and repelling their conspiracies of aggression—is through the establishment of truly democratic regimes in the Arab countries, the solution of the internal problems and conditions, achieving a higher standard of living economically socially and culturally.

Finally we state that the first step we envisage for bringing about a solution for the present crisis in the Middle East, is that the United Nations, together with all peace-loving countries, try seriously by all possible means to force Israel to 1. withdraw from the areas that it has occupied through the recent aggression, 2. put an end to its criminal policy and 3. guarantee that there are no future acts of aggression.

Middle of June 1967. General Executive of the K.S.S.E.

MEMORANDUM OF THE KURDISH STUDENTS' SOCIETY IN EUROPE TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

To his Excellency, the President of the Iraqi Republic, Major-General Abdul-Rahman Mohammed Arif:
"Greetings,

Our Society, like all the friends and sincere citizens of Iraq, welcomed the declaration ending the military operations in Kurdistan in June 1966. This revived our hopes of solving the Kurdish problem through peaceful means, that could put an end to a war between brothers that has lasted so long and cost our country so much heartache. Thus it has become clear that a solution of this problem could not have been brought about by force and violence. The premier, Dr. Abdul Rahman Al-Bazzaz, stressed at the time in the statement, that he made on Baghdad Radio and Television, on the 29th June 1966, that the Kurdish problem is very real and could not be solved by force. His

statement included a plan consisting of twelve points which suggested a 'solution to the problem of Northern Iraq.' Nevertheless, the above mentioned programme, despite the fact that it met only the minimum demands of our people, was accepted by the leaders of the Kurdish revolution, who were eager to create an atmosphere favourable for restoring peace and to save the people of Iraq from the tragedy of the war in Kurdistan.

We deeply regret that a whole year has elapsed since that statement was made and none of its clauses have been fulfilled except some minor and almost negligible demands.

With regard to the cultural demands, we have so far not heard of a single book, magazine or newspaper being published in Kurdish. The Kurdish language has not been introduced into the teaching syllabuses of any of the schools of the areas where the majority of the inhabitants are Kurds. How can a nation be deprived from learning its own language in the second half of the 20th century? Or, is it right to prevent one-third of the population of a country from publishing a newspaper, magazine or book in its own national language? World public opinion will no doubt condemn such a situation.

Finally, we sincerely hope that the Iraqi Government will follow the path of justice and wisdom and move quickly to implement the declaration of 29th June 1966, resulting in freeing itself and the Iraqi people from the burdens of the existing conditions.

With kind regards".

29th June 1967.

The Executive of the K.S.S.E.

THE KURDISH STUDENTS SOCIETY IN EUROPE DISCUSSES THE UNRISE IN IRAN

After the revolution in 1958 in Iraq, and the formation of the Iraqi Republic, which it was hoped would be democratic and guarantee the Kurdish national right, many Kurdish patriots took this opportunity to serve the Kurdistan cause, and decided to go to Iraqi Kurdistan. When at that time the Iraqi Government attacked Kurdistan and the Kurdish revolution started, these Iranian Kurds joined in the revolution because they sincerely believed that any Kurdistan triumphs in Iraq would be a triumph for Kurds everywhere, since the Kurdistan problems are similar throughout Kurdistan.

Unfortunately Iranian security Forces captured some of these partisans and in one day eight of them were executed (in Khana), in Iran by Iranian forces. Some of the others were killed or persecuted by the police. The rest of the Iranian Kurds decided to leave Iranian Kurdistan and go to certain places from where they could resist the Iranian forces so that they would not be handed back to the Iranian authorities. The Iranian Government started once again to exploit the Kurdish people in Iran and many Kurds are now in prison where they are subjected to torture.

Our Society salutes the struggle of our people in Iran and condemns the unjust action by the Iranian Government and we ask the Iranian Government to release all political prisoners and give the Kurdish people their national rights.

23rd August 1967.

General Committee of K.S.S.E.

**SPEECH OF THE DELEGATION OF THE KURDISH STUDENTS' SOCIETY
IN EUROPE AT THE 12th SEMINAR HELD BY THE YUGOSLAV UNION
OF STUDENTS, DUBROVNIK, YUGOSLAVIA, 29th-30th JULY, 1967**

Mr. President,
Dear Friends,

On behalf of the Kurdish Students Society in Europe I would like to thank the Yugoslav Union of Students and the League of Yugoslav Universities for their friendly invitations to us to take part in this international Seminar.

We are quite sure that such meetings between the various international students organisations will help to strengthen the relations between the students of all countries and constitute a solid basis for a better understanding in this world for the cause of peace and progress.
Dear Friends,

Allow me to inform you briefly about our Students' organisation:

The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe was established in 1956. Next month it will hold its 12th annual Congress in Vienna between the 17th and 22nd August. The Society has branches in 15 European countries and includes about 400 members who are studying in Europe and who come from all parts of Kurdistan.

The aims of the Society are to organise the work and the fight of the Kurdish students in Europe for peace and democracy, for achieving the national rights of the Kurdish people and also for the cultivation of the Kurdish language and culture, as well as collaboration with all progressive organisations for the common cause.

The Kurdish people live in the near East. Their country 'Kurdistan' is dividing among Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. In all these countries the Kurdish people have been deprived of all their cultural and national rights. In the Turkish part of Kurdistan the Kurds are officially called "Mountain Kurds" and the Kurdish language is banned there. In Iran there are no Kurdish schools and no Kurdish books, newspapers or magazines published. In Syria the present Government considers itself to be socialist and progressive takes a very hostile attitude towards the Kurdish people. This attitude is very regrettable and we hope that this policy of repression carried on against the Kurdish population in Syria should be brought to an end and the legitimate rights of the Kurds should be recognised. It is quite evident to everybody that socialism and suppression are contradictory to each other.

In Iraq our people have been subjected to an unjust and cruel war waged by the Iraqi Government and lasted for five years (from September 1961 until June 1966). Our people have only demanded a minimum of his national rights, but we have got nothing more than bombs that burnt and destroyed our villages and towns. Nevertheless, we hope that the Iraqi Government will stand up for the promises stated in the agreement of the 29th June 1966. We also hope that this war shall never start again and that the rights of the Kurds will be realised. No one will benefit

from a flare-up of a new war except the imperialists whose interest is to hamper the progress of the countries in this part of the world.

The national movement of the Kurds is a democratic and peace-loving movement which supports all anti-imperialist movements throughout the world, especially of those people with whom the Kurds are living together, that is the Turks, Persians and the Arabs. From this very attitude we have condemned the Israeli aggression against the Arabs as we have firmly stood against the American aggression in Vietnam. We hope that this burning problem in the Middle East should be solved by peaceful means. Only in peace can the countries of the Middle East overcome their social, political and economic difficulties. The large amounts spent on armament should be used to change the miserable conditions under which the majority live. Only by this means each country in the region will be able to raise the living standard of its population and pay much more attention to solve its internal problems as the case in Iraq and Syria in respect to the Kurds. It would have been much better for the Iraqi Government to spare the large amounts of money spent in the war against the Kurds for beneficial projects.

Dear Friends,

I think it is difficult—after this quick survey of the conditions under which the Kurds are living—to talk about the problems of university life in our land. There is no university in any part of Kurdistan. On the contrary, the Kurds are deprived from their own language. We are in need of primary and secondary schools. We hope that all the participants in this Seminar will transmit the voice of our people to their peoples and support our fight for a peaceful and just solution for the Kurdish problem.

Long live the struggle of all students and peoples throughout the world for peace, national independence and democracy.

Thank you for your attention.

**An Appeal from K.S.S.E. to the Kurdish People
on the Sixth Anniversary of the Kurdish Revolution
in Iraqi Kurdistan**

The appeal gives a brief account of the political situation in Iraqi Kurdistan and urges all the partisans and Kurdish people to be really united in their struggle against their enemies. It urges all the Kurdish people, especially the partisans, to co-operate in every respect and not to give up the struggle until the aims of the revolution have been achieved and to solve their conflicts so that they will be able to crush the common enemy.

September 1967.

General Committee of K.S.S.E.

SUPPORT FOR THE KURDS

The following Resolutions were passed in support
of the Kurds

Resolution of the 9th Congress of the International Union
of Students on the Kurdish Question

The 9th Congress of the IUS Meeting in Ulan Bator, Mongolia
from March 26th April 5th, 1967

Considering

- 1 the division of the Kurdish nation by the imperialists between Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria and the suppression of Kurdish national rights in these countries;
- 2 the continuous suppression of the Kurdish people in Turkish and Iranian Kurdistan and their deprivation of the most elementary legitimate national rights;
- 3 the recent developments in Iraqi Kurdistan and the termination of hostilities in accordance with the June 20, 1966 Agreement, which came as a result of the resurgence of forces of the Kurdish revolution, but which has not been implemented due to the fact that the Iraqi Government did not fulfil any of its promises;
- 4 that the struggle for democracy and against the imperialists and their agents forms a cornerstone of the fight of Iraq people, Arabs and Kurds alike;
- 5 that the progressive steps taken in Syria in the struggle against imperialism and zionism and the fulfilment of progressive achievements in the social and economic fields are at variance with the lack of understanding on the part of the Syrian authorities for the Kurdish question, and the national rights of the Kurds in Syria, which results in the deprivation of many of them of their citizenship and cultural rights;

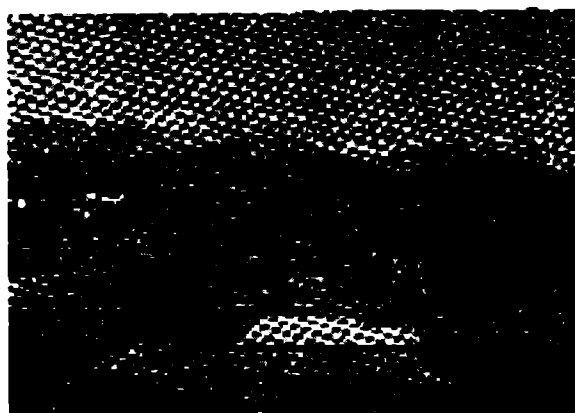
Resolving

- 6 to support the Kurdish people in their struggle for their national and cultural rights against imperialism and reaction and their intrigues;
to support, by all moral and material means, the struggle of the Kurdish people in Iraqi Kurdistan to achieve their objectives in autonomy and democracy;

- 8 DEMANDS that the Iraqi Government implement the June 20, 1966 Armistice Agreement with its declared stipulations as well as the other agreements attached to it, in a manner ensuring autonomy for Iraqi Kurdistan, a matter which is closely connected with the establishment of a progressive national democratic regime in Iraq;
- 9 CALLS UPON the Syrian Government to reconsider its position with regard to the Kurdish problem, a matter which would undoubtedly strengthen the internal front to racist imperialism and zionism, and to carry out a radical social transformation in the interest of the Syrian people;
- 10 MANDATES to IUS Secretariat to extend all possible material and moral support to the struggle of the Kurdish people;
to increase its support to KNSR and GUSIR and salute their struggle for the implementation of their aims in the fight for democracy, against imperialism and reaction and for peace.

Moved by: Kurdish Students Society in Europe, UNEA; Algeria, UNII, Lebanon, GUSIR; Iraq, UNIM; Morocco, C.N.I.S., Ceylon, GHANASO; Ghana, UGFAN, Yugoslavia, YUS.

Seconded by: FIM; GDR, Student Council of CSM; Czechoslovakia, UFDCH, Chile Student Council of the USSR, NSC, Bulgaria, UANS; Rumania, ZENGA, KUREN; Japan, UMS; Mongolia, FEATU; Uruguay, FEANT.



Sulaymaniyah — Iraqi Kurdistan



Sanandaj — Iranian Kurdistan

Overseas Students' Conference

London, 28th — 29th October, 1966

introduction

As most of you know, in Iraq there are Arab people, who constitute the majority of the population, and Kurdish people, who constitute about one third of the population. The Iraqi people as a whole have suffered a great deal of suppression and denial of free democratic expression of beliefs and political opinions. The Kurdish people, a nation with a distinct national entity, are denied, in addition to the sufferings shared by all Iraqi people, Arabs and Kurds, the basic rights of identity as Kurds: use of their own language and self-government (autonomy) within the Iraqi republic. The Iraqi people fully support the just demands of the Kurdish people, namely, autonomy within the Iraqi republic. Kurdish students have suffered a great deal, side by side with their fellow students, fighting for the same ends, for better education.

World and national public opinion supported the Kurdish people during the war of discrimination which was waged by the successive dictatorship governments which have taken power in Iraq since 1961 until now. There are signs that the Iraqi government is now preparing another offensive action against the Kurdish people.

Today, in Iraq, the people are fighting against dictatorship, for a democratic government for fulfilling the demands of the Kurdish people and for the release of about 5,000 political prisoners, many of whom are students, teachers and university lecturers.

These are the main problems faced by the Iraqi people which need the active support and solidarity of students and public opinion.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE CONFERENCE

- Having considered the situation in Iraq and recognising the suffering of the Iraqi people. Conference declares—
- support for the Iraqi people in their struggle for democracy, the release of all political prisoners and condemns the action of the Iraqi Government for their policy of suppression and military dictatorship.
 - alarm at the news of a new offensive prepared by the Iraqi Government against the Kurdish people and declares support for the Kurdish people and their demands especially for self government within Iraqi Republic.



A bombed village — Iraqi Kurdistan

THE FORMATION OF THE KURDISH SOCIETY AT LIVERPOOL SOCIETY

To:

The Secretary,
Students' Union,
Liverpool University.

Dear Secretary,

The Kurdish Students of Liverpool University would like to organise themselves in order to enjoy the academic life in the best way possible and to show their British colleagues some features of the life and culture of the Kurdish people and explain the position in Kurdistan.

They hope to organise some social activities as well as general political debates and meetings.

The students have signed this application to support the formation of a Kurdish Society and I hope you can kindly accept this application along with the enclosed constitution of the Society.

(Signed by)

30 Supporters.

From:

The Vice-President,
for Guild Affairs,
Liverpool University.

Dear Sir,

The application of the Kurdistan Society for 'B' Society status has now been approved.

I have retained the Constitution which you sent to me and I should appreciate it if any future change to the Constitution are notified to whoever may be the Vice-President for Guild Affairs at that time.

Your sincerely,

Vice-President.

WHY NOT IN VIENNA ?

The Twelfth Congress of the Kurdish Students' Society was supposed to be held in Vienna from the 17th to 22nd August, 1967, but a week before it was due the Austrian Ministry of Interior, informed the Society that the Congress would not be allowed to take place in Austria. Immediately the Executive Committee informed all the members of the Society about this action against the Congress and asked

by the means of letters, the Austrian Authorities for their reasons and even now the real explanations have not been given to our Society.

Here we would like to mention that the Ministry of the Interior in Austria said that their action was taken as a result of a request from the Iraqi Government, but the Iraqi Embassy denied this.

A Viennese newspaper, on the 21st August, 1967, wrote an article about the cancellation of the Congress, and said that the decision was taken by the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of External Affairs without the Iraqis having been involved.

This is what the paper said: -

"u wien (r). Zu der Meldung über die Asage eines Kongresses Kurdischer Studenten in Wien teilt das Aussenministerium mit, dass keine Intervention der irakischer Botschaft erfolgt sei, Sondern die Absage aus engen Erveigungen des Aussen und Innenministeriums erfolgte"

Die Presse, Wien, 21.8.1967

IRAQI KURDISTAN UNION OF STUDENTS

1 In August 1967 the Secretariat of I.K.U.S. sent a letter to K.S.S.E. to congratulate the Twelfth Congress.

2 In July 1967 the I.K.U.S. published "Voice of Kurdistan Union of Students," which is the organ of I.K.U.S., and content:

- (a) Life in a peaceful Kurdistan.
- (b) About a year after the 29th June '66 declaration.
- (c) Complications in our present struggle.
- (d) About the Imperialistic conspiracy.
- (e) With the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe.
- (f) Twenty years after martyring of the four Kurdish officers.

The above articles show and explain the policy of I.K.U.S. like any other progressive Kurdish organisation in their struggle for the Kurdish cause.

The K.S.S.E. salutes the struggle of I.K.U.S. and wish to thank them for informing the Society about their activities.

We hope that our co-operation will continue on a much wider scale for achieving our just and national rights.

THE TWELFTH CONGRESS

The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe is pleased to announce that its Twelfth Annual Congress will be held in Yugoslavia from the 26th to 31st December 1967. Every member of our society is urged to do his utmost to attend this Congress.

PLACE OF CONGRESS
SXETOZARA MARKOVICA 79.
BEOGRAD, Tel: 642120.

QUOTATIONS

"When each of you has this faith and is ready to seal it with his own blood, then alone will you have a country, not before."

Mazzini's address to the Young Men of Italy
in 1859

"Die on your feet sooner than live on your knees."

Dr. HEINZ KLOSS

Some European Analogies to the Kurdish question

The Kurds certainly are justified in feeling that among the suppressed nationalities the world over they are holding a place that is unique. When recently I wrote a sketchy survey of present-day linguistic conditions all over the world (it appeared in the "Bildungsbuch" of the Buerchilde Gutenberg in Frankfurt-Main) I found out, and stated, that the Kurds are by far the largest of those small nations or—to put it the other way round—of those linguistic communities which are all but deprived of even the most elementary rights. Their numerical strength is about twice that of other large disinherited groups—the 5-6 million Catalans in Spain for instance, or the 5-7 million Quecha speaking inhabitants of the Andes.

Still the Catalans are the one European ethnic group whose history and present status bears much resemblance to that of the Kurds: they are the only ethnic group west of the Iron Curtain which while not being the leading nationality in one or the European countries is sufficiently strong numerically to make the thought of setting up a separate independent state not look unreasonable. At the same time they are deprived of all linguistic rights. As a part of the leftish Spanish Republic (1931-39) Catalonia enjoyed a high degree of autonomy which made possible an almost unbelievable unfolding of the Catalan language and literature.

A more specific parallel may be drawn between the situation of the Catalan people and the Kurds of Iran, as contrasted with that of the other Kurds.

In Turkey, Irak, Syria the national languages—Turkish and Arabic—are totally unrelated to Kurdish. The Kurds in these countries can become ethnic Turks or ethnic Arabs only by completely abandoning their ancestral tongue not only as a means of written and published communication, but also the language of hearth and home. The Turkish and Arab nationalists can transform the Kurds into ethnic Turks and ethnic Arabs merely by completely weeding-out the Kurdish tongue, by suppressing its oral use as well as its use as a literary vehicle.

The Persian tongue on the other hand, is closely akin to Kurdish, both belonging to the same family of Iranian languages as Pashtu and the language of Tadzhikistan.

The Persian Government, in order to transform the Kurds into ethnic Persians, does not have to uproot the Kurds language completely. It may permit its use as a medium of oral communication, while at the same time forbidding its being used in books and periodicals, i.e. by relegating it to the status of a mere dialect subordinated to its close relative, the Persian tongue.

All this corresponds to the relation between the Spanish and Catalan languages. The Spanish government does not try to annihilate the Catalan language—as it does try to destroy the Basque speech-community. It is quite content to have Catalan live on as a spoken tongue, as an unwritten vernacular, playing the inferior role of a Spanish dialect. But it insists on Spanish to be the only language taught in the schools, used in the newspapers, and in those books which contain non-narrative prose. (And it is books of this type which in modern times determine the rank, prestige, and status of a cultural language, not books containing fiction or poetry).

The manifold similarities between Catalans and Kurds suggest that the leaders of these two nations might do well to get together, to exchange views and to discuss opportunities for co-operation, e.g. with regard to NUESCO or to the United Nations.

One of the many odds the Kurds have to cope with is the fact that so far they did not (and could not) succeed in having the language of their printed literature adopt a uniform shape. Instead they have two literary dialects, to wit, Sorani and Kurmandshi.

This situation, bad as it is, is by no means as unique as some Kurds may be inclined to think. You will find it repeated in the situation of the Norwegian nation. In Norway the autochthonous literary language had disappeared many centuries ago. Instead, Danish had become their literary vehicle, the language of writings, the church and public life. In the course of the 19th century there developed two indigenous literary languages. One was based on the Danish tongue but incorporated thousands of words from Norwegian dialects and even changed the morphological structure of Norwegian Danish. This language became known by the names of Riksmål and of Bokmal. The other literary dialect called Landsmal of Nynorsk, came into being by means of a fusion of local dialects which avoided all traces of Danish influence. In both tongues, books have been published which are regarded by world opinions as being of enduring poetic value. Among the best-known Riksmål authors are Bjørson Hamsun and Sigrid Undset, among Landsmal authors Arne Garborg and Olaf Duun. In fact Riksmål dominates all the cities and the rural population of the North and Southeast, while Landsmal prevails among most inhabitants of the Southwest.

Both tongues are recognised as official languages. Local school boards have free choice to have the elementary schools conducted in either tongue. But - if Landsmal is preferred as the medium of instruction, the schools must impart to the pupils also a reading knowledge of Riksmål and vice versa.

During the fifties a strong movement has developed in favour of a fusion of the two languages by making them over into a new amalgam to be called Samnorsk.

Some of my readers may dismiss the story of Norwegian linguistic "bifurcation" because it tells of a nation disposing of a sovereign state. But we find analogous situations among nations which are "minorities" in the sense that the term used by UNO—i.e. which are non-dominant ethnic groups.

Among the one million Bretons of Little Brittany (la Bretagne) in western France there sprang up two literary languages, the one based on the closely related dialects of Kernev (frz. Cornouaille) Leon, and Treger (frz. Treguier) and therefore called "K.L.T.", the other based on the very much differing dialect of Vannes, the Vannetais. For a long time both varieties of written Breton lived side by side. But in 1941, at a meeting of Breton scholars and authors, it was decided to abandon the Vannetais in favour of KLT which with regard to certain details of spelling was made a little more similar to the yielding tongue. This

reaction was perhaps typical of a linguistically oppressed little nation which cannot afford to split energies by sustaining two varieties of its written language. (But this solution to be true was possible only because the Bretons were contrary to the Kurds, living within the boundaries of a single state).

Of course the most salient and at the same time the most tragic feature about the Kurds is the fact that the territory where their language is spoken, is divided by state boundaries. True enough there is one ethnic group in Europe which is spread over three states: the Lapps (or Sames) are living in the northern districts of Finland, Sweden and Norway. But there are too few of them (at most 50,000 in all) to give their problem political importance. Still it is worth stating how well they are being treated by their respective governments; joint institutions of the Lapps in the three countries are not merely tolerated but actively encouraged and government-supported.

There is one great nation in Europe the past fate of which bears a striking resemblance to the present-day fate of the Kurds, namely the Polish people. Their territory

was divided until World War I, among Czarist Russia, imperial Austria and imperial Germany. Just as the Kurds are much more akin, linguistically to the Persians than to the other two nations ruling them so were the Poles close relatives of the Russians, both nations speaking Slavic languages. But while in at least one of their three main divisions, namely in "Austrian Poland" (i.e. the province of Galicia) the Poles enjoyed completely unfettered cultural and regional autonomy, the Kurds are much worse off.

Another divided nation that comes to mind when we speak of the fate of the Kurds are the Quecha (or Kets'hua) roughly 5-7 million Indians speaking the same tongue but fragmented by the state boundaries of Peru (where they form 50% of the inhabitants), Ecuador and Bolivia. But while they are still largely devoid of a consciousness of kind, while most of them are still in a tribalistic state of mind, the Kurds definitely are not. They are closer to Europe than the Quechua are, not only geographically but also mentally—and even linguistically since their language belongs to the Indo-European family of tongues. And so their fate should be close to the hearts of all thoughtful Europeans.



*A mountain mass, wild and defiant,
Has gathered blue heaven in its embrace.
The mantle of its peak very white snow,
Dark with forest its silent dale.*

*Komele Saxêk Sextu gerdîn kes
Asmanî sînî girtotê bawes
Serposî lûkey bexî zor sîpî
Be daristan res naw dolî kîpî.*

GORAN 1904 - 1962

The Conquest of Fortress Dimdim

Part II

The Conquest of the Fortress Dimdim
According to the Report of Iskender Munshi
by Kamal Fuad

1

Iskender Beg Turkmen or Iskender Munshi (1560-1635), the historian of the Safawi state in the epoch of Shah Abbas I (1570-1628) wrote a historical work comprising three volumes (*Tarikh-i Alamardi-e Abbassi*) on the Safawi dynasty.

In the first volume he reports on the beginning and the reign of the Safawi dynasty up to the epoch of Shah Abbas I. In the second volume he describes the first thirty years of the reign of Shah Abbas I (1586-1616). In the third volume he depicts the last twelve years of the reign of Shah Abbas up to the time when Shah Safi (1628) seized power.

The Turkomans played a great role in the period of the Safawis. So Iskender Munshi belonged also to the special favourites of Shah Abbas. He often accompanied him and witnessed many of his military expeditions.

In the second volume (Teheran issue 1335/1956 p. 791-811) he gives an account of the conquest of the fortress Dimdim in the 23rd resp., 24th year of the reign of Shah Abbas (1608/9). As he lets us know he was an eyewitness of this event. Therefore, his report is of historical value⁸ though it reveals distinctly a preconceived opinion. Apart from the traditional Kurdish folk-lore, his report is the only trustworthy source on the conquest of Dimdim.⁹

2

In the epoch of Shah Abbas I the Kurd Qardtaj from the Bradost tribe⁷ who was well-disposed toward the Shah was appointed chief of the Targawar and Margawar territories which belonged to the provinces of Urmid and Ushnu.

When the Kurds opposed the Persian rule a Kurdish prince of Bradost, Muhamed Beg, assisted the Ottoman sultan to stabilize his power over the Kurds. Amirkhan, a prince from the Bradost tribe disobeyed Muhamed Beg. He went to Omar Beg of Soran and stayed with him for a while. In one of the many actions against the Ottoman followers he lost one of his hands. He therefore held the Turkish nick-name Chulaq (the one-armed)⁸.

When riots were breaking out in Azerbaijan and Shah Abbas was on his way to Nachichevan and Yerevan, Amir Khan set out to see him. Shah Abbas welcomed him cordially and made him chief of the Bradost tribe and of the territories of Taragawar and Maragawar and, besides, he awarded him the title of Khan. He also gave him the provinces of Urmia and Ushnu which had yet been under a Qizilbash governor⁹ in the epoch of Tahmasp I (1524-1576). By order of Shah Abbas goldsmiths made a hand from pure gold set in diamonds for Amir Khan. He said good-bye to the Shah and took over his new official duties.

His power was growing from day to day. He was gaining great influence among the Kurds. He succeeded in depriving the Ottomans of some territories. Many Kurdish tribal princes joined him. All over Kurdistan he became well-known by his strong army. "He became haughty and

the desire for independence arose in his black soul". (Munshi, p.792)

3

After having quelled the revolt of Jaghal Oghlu in Azerbaijan in the vicinity of Tabriz, Shah Abbas set out for Salmas. Amirkhan who had learned of his arrival went to him and explained to the Shah that the fortress of Urmia was in a very bad condition and that he was not able to defend himself against attacks. He therefore asked him to grant him the permission to build a new fortress for the protection of his clan and its borders at a more suitable place. The Shah gave his consent.

Thus Amir Khan laid the foundations for a fortress at a high place of the Jimjim range of mountains, at a distance of three farsakh¹⁰ from Urmia but already in the Faragawar territory. At this place, so the Kurds told, there stood a fortress called Dimdim before the Islam appeared and in the epoch of the Sasanis but it decayed by the time.

Pir Budaq Khan, the Amiru 1-Umara of Tabris made the Shah withdraw the consent already given for the construction of the fortress. He informed Shah Abbas that Amir Khan was not more loyal to him and intended to plot a revolt against him. Shah Abbas believed Pir Budaq and said to him: "You are the Amiru 1-Umara of this territory, therefore you are responsible that this problem comes to a good end. Send a prudent man to Amir Khan and get him to say that I should think it better if he would stop building the fortress". (Munshi, u. 793). By order of the Shah, Pir Budaq sent a messenger to Amir Khan to inform him as follows: "Though your loyalty and your devotion to the Shah are well-known, your adversaries will calumniate you for building the fortress. But if you intend to protect yourself against the followers of the Ottomans, be sure that the fortresses of Tabriz and Yerevan are far more important than the fortress of Dimdim.

But if you are afraid of the Kurdish tribal princes, be sure that we will always assist you by order of the Shah. Also on the Urmia fortress the Bradost Kurds can defend themselves for a few days in case of an attack. It will be better for you to stop building and to follow our friendly advice in order not to give your adversaries the opportunity of calumniating you". (Munshi, p. 793)

Amir Khan disregarded this advice and made the people carry on with building the fortress.

At that time Abdal Khan of Mukri, a brother of Shaikh Haidar, who had opposed the Shah set out for Amir Khan with twenty of his followers. Amir Khan welcomed him cordially and appointed him his first brother-in-arms.

12,000 Jalalis¹¹, persecuted by the Ottomans, came to Iran the Shah appointed Budaq Khan their chief. But he demanded Amir Khan to shelter 8,000 Jalalis. Amir Khan wrote to the Shah: "Pir Budaq and myself are not on friendly terms because he talked about me in a rather prejudiced way; therefore I cannot provide an army that is under the command of Pir Budaq Khan". (Munshi, p. 793) In order to satisfy Amir Khan, Pir Budaq was dismissed

as chief. A prince from the Iraq, Hassan Khan took his place. But the Shah demanded of Amir Khan that one of his sons of a confidant should properly explain the dismissal of Pir Budaq to the Kurdish tribal prince.

Hassan Khan of Istajlu and the chiefs of the Qizilbash of Maraghe joined Muhammad Pasha and the Jalalis and decided to go to the Shah. They asked Amir Khan to follow them. But Amir did not trust them. He answered: "The Jalalis are selfish and inconstant people and I do not trust them though they are friends of the Qizilbash now; therefore, I refuse to accompany the 7,000 to 8,000 Jalalis. Later on I shall send messengers to the Shah". (Munshi, p. 794)

The Qizilbash regarded this reply as a disobedience. They tried by all means to take Amir Khan along with them to the Shah. Once again they wrote to Amir Khan: "On our way to the Shah we shall spend a few days in your country; prepare a banquet for us and we shall talk over everything". (Munshi, p. 794) Amir Khan did not reply to this letter of Hassan Khan. When the army marched through Amir Khan's country, the Jalalis attacked the Bradost Kurds. They defended themselves. In this fight two Jalalis were killed and some of them injured. Hassan Khan received information of this fight. He called the Jalalis back who pitched their tents half a farsakh from the fortress of Dimdim. From the fortress the Kurds started to fire at the army camp. Hassan sent a messenger to Amir Khan in order to learn the reason for the attack against the camp. He answered: "When you attack my country, we are forced to defend ourselves". (Wurdi, p.13) Negotiations were not possible now.

The Kurds divided into larger groups, undertook sallies from the castle and killed many Qizilbashes and Jalalis. The Kurds in the fortress defended themselves against these attacks. The fight went on for several days. The enemies vowed blood feud.

Shah Abbas who stayed at Ardebil at that time learned of these events. He sent I'timadu-d-daule Hatim Beg into the

The Jalalis came as far as to the base of the fortress. Both sides suffered heavy casualties. The fights were getting more violent all the time. About 300 to 400 Jalali Kurds (one of them was Muhammad Beg Tawil) who were discontented with Muhammad Pasha, went over to Amir Khan. On account of this fact the fight intensified. Muhammad Pasha, the leader of the Jalalis was afraid of losing still more of his men. Hassan Khan and the Qizilbash princes derived profit from these hard fights. They conquered all the country of Amir Khan and occupied it. fighting zone in order to find a solution. Should Amir Khan still be loyal to the Shah, the Jalalis had to be quietened and should he withdraw from the fortress. But if Amir Khan should disobey, his revolt would be put down

by violence and the country split up among the Jalalis. He received 5,000 toman for the Jalalis and was fully authorised to finish the "mutiny".

4

I'timadu-d-daule left Ardebil and set out for Tabriz where he met Pir Budaq Khan and artillery commander Berkhardar Beg Anis with the troops commanded by them. About 2,000 Jalalis who had just come back from Ardehan and some of the Kurdish governors appointed by the Shah from Salmas and other towns marched to the castle. On 5th December 1608, they arrived at Urmia. They met Hassan Khan, Muhammad Pasha of Jalali and the Qizilbash princes with the troops of Urmia. The siege of the fortress Dimdim started now.

The next day I'timadu-d-daule sent one of his confidants to him accompanied by Agha Muhammad Tsuji who was acquainted with Amir Khan. They tried to persuade Amir Khan to leave the fortress. But Amir Khan answered them: "I entrenched myself in my fortress on account of the offences of the Jalalis and because I do not trust Hassan Khan. Muhammad Pasha seeks the possession of my country. I am not a rebel against the Shah. I only defend my tribe and my country and I ask the Shah to exempt me this winter from my duties. I shall give the Shah one of my sons as hostage. When the Shah will go to his summer residence this spring, I shall go and see him myself".

I'timadu-d-daule agreed to this solution. But he demanded Amir Khan to keep his promises because his "mutiny" was already known everywhere. He invited Amir Khan to call on him with all his relations and become friends again with the Qizilbash prince. But he himself would come to the fortress the next day. So there would be peace and the friendship would be strengthened. Amir Khan gave his consent. The following day I'timadu-d-daule waited in vain for Amir Khan's arrival. Nobody left the fortress. Once again he sent Agha Muhammad to Amir Khan. After his return Agha Muhammad gave the following report: "After numerous discussion with the wise men of the Bradost tribe who had already many experiences with the malice and the treacheries of the Qizilbashes and Jalalis, Amir Khan explained to him that he does not trust the protection of I'timadu-d-daule because he was a learned Tajik and not a warrior. Furthermore Amir Khan said that he will not give in and when he thought it right he would send one of his sons with presents to the Shah. But if you are determined to begin with the siege of the fortress he did not see any other way out than to defend himself". (Munshi, p. 796)

I'timadu-d-daule and his chiefs decided to besiege the fortress. They informed the Shah of their plan. Thus the battle of the fortress of Dimdim started.

(To be continued)

- 5 "This report of an eye-witness Mirza Iskander which gives a strict account of his personal participation in the campaign is the more important for us as the same fight is the subject of the most beautiful and most popular Kurdish epic poems, namely of the poem of the heroic defence of Dimdim Castle by the chief of the Bradost Amir Khan, the "Khan Gold-hand". (Oskar Mann, the dialect of the Mukri-Kurds, part I, introduction XIX, XX Berlin 1906).
- 6 Within the last thirty years some Kurdish historians and authors also wrote about the siege of the fortress Dimdim. But they did not add any news to the report of Iskander Munshi.
- 7 You'll find the Bradost tribe today in the Targawar and Maragawar plains in Iranian Kurdistan; it spreads to Lolan and Diyane in Iraqi Kurdistan.

- 8 The Kurds call him Ahmed Xan-i Lepzêrîn (Ahmed Khan Goldhand).
- 9 Qizilbash=Turkish word, means 'redheaded'. In the epoch of the Safawis the soldiers wore a red headgear; that is why Qizilbash became the nick-name of the Shiites.
- 10 Linear measure about 6240 m.
- 11 Jalali is a great Kurdish tribe divided into several subtribes. His residential area is situated along the Iranian-Soviet-Turkish border, mainly in Turkish Kurdistan. About 200 villages in Iranian Kurdistan are in possession of this tribe. Its members fought under their leader Jalalud-din against the Ottomans but had to fly from them to Iran. The Jalalis played a negative role in Kurdish revolts and the Ottomans and Safawids took advantage of them in their campaign and used them, in particular, against the Kurds

KURDISTAN AND THE KURDISH WAR

Lecture by Mr. Francis J. Golding, M.A., Oxon., on behalf of the Kurdish Society of Liverpool University to the "Students Peace Week" in the Mountford Hall of the Union Society at 1 p.m. on Tuesday 21st November 1967.

The Kurdish Society of Liverpool University was given one of the sessions of the University's "Peace Week", 20th to 26th November, 1967. The spokesman chosen was Mr. Francis J. Golding, an M.A. of Oxford University, who has travelled widely in all the Middle Eastern countries during the last 40 years, and is one of Britain's most knowledgeable experts in the history, languages, literature and personalities of Iran in particular. Mr. Golding's first visit to Iraqi and Irani Kurdistan was in 1929 and his latest in 1963. He is a personal friend of many of the Kurdish leaders in all sections of the Kurdish people.

After a three-quarters of an hour lecture, illustrated by 40 splendid slides of the Kurdish terrain and people, their way of life, their sufferings under Iraqi bombing, their military and political success and of the leaders of the military and political branches of the Kurdish Revolution, the meeting was thrown open and many searching questions were asked which showed the interest and intelligent participation of the members of the audience in the occasion.

Mr. Golding began with a brief sketch of Kurdish history from the descent of the Guti on to the Iraqi plain 4,200 years ago and ending with the 12 points proposed by the Bazzaz government and the present ceasefire. He concluded.

"Surrounding nations must look back to a great but bygone past. The Kurds know that their greatness lies in the future. Fate has given them possession of an area which geopolitically is central, lying as it does

where the communist world and non-communist world face each other,

where the Arab-speaking Muslims adjoin non-Arab-speaking Muslims,

where the Turanian, Semitic and Aryan races mingle,

where the Aryan race, stretching from central India to Northern Ireland, pivots where the civilisation of Europe meets the civilisation of Asia,

where the fortress of the 'Northern Tier' of the CENTO Pact stands,

where the path passes which Russia since Peter the Great's day has wanted to secure her passage to a harbour on the warm waters of the Gulf,

where the oil rises near Kirkuk on which Iraq's finances depend.

It is out of date in the 20th century for one community to impose its will upon another by military force. An age which has learnt to split the atom must discover the art of uniting humanity or destroy itself. The technology which can reach the moon and the planets can modernise mankind's living with labour-saving devices and increased productivity in every field. Now man himself must be modernised.

The divisive and destructive elements which lurk in human nature's heart — greed and fear, lust and hate — must be changed. Mankind must learn to use the mastery over nature that science provides. Science's next task is to train the spirit of man to master human nature. Then all the latent human forces can be harnessed to serve the population of the world.

There can be no effective military disarmament without a moral re-armament of humanity. For peace is not simply an absence of armed hostilities. It means people becoming different. It comes not by chance but by change. Deprive men of weapons without a change of heart and they will still destroy each other. Change men's hearts and they themselves will turn their weapons into beneficial tools of progress.

Division has been the hallmark of our age. Unity is the grace of rebirth. Switzerland, and to a degree the United Kingdom, have demonstrated the political and economic viability and world outreach which can be enjoyed by a country that nourishes a multi-racial society. Iraq is admirably situated to be just such a multi-racial society.

The majority of Kurds and Iraqis both are Sunni Muslims. The Shi's too encircle their holy places Kerbela and Najaf. In Iraq, also, dwell a number of Christian minorities. Iraq possesses two languages and two cultures, the Aryan Kurdish and the Semitic Arabic.

The world is waiting for the prophetic voice of the Arabs proclaiming and demonstrating a lesson in how to live. The Arab name will be extolled when the Arabs rise to their destiny and provide "a girder of unity for civilisation" and "an answer to their divisive materialisms for both East and West". In the fulfilment of this calling Iraq has been given a key post. A settlement is very near. An enlightened Statesmanship could make it a reality and work out its details to the glory of the Arab name and the advancement of mankind.

It is the duty of all nations which, for commercial, ideological reasons, have involved themselves in the area, to put their full effort now into bringing about that enlightened peace which will enable the Iraqi Kurds, the Iraqi Arabs, and Iraq as a united community to take their rightful place on the world stage in the family of nations.

After Mr. Golding's lecture a number of questions were asked, eg:

1. Q. Has there been no move towards the creation of a single united Kurdistan, including all the Kurds of Russia, Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran?

A. The Kurds have never wanted separation. They see their best contribution in becoming integrated communities within the homelands in which they dwell. Far too many questions, like that of sovereignty over the Kirkuk oilwells, economic viability, and disruption of existing frontiers, are involved, to make a single independent and separated Kurdistan a possibility at least until a very distant future.

2. Q Does not the Kurdish demand for a fair share in the oil revenues which accrue from extraction on Kurdish soil raise many difficulties in the attempt to implement the 12 points of the settlement proposed by the Bazzaz government?

A This is a matter which can be approached from various angles. They may be called the angles of

greed, of justice and of humanity. It may well be asked who has a right to the profits derived from treasures hidden in the soil — people who have lived there for millenia without ever exploiting those treasures, or people who by their skill and hard work raise those treasures to the light and put them at the disposal of mankind? Greed and legalism fight on this point. It is however outdated now that the world is a neighbourhood and it is the task of those most advanced in any technique to aid all their fellow human beings in mastery of those same techniques and also in the right use of the power and wealth that derives from their exploitation. There is undoubtedly haggling in progress about the true use of the oil revenues. It is one of the many places where mankind has not yet risen to the stature demanded of human nature by the new age which science has produced.

3. Q What were the motives which made Britain fail to carry out her promises to the Kurds, Armenians, Assyrians and other minorities after World War I.

A Britain had many reasons, powerful though not just. She was tired after a war in which the cream of her manhood had been destroyed. She was entering a period of desperate unemployment and economic crisis at home. She was face to face with the French over the question of the Hashemite Princes and their placing in accordance with promises made by the Foreign Office through Lawrence — in fact there was actually armed conflict between French and British troops in Damascus. The British withdrew and put King Feisal in Baghdad and then drew some straight lines round a piece of desert and gave it to King Abdullah under the name of Transjordan with its centre in Amman. Moreover certain groups of diplomats and commercial people came forward who had not lived through the past and who applied rule of thumb principles of national interest, scorning and setting aside as impracticable idealism the views of those like Major Noel whose intimate knowledge of people, facts and history on the spot produced official reports advocating that we should keep our word.

4. Q What is the total Kurdish population, how are they distributed, and what proportion do they form of the countries where they live?

A Twelve million is an estimated figure since there has not been a census. The Kurds in Russia are a very tiny proportion even of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia, without saying anything of the vast USSR, variously estimated at between 10,000 and 500,000. Those in Syria are perhaps 400,000 or one in ten of the Syrian population. There may be between three and four million in Iran or, say one in six or seven of the Irani people. Of the remaining seven million say five million are in Turkey — one in four of the population and the remainder in Iraq representing at least two in five of the total population of that country.

5. Q Do you think there is any hope of a just solution being brought to pass? Is it true that successive Iraqi governments since General Kasim have launched the military on the Kurds to keep them busy and prevent a new military coup?

A I believe that there is every hope of a just solution very speedily. This is a situation in which the United Nations could enact a truly peacemaking role and bring both parties to the negotiating table, backed by all the other nations that have interests in the area and lead them to far-reaching agreement. It is the duty of all of us in every country in the world to publicise the Kurd-Iraqi situation and bring to bear every influence we can to produce the desirable result. Many competent observers and in particular the two journalists, Dana Adams Schmidt of New York and David Adamson of London who made journeys in the area in 1963/64, say that one of the motives in the renewals of Iraqi military attacks was in each case the military junta's fear that the army which had put them into power in Baghdad would throw them out again and substitute other officers. The Kurdish leaders are convinced that the Kurds must negotiate from a background of strength. They therefore keep 9,000 men under arms in the mountains which causes a certain difficulty because one of the 12 points (No. 10) requires the return of all Kurdish members of the armed forces, of the police force and the cavalry to return to their original units, and all civilian members of the resistance forces to surrender their arms to the central government and this the Kurds will not do until they are sure that a just settlement is not only agreed but will also be carried out.

THE KURDS IN SYRIA

by Omar Sheikhmous

The last twenty years have seen a vast outpouring of paper definitions and agreements on human rights, they have also seen government after government disregard these rights in favour of *raison d'état* with a cynicism more appropriate to the Eighteenth Century; and brutalities committed against individuals or communities, often enough by their immediate neighbour, that are not easily paralleled in the blackest ages of human history. One wonders whether we are not retreating inexorably to barbarism.

The denial of liberty is one aspect of this regression. Political imprisonment used to be universal and is still something entirely normal in most parts of the world. But there was a time when the world's democrats regarded these things as a good deal more outrageous than they seem today. The imprisonment of nationalist leaders was one of the arguments used by democrats against colonialism, but the nationalists were hardly in the seats of power than they started imitating and even going further than their colonial masters.

Plain violence is still more typical of our enlightened age. Leave Nazism aside; we can still believe that Hitler was one of history's aberrations. Yet the era that began in August, 1945, with the annihilation of more than 100,000 Japanese civilians has seen at least two major massacres: the mutual slaughter of Moslems and Sikhs and Hindus in India, and the systematic destruction of Indonesian Communists two years ago. This is quite a record for twenty years, but it is only the worst part of a continuous process of savagery now almost accepted as normal.

The most striking thing about this savagery is indeed not that it occurs but that it is accepted. The liberal conscience, fairly active thirty or even twenty years ago, has been battered into taking for granted things that would once have aroused it to a fury of action. A European statesman could stump his country ninety years ago denouncing atrocities in Bulgaria; the atrocities in Indonesia last year barely troubled the world press or its politicians.

Many ordinary people do not support, in fact absolutely abhor, United States action in Vietnam; but how many of them seek to change it.

A world that once banned gas as inhuman weapon of war—and made the ban stick until the Americans in Vietnam, the Egyptians in Yemen and the Iraqis in Kurdistan got away with using it—now certainly discuss the inexpediency of multiplying atomic weapons but would not waste ten minutes trying to ban them, or napalm, on the argument that their use is wrong. How many people care about genocide in Southern Sudan, or have even heard of it? How many anti-racists have seriously raised a finger to help the victims of South Africa in any particular way?

With a few honourable exceptions, we have come to accept the use of violence against peoples and against individuals. Torture, murder, political imprisonment, mass repression, I say helplessly, are facts of life.

The problem of the Kurds in Syria is one of these numerous cases that exist in the world. A minority of

500,000 people that constitute ten per cent. of the Syrian population and live compactly in three Kurdish regions in Northern Syria (Jazireh, Kurdagh and Ain Arab), where they form the overwhelming majority. The Kurds have inhabited their lands long before the Arabs migrated to Syria and Mesopotamia, they are denied their rights to language, culture, education, employment, organisation and freedom of speech; they are being discriminated against, deprived of their nationality, deported in their masses, and forcibly assimilated. The repressive acts of the Syrian governments are contradictory to this whole set of international conventions and declarations:

- 1—1966 Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.
- 2—1966 Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.
- 3—1962 General Assembly Resolution on the Prevention and Eradication of Racial Prejudice and National and Religious Intolerance.
- 4—1960 Declaration for the RIGHT of Nations to Self-Determination.
- 5—1966 Convention of the Elimination of All forms of Racial Discrimination.
- 6—1959 ILO Convention Concerning Discrimination in Employment and Occupation.
- 7—1959 General Assembly Declaration of the Rights of The Child.
- 8—1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- 9—1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.
- 10—UNESCO Convention and Recommendation against Discrimination in Education.
- 11—Draft Principles of the Right of Every Man to be Free from Arbitrary Arrest, Detention and Exile.
- 12—Draft Convention and Draft Declaration on Freedom of Information.

But will the United Nations, the International Commission for Human Rights, U.N. Sub-Commission on the Prevention and Protection of Minorities, or the majority of world opinion do anything about it? I doubt it.

Perhaps it is better for the world that a small nation like the Kurds be destroyed. At least one problem would be finished with, no matter how barbarously, savagely and unjustly it is done ! ! !

The Kurds themselves, in Syria, cannot resist their oppressors by means of an armed revolt or civil disobedience because of their limited means and because such a move would be used by the Syrian government as a pretext to outrightly annihilate the Kurds rather than forcibly assimilate them.

In making this appeal of mine to the conscience of the world, I am sure that nothing much would be done, but I still hope for a continuous pressure of the thin skin of morality which has kept the human society human and to show the chauvinistic teenagers of the Syrian government that they will not and cannot get away with everything.

The ironical thing about the situation of the Kurds in Syria is that they are suffering the worst at the hands of

a so-called progressive socialist government. I leave the judgement for the objective readers to decide, from the following short account of the numerous cases of oppression practised against the Kurds, including an article in the Syrian government's party newspaper, whether it is related in any way to any brand of socialist beliefs and standards other than national socialism.

To their claim of socialist principles I have only a quotation from Lenin (who I trust they pretend some adherence to at times) that would suffice to unmask their fascist deeds :

"A socialist, who is a member of a dominant nation, and does not further the rights of oppressed nations to separation during peace nor during a war, is neither a socialist, nor an internationalist, but a chauvinist."

Indeed, it was a sad day for all the professed ideals of Arab nationalism, when this nationalism was extended to absorb Kurdish national, cultural and human rights. If the Arabs believe in the inherent right of all peoples to self-determination, how can they morally justify this ?

The following is a short account of various atrocities committed against the Kurds by various Syrian governments between 1959-67 :

- A—In the summer of 1960 the Syrian government arrested more than 70 Kurdish patriots including the majority of the members of the leadership of the Kurdish Democratic Party for no reason other than forming Kurdish organisations and publishing clandestine Kurdish newspapers and pamphlets. These people were subjected to indignant torture for six months before they were publicly tried. At the same time there were hundreds of Kurdish patriots hiding in the fields, mountains and villages to escape persecution.
- B—About ten Kurdish patriots were kept in prison from the beginning of 1959 to the end of 1961 without any trial, because of their belief in the legitimate rights of the Kurdish people.
- C—Between September 1961 and December 1962 more than 500 Kurds, including 100 school children, were imprisoned and tortured without any charges or trial.
- D—from 1962 onwards, hundreds of Kurds are imprisoned yearly on 21st of March, the Kurdish National Day and the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.
- E—In the summer of 1962, a ruthless policy of discrimination was conducted by the then government. Deliberate plans were drawn (i.e. Arab Belt) that would be pursued by every succeeding Syrian government for the forced assimilation of the Kurds through mass deportation, withdrawal of citizenship, distribution of land to Arabs and a general census for the Kurdish areas (Jazireh alone) in November 1962, for the implementation of the plan.

THE BAATH REGIME, MARCH 1963 :

At the time of the Baath campaign against the Kurds in Iraq (June 1963), the Baath government in Syria was making life unbearable for the Kurdish inhabitants in Syria through emergency laws by searching houses, arresting people and intimidating them at any hour of the day or night.

Every new-born Kurd who does not have an Arabic name is refused Syrian nationality.

Any Kurd who owns a book in Kurdish or about the Kurds in any language, even if it is an alphabet, is persecuted and imprisoned for a minimum period of one year.

Kurdish workers are dismissed from their work and are refused membership of the existing trade unions on the grounds that they are not Arabs.

In 1966 more than 150 Kurds applied to the teacher training school; none were accepted on the grounds that they were not Arabs.

Kurdish students are refused membership in the National Union of Students of Syria e.g. in Hasaka; 28 membership applications to the students' union were rejected and crossed in red: "Rejected because Kurds".

Scholarships are refused to Kurdish students.

Kurdish peasants are refused membership in the peasant organisations.

The Kurds are not allowed to celebrate their traditional and national holidays and when they do secretly, they are imprisoned in their hundreds.

Kurds are not accepted in the military college and those who had belonged to the officers corps have been expelled. There are many cases of expulsion from the army lower ranks, including privates, for no reason other than being Kurds.

Many Kurdish officials who were employed in the different governmental services have been dismissed; the very few left are exiled to isolated areas in Syria.

From 1963 until now the number of Kurdish qualified teachers employed by the government is non-existent, although their number has increased considerably.

The Kurdish areas have been deliberately neglected, without any development schemes. The population is left to hunger, disease and the worst possible living conditions.

The benefits of the land reform system are denied to Kurds peasants. They are expelled from their villages, some of which had been acquired in the 1959 land reform.

In February 1964 in the Kurdish town of "Ain Arab" one hundred Kurds were arrested summarily and tortured fearfully in the local prison and a military curfew was imposed on the town for two successive days for an alleged revolt by the Kurds encouraged by their intelligentsia. Of the 100 arrested people, the majority were released a few weeks later, while Ibrahim Abdo, Mohamed Ali, Ali Hemi Ziri, Nabo Ahmed Haj Ali, Mahmoud Mustafa were kept in prison for about six months.

In February 1964, in the village of "Mirat", which is populated by Kurds, a certain Arab teacher named "Sameer Jabri", who was dissatisfied with his living conditions in the small village school one day went to the local police office and told them that he had been attacked by the villagers (in the hope that he might get transferred to another school). In fact nothing of the sort had happened. The local police officer, instead of investigating the matter, went to the village and started beating every person at random and using the most insulting and uncivilised language that could be heard. He then brought two women to the house of the village mayor (Mukhtar-Kurdish), and beat them barbarously on the bottom of their feet with wooden sticks in front of the other villagers.

"THE ARAB BELT POLICY (Al-Hizam Al-Arabi)"

This policy was initiated by the government that seized power after the break between Syria and Egypt in September 1961. The aim of the policy was to draw a plan that would be pursued by all successive Syrian governments for the forced assimilation of the Kurds and the destruction of their existence through mass deportation, withdrawal of citizenship, distribution of their lands to Arab tribesmen and the migration of the rest to semi-desert areas in the interior of Syria.

On 28th August 1962 this government issued a legislative decree (No. 93) for an exceptional census in the Kurdish region (Djazira) alone. This was mainly done for the fabrication of the statistics to implement the "Arab Belt" plan.

The ruling clique of today has put into practice the results of that phoney census. First, by issuing special decrees on 4th October 1966 to expel a large number of Kurds; second, more than 100,000 Kurds have been deprived of their citizenship because they were not registered in the civil records before 1924; third, the imposition of an economic blockade on the area; fourth, Kurds are arrested summarily for no reason other than to frighten the Kurds and force them to leave Syria as on 21st August 1966, where 150 Kurds from all walks of life were imprisoned and tortured for more than nine months without any charges or trial.

The majority of the Kurds in this area have been declared "foreigners" or "refugees"; many families have been separated. The following cases have been chosen at random because there are thousands of such cases:

For example: Hussain Daud from "Haram Hasan" is a citizen while his father mother and his brothers have been classified as foreigners; Ahmed Shouzi from "Kamichlie", some members of his family have been classified as foreigners; Mulla Tahir, some of his sons are classified as foreigners, while he has retained Syrian citizenship; many people who have served in the armed forces or are secondary school leavers have been classified as foreigners, e.g. Jamil Mikram, a lawyer and a school teacher, who was also employed on one of the committees of the 1962 Census, has been deprived of his citizenship and classified as a foreigner; at times the population of a whole village are deprived of nationality, e.g. "Haj Nasser" village (about 500 people), "Hilely" village (about 1,500); some villagers in "Ghezalike", "Tirbe Sippi" and some near "Kamichlie" were expelled to Turkey, but the Turkish authorities refused them on the ground that they are not her nationals.

In fact the Census showed that the percentage of Arabs not registered in 1924 was much higher than that of the Kurds. But the government is determined to carry on with its wicked plan and announced that there were officials on the Census committees who sympathised with the Kurds and declared on 28th August 1966 that the Ministry of the Interior would make investigations of its own into the lists. This led to a further 150,000 withdrawals of citizenship from Kurds.

The following are incidents that were mainly encouraged by the Government for the implementation of its plan:

Shaikh Daham Al-Hadi, chief of the Shammar Arab Tribe, has with the government's support forcibly taken the following three Kurdish villages from its legal owners (Shabak, Abra and Kaffa Dinna) and has killed four peasants and wounded four without being persecuted or even questioned.

The government has warned the inhabitants of 100 Kurdish villages along the border (15 kilometres strip) to evacuate their villages. But the socialist government!! did not feel generous enough to tell them where to? or how? and without preparing any refugee camps for them no matter how remote.

Peasants of "Ali Fero" village were refused permission by the land reform commission to plough their land because the village is included in the "Arab Belt".

In 1967 the government took the land from Kurdish peasants in "Tel Jimal", "Gir Kafk" and "Gir Ziarat" villages; these lands were distributed to them in the 1959 land reform. The government then gave the land to an Arab feudal Shaikh.

In January 1967 Kurdish peasants in "Kherab Kurt" village, near "Kamichlie", were refused their land because it is included in the "Arab Belt". Their land was then rented by a big Arab landowner, "George Zirib", from the land reform commission while it refused to receive a delegation of peasants.

One wonders what sort of socialism this is, that supports the feudalists against the peasants.

There are numerous villages as these that are denied to their legal owners. The land is not exploited by the land commission, either. These villages are either rented to rich landowners or are left untouched, while the poor Kurdish peasants are left to starve and live under appalling circumstances.

On 25th December 1966 Kurdish peasants sent a delegation to meet the President of the Republic to complain about the hard and unjust treatment they are receiving. The President refused to meet them or accept their petition.

In 1965, the Commander (Mudir Nahya - Arabic) of "Jel Agha", a Kurdish town, arrested many villagers (among them women), tied them nakedly all together and started to beat and torture them barbarously.

On 7th August 1966 the Mudir Nahya of "Amouda" attacked a few houses in the early hours of the morning, using the search for smugglers as a pretext, by breaking the doors and windows and screaming, which frightened the hell out of children; then he arrested the following people, together with their wives, took them to the local prison and tortured them all together. Afterwards he shaved the women's heads. (Izzeddin Jali, Bashir Joan. Khalil Kaloun, Mohamed Ali Bashi and Mohamed Sabbouha.)

Around the same period in 1966, the customs officers killed a woman in "Derbasia" while searching her home and after torturing her in the most indignant manner. **The latest developments in September, 1967:**

The "Arab Belt" policy has been extended to include the other Kurdish areas of "Kurdagh", "Ann Arab" and Kurdish towns.

In June 1967 the Baathist newspaper "Al-Thawra" published a decision of the Ministry of the Interior by which the name of three Kurdish villages were changed into Arabic so that:

"Tel Gihan" has become "Tel Gihad";

"Shorik" has become "Al-Yarmouk";

"Chaghir Bazaar" has become "Hittin".

(A glorious achievement for the Arab Nation no doubt.)

Many peasant families have started to emigrate to Turkey, e.g. Khalid Badir; Muslim, Hilou and Bozo Dodky (three brothers) from villages around "Seri

Kanye"; Haj Muhamed Saadou from "Tel Aboud" near "Derbasia"; Akkash from "Hobkanly" near "Afrin".

The newly formed Bureau for Agricultural Interests by the land reform commission in Hasaka has started ploughing all the confiscated lands in the "Arab Belt"; it has also ploughed the "bhor" lands to deprive the people of the areas for pastures and hence give up cattle breeding, which is vital for them.

The Article in the Newspaper "AL-MUNADHEL"

The following is a text of an article that was published in the middle of December 1966 by the newspaper "Al-Munadhel" No. 11, the spokesman of the International Leadership of the "Baath Arab Socialist Party". The reader will notice that the Baathists in a desperate attempt to present their racist policies in the most respectable manner by calling the Arab Belt Policy the "Proposition for the Establishment of State Farms in Djazira".

The Text of the Article:

THE PROPOSITION FOR STATE FARMS IN DJAZIRA

"The dangers that were and still are threatening our Arab nation in the North of Iraq have been accumulating in the Djazira province for the last few years. These dangers (threats) are creations of the Imperialists. It is of an absolute necessity to deal with the problem there, since it had been neglected by previous governments, who failed to find radical solutions for it. Therefore, we present the following report of the National Peasant Bureau concerning measures that have been implemented and recommendations for the immediate future:

"Between 13-29/11/1966, Comrade Nacem Juma was delegated by the National Peasant Bureau to Djazira province to discuss the report of the Djazira Branch of the Party, 'The Basic Lines for the Establishment of State Farms in Djazira' with the local leadership and the administrative comrade (Muhafiz - Arabic). After discussions it became clear that it is of extreme importance to exploit the confiscated lands and state properties in 1966-67."

The report then goes on to give an idea about the natural, productive, social and political aspects of the province.

"The Political Aspect of the Province:"

"Feudalism is prominent in this area which has connections with Imperialism, and since the area is mainly populated by non-Arabs, especially the Kurds who are doing their utmost to establish a national state on our Northern border with the support of the Imperialists, as well as the plotting and spying that could easily occur because of the nature of our border and because the adjacent areas in Iraq and Turkey are populated by Kurds, we deem it of absolute necessity to Arabise this area, which is the only secure measure to implement for the safeguarding of our borders and hence the security of the state. In general one can assert that the easy access to the border between us and Turkey would encourage spying and more Kurdish immigration from Turkey, and

since these areas are populated by Kurds inside Turkey it constitutes a permanent threat and danger to our glorious Arab nation, especially that this area is extremely important agriculturally and industrially, particularly after the discovery of oil.

"These measures have already been taken by the local authorities and the Party:

- 1—The Chief Administrative Comrade (Muhafiz) issued an ultimatum, prior to the ploughing and seeding seasons, to all the inhabitants of the belt not to exploit the land.
- 2—The Bureau for Confiscated Lands and State Properties in the Belt has drawn surveying maps which would be provided to the National Leadership of the Party.
- 3—The bureaus for land reform are preparing plans to evacuate 4,000 families from villages in the Belt to areas outside the Belt; this can be done easily and without any difficulties. There are also about 5,000 families who are estate owners and cannot be deported without temptation and facilities to be provided by the government. There are also about 250,000 foreigners (as a result of the 1962 Census). The opinion of the Party and local authorities concerning these foreigners is to provoke and make difficulties for them by every means to stop them from residing near the border and use force against them, not to provide them with any employment and issue them with temporary residential permits which would be abolished gradually in order to force them to emigrate to outside Syria within five years.
- 4—The Party and the Peasants Union are co-operating to find ardent believers in Arab Nationalism to act as armed workers in the Belt.
- 5—To form public seminars to explain the wisdom of the decision to the population and the threat that endangers the area from feudalism and Imperialism.

The National Peasant Bureau, after above discussions, states the following:

- A—Although the local authority's ultimatum to the population has simplified their task and their opinion is to compensate the owners of the land by bartering the state owned lands in Djazira for the privately owned villages. But since the confiscated villages number 319, while state owned villages are only 66, this would create many problems. We, the National Peasant Bureau, therefore suggest:

- 1—The issuing of a governmental decree to the effect that the whole area is confiscated and the government may exploit these lands in any manner it deems fit, because the situation cannot stand as it is, and the state owned villages cannot and should not be bartered for privately owned villages, especially that those villages that are privately owned belong to the Non-Arab elements.
- 2—To change the residential nature of the area by deportation and to change radically the non-Arab character of the areas adjacent to the border.

(End of Article)

COMMENT ON THE ARTICLE

There is no need to condemn the report, for it is self-condemnatory by the inclusion of deliberate distorted facts and truisms.

In all the history of Syria there has not been one single case of spying, for any power or state, in the area.

Since 1954, the nature of the border between Syria and Turkey has been one of the most guarded and preserved for the prevention of population movements in order to prevent contacts between the Kurds on both sides of the frontier. The border is one of the tightest in the world because of the instalment of three lines of barbed wires and plantation of mines between them, all along the Syrian border with Turkey ever since 1954. So the fallacies about spying and further Kurdish immigration to Syria fall flatly to the ground.

As for the comic accusation that the Kurds are always

connected with the Imperialists. This has become so familiar with governments who, out of deficiencies in their system, failures of their policies or the increasing unpopularity of their regime, try to find suitable scape-goats.

The very simple fact is that those people in the Syrian government, who are responsible for these policies, are racialists and most probably mentally sick.

Finally, I do hope that every democratically-minded person in the world would add his voice to that of the helpless Kurds in Syria to curb this vicious racial onslaught on their basic rights, and help them to achieve those rights which are minimal indeed in this day and age, i.e. human, national and cultural rights; elimination of racial discrimination; elimination of national oppression; publication of Kurdish literature; education in Kurdish for the areas that are populated by Kurds; political, civil, social and economical freedoms.

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K.S.S.E. AIMS

General Executive Committee

KURDISTAN POLITICS IN PERSPECTIVE

Editor

KURDISTAN MON AMOUR

Lord Kilbracken

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SOFIA INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL**DOCUMENTS: THE KURDS AND THE U.N.****LETTER FROM BARZANI TO DE GAULLE****BOOKS ON KURDS AND KURDISTAN**

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Previous Issues:

We regret that all previous issues of "Kurdistan" are out of print, and therefore cannot be supplied.
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K.S.S.E. AIMS



"Kurdistan", the official organ of Kurdish Students Society in Europe, (K.S.S.E.), tries to give an idea about the country of Kurdistan and the contemporary situation in which the Kurdish people live. The K.S.S.E.'s constitution states that the Society will endeavour to enlighten the world on the culture of Kurdistan, the condition of the Kurdish people and the question of self-determination; to strengthen the relationship of Kurdish students in Europe and to help to solve their academic problems and facilitate mutual aid between them while in Europe; to strengthen the spirit of co-operation and friendship between Kurdish students and students of other countries, to make contact with students and non-student organizations, both national and international, and co-operate with them in the scope of our mutual aims and interests, to promote the national Kurdish culture and to work towards the good of the Kurdish people, to contribute towards the struggle of the divided Kurdish people, support all peoples in the struggle against imperialism, racial discrimination and dictatorial regimes, and consolidate with all peace-loving freedom fighters for peace, democracy and liberty. Although "Kurdistan" is a student magazine, it has a much wider responsibility – the highlighting of the Kurdish society's basic political and economic condition and clarification of the natural and just requirements and demands for a better and fairer way of life. These tasks are inevitable for Kurdish students abroad for a variety of reasons. Firstly, they constitute a major element in the drive towards informing and explaining problems related to Kurds and Kurdistan to the outside world. Secondly, there are better opportunities in Europe to express freely what Kurdish individuals think about general issues than elsewhere, particularly in the Kurdish peoples' own country (divided Kurdistan). Therefore it is necessary for Kurdish students abroad to recognize these responsibilities. They can do this, first of all, by achieving educationally what they have set out to achieve by acquiring new knowledge – scientific, technical, or otherwise, but at the same time they must recognize their other responsibilities whilst staying abroad, and naturally when they complete their studies. Through K.S.S.E., individual Kurdish students can realize their duties to a very large extent, as practice has shown us. This has been borne out by the remarkable success of the Society's activities since it was founded in 1956. Membership of the Society has grown from a mere 17 members to hundreds. The society, furthermore, has gained international recognition by becoming a member of the International Union of Students (I.U.S.) in 1964.

Finally, the primary aim of K.S.S.E. should be to encourage its members to assist the people of Kurdistan after completing their training and education. This can be realized by undertaking the various tasks involved in running a Kurdish autonomous administration in Kurdistan-Iraq. The economic and human needs are vast. There is a great shortage of teachers and doctors in Kurdistan, especially in the liberated area. We hope "Kurdistan" will be of service in this task.

General Executive Committee

Kurdistan Politics in Perspective

The condition of the Kurds in Iran and Turkey remains as it has been for the last decade. There have been a few indications, at least superficially, that the Kurdish problem is being treated seriously and perhaps more realistically. For example, the words "Kurds" and "Kurdistan" are no longer taboo in the Turkish press. But this in itself does not constitute any real progress towards recognizing the national human rights of the Kurds. In fact these minor changes have been generated by the effect of events in Kurdistan-Iraq. In Iran the Kurds are still deprived of basic national rights such as education in their own language, the right to enjoy and promote their cultural heritage and other natural rights, whilst in Turkey – in addition to the absence of any national rights for the Kurdish people – the Turkish Government still maintains a racist stand against them by not recognizing in any form the distinct national entity of the Kurdish people. As for the Kurds in Syria, they have been subject, like those of their brothers in Kurdistan-Iraq, to a vicious policy of Arabisation by the fanatical Baathists. The situation has reached the point where an important Minister in the Government, Mohammed Talab Hilal, advocates in a widely-published book the adoption of a Hitlerian policy of shifting and dispersing Kurdish native population from Kurdish areas, so that the Kurdish community as such has no recognized entity. In fact the government has already started implementing this policy which is known as the "Arab Belt Plan"

The major political interest at the moment surrounds political events in Kurdistan-Iraq, where the resistance movement has been consolidating in order to achieve a viable autonomy since September 1961.

The success of this revolutionary movement has attracted a great deal of attention in the Middle East and internationally. One can definitely state that the Kurdish problem has become a major element in the regional and international conflicts of the latter half of the twentieth century. It is gradually becoming obvious that permanent stability in the Middle East area depends partly on a just and satisfactory settlement of the Kurdish issue. This can be achieved

in the last analysis only by listening attentively to the emergent voice of the Kurdish people in the form of its *de facto* administration in Kurdistan-Iraq. Furthermore, it is necessary for the international organizations to take a serious interest in the legitimate rights of the Kurds as a nation. It is futile, as was attempted in the case of South Africa, to argue, for example, that the conflict between Kurdistan and Iraq is a purely internal affair. Although the Charter of the United Nations clearly recognizes the sovereignty of each state, it also recognizes the necessity of securing and protecting the human rights and fundamental freedoms of each nation. As stated in the preamble: "We the peoples of the U.N., determined to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women of nations, large and small... have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims."

Article 62, paragraph 2 of the Charter states that the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) may make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of human rights and fundamental freedom for all. Furthermore, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognizes the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family as the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.

There is a common thread running through the history of the Kurdish liberation movement since 1961. It is the readiness of the citizens of Kurdistan to defend and strive for their national existence and legitimate rights, regardless of sacrifices and deprivations which they have to undergo. The unswerving loyalty to these aims is symbolised by the way the movement has developed from a disorganized resistance movement to a *de facto* autonomous administration, which is organized politically by the Kurdistan Democratic Party (K.D.P.) and other leading intellectual patriots, and protected militarily by the Kurdistan Revolutionary Army of Pesh Merga. This in fact constitutes a significant shift in the status of the Kurdish movement's relations with Iraq, and thus military dictatorships ruling over Iraq can no longer with impunity trample upon the rights of the Kurdish people. Not that they have learnt the lessons of other governments' imperialistic policies of recognizing, even belatedly, the rights of individual nations to human rights and self-determination. For in spite of the willingness shown by Kurdish patriots to try to reach a peaceful and fair settlement of the Kurdish problem during the last

eight years, Iraqi Governments have persisted in attempting to find means by which they can destroy Kurdish people as a community. It is obvious that all the three cease-fire agreements between the Kurdish Revolution and Iraq have been of a purely tactical nature, and efforts on the part of the Baghdad Government to stall for time rather than genuine attempts towards a reasonable settlement. No doubt the Kurdish leadership has drawn its own conclusion from the treacherous past behaviour of the Iraqi Government. First of all it is essential to guard against dictatorial regimes. Secondly, the movement cannot indefinitely delay the progress of its political and economic aims and therefore must find its own ways of achieving them. This is particularly important regarding the recognition of the autonomous status of Kurdistan and the legitimacy of the Iraqi state.

There must come a time when Kurds declare and implement fully all the necessary elements of an autonomous entity. Iraqi intransigence will therefore only make future agreement more difficult to reach. It is clearly in the interest of both the Kurds and the Arab peoples to recognize and respect each other's rights. But violent attempts at imposing one dictatorial regime in the name of Arab Nationalism on Kurdistan is bound to fail and lead to further violence and brutality. This is indeed occurring now. The Baathist military junta are copying Nazi tactics and methods in the aggression against the Kurdish people. The Iraqi army has been systematically destroying hundreds of villages in Kurdistan as part and parcel of their scorched-earth policy; bombing of civilians with napalm and incendiaries is a daily routine. Kurdish peasants have been evicted from over 300 villages in the oil-producing region of Kirkuk and also in Hawler (Arbil). Arab tribes have been settled in their places, taking illegal possession of Kurdish lands, houses and property. Kurdish civilians in occupied zones are at the mercy of Iraqi garrisons.

In spite of all this, the Kurdish national liberation movement has not only survived but maintained and enlarged the liberated areas of Kurdistan. This is mainly because the Kurdish forces enjoy superiority over the enemy, for Kurdish partisans fight for a cause in which they passionately believe, on territory which is their own and amidst a population which identifies itself with the revolutionary struggle for an autonomous Kurdistan.

In addition to the criminal war that the Iraqi Government is waging against the Kurds, it is

cruelly suppressing all political opposition, particularly democratic and progressive Arab elements. There are thousands of citizens in Iraqi jails who are tortured and maltreated, with scant hope of ever being charged in a court of law. It is the duty of all democratic elements in Iraq to align themselves with the Kurdish movement in order to achieve a democratic government in the country and securing the just right of the Kurdish people to an autonomous Kurdistan.

Editor



Opinions expressed by individuals in this journal do not necessarily reflect those of the society. Editor.

Unconstitutional Treatment of the Kurds in Turkey

BY S. ARARATI

According to reports which appeared in Turkish newspapers such as *Yeni Istanbul* and *Dunya* of the 31st January, 1968, the Turkish police have arrested nine Kurds in Diyarbakir. For Kurds to be put in prison in Turkey is nothing new and is no sensation either. What is new, however, is the "spirit" of the indictment, which says that the persons arrested were members of the Kurdish "Secret State". As so often before, many "documents" — it says — had fallen into the hands of the police.

ethnic group to write in their own language (see translation of extracts from the Turkish Constitution). But if the Kurds do this or own books in the Kurdish language, they have to expect terms of imprisonment; it is not the Constitution but "Special Laws" and police measures that are applied.

We want to draw the attention of the Turkish Government to the fact that their policy of discrimination towards the Kurdish population is a flagrant violation of its own Constitution and of civil and human rights.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TURKISH CONSTITUTION

Paragraph 2. The Republic of Turkey is based on the elementary principles of human rights. It is a national democracy and a State based on law and social justice.

Paragraph 8. The laws must not be in contradiction with the constitution.

Paragraph 12. Before the law everybody is equal notwithstanding his language, his ethnical membership, his sex, his political conviction, his religious denomination. No privileges must be accorded to any person, family, group or class.

Paragraph 20. Everyone enjoys liberty of thought and opinion. Everyone has the right to express and spread his thoughts and opinion by word, in writing, images, or in any other way, either alone or with others. Nobody can be forced to express his thoughts and his opinion.

Paragraph 30. After anyone has been arrested he must — except for the time required to bring him before the nearest Court — be taken within 24 hours before the Examining Magistrate. After the expiry of 24 hours he must not be deprived of his liberty without the decision of a judge. The arrest of a person must be made known to his relatives as soon as the arrested person is brought before the Examining Magistrate.

Contrary to the usual legal customs, these Kurds will not appear in Court in the Kurdish city of Diyarbakir where they were arrested, but in the Turkish city of Antalya (on the Mediterranean). Since their arrest they have been in solitary confinement there and cannot be visited by their relatives. The reason for the choice of this place of internment will be known to those who are conversant with the policy of the Turkish Government and the methods of the police towards the Kurds. Evidently the imprisonment which has already lasted 8 months is still not sufficient for the psychological "treatment" of these people so that their trial has not even been started yet.

The "documents" are nothing more than literature in the Kurdish language, which contains nothing political. Of the existence of a Kurdish "Secret State" nobody in the world knows anything except the Turkish police. The Constitution of Turkey does not forbid any

It cannot any longer withhold the right of cultural activities from the Kurdish people and it must not suppress cultural democratisation by police measures. By doing so it is working against the national unity of Turkey. The last thing we want is the "Sick Man on the Bosphorus" who is nothing but a dangerous product of the present policy of discrimination of the peoples in Turkey, and of an undemocratic attitude. The fact of ethnical disunity in Turkey can only be transformed into a lasting meaningful unity if the Turkish Government makes efforts to create the necessary political and legal basis so that Turks, Lazicans, Kurds, Circassians, Armenians and Arabs do not suffer discrimination and are respected in the exercise of their cultures. Otherwise the Turkish Government cannot expect anything else than to be the stooge of the enemies of Turkey and thus of the Turkish population.

K.S.S.E.

Resolutions

BELGRADE JANUARY 1969

1. The Congress:

GREETS —The Kurdish Revolution In Iraqi Kurdistan and expresses solidarity with it.

—The Partisans (Pesh Merga'), who have carried arms and faced death to defend our national rights and holds in great esteem their precious sacrifices in the cause of the revolution.

—Mustafa Barzani, and thanks him for the letter which the conference received from him.

URGES —All organisations and political groups of the Kurdish Nation to support the revolution in order to achieve autonomy for Kurdistan within a free and democratic Iraq.

2. The Congress:

EXPRESSES —Its anxiety about the friction between the national groups in Iraqi Kurdistan.

URGES —All the people concerned to put an end to this friction and to work, instead, for the interests of our national demands and the revolution and its aims. It also urges them to stand united against all plans which aim at inhibiting the Kurdish national question.

3. The Congress:

CONSIDERS —The present system of government in Iraq as a military dictatorship that stands against the Iraqi nation's basic democratic rights.

—That it is isolated from the Iraqi people and, by disregarding the demands of the Arabs and Kurds in Iraq, denies them their basic democratic rights.

That it is withholding the fulfilment of the 29th of June agreement.

—That the fundamental solution to the Iraqi people's problems, including the Kurdish war, lies in having a national

and progressive coalition government which would ensure democracy for Iraq and autonomy for Kurdistan.

4. The Congress:

EXTENDS —Its greetings to all the national groups in Iraq and asks them to unite in a progressive national and democratic front in order to bring an end to the military dictatorship in Iraq. To form a progressive and national coalition government which would fulfil the demands of the Kurdish people, secure the independence and unity of the Republic of Iraq and stand against Imperialistic plots.

5. The Congress:

URGES —The Iraqi Government to fulfil, in its entirety, the items of the 29th of June agreement.

DEMANDS —Full democratic rights for the Iraqi people.

—The release of all political prisoners in Iraq.

—That the blackmailing of prisoners, by forcing them to sign documents repudiating their beliefs as a condition for their release, should cease forthwith.

6. The Congress:

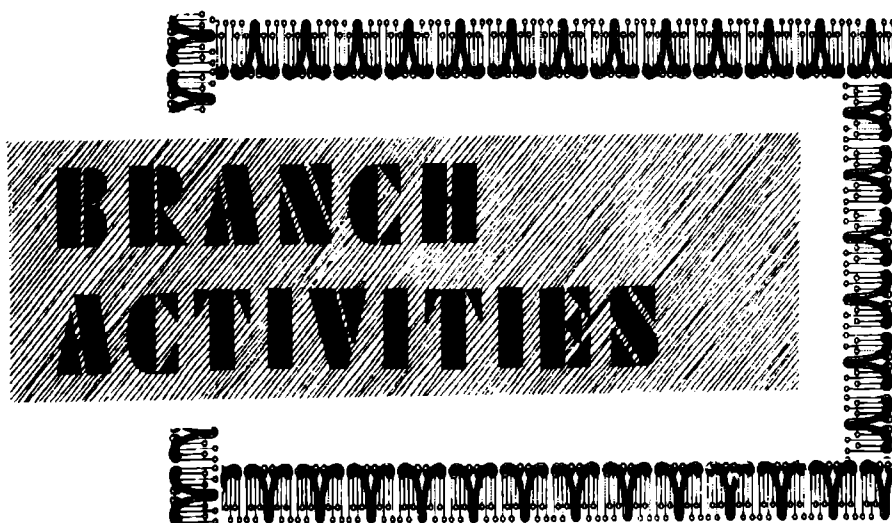
CONDEMNS —The Iraqi Government's withdrawal of passports and withholding of grants and scholarships of some Iraqi students.

DEMANDS —The restoration of passports, grants and scholarships to these students, despite their ideological beliefs.

7. The Congress:

CONDEMNS —The discrimination policy of the Syrian Government against our Kurdish people in Syria. This policy is not in

- accordance with the Syrian Government's claims of socialism, freedom and progress.
- DEMANDS** -A stop to the fascist (Arab Belt) scheme.
The restoration of Syrian national identity withdrawn from tens of thousands of Kurds.
-The release of all political prisoners in Syria.
-The return of all the deported people, especially the Kurdish patriot Othman Sabri.
-A stop to the discrimination against the Kurds, and demands equality with the Arabs especially as regards land reform laws.
-The fulfilment of the civil and educational rights of the Kurdish people in Syria.
8. The Congress:
GREETs -The Kurdish Uprising in Iranian Kurdistan.
CONDEMNs -The police state policy towards the Kurds in Iran.
DEMANDs -The fulfilment of the Kurdish national and democratic rights.
-That the Kurds be allowed to have their own schools and be allowed to publish newspapers in Kurdish.
-A rise in the standards of health, economy and education in Iranian Kurdistan.
-The release of all political prisoners and cessation of aggressive actions against the Kurdish people in Iran.
9. The Congress:
SUPPORTs -The struggle of the Iranian students against the Imperialistic regime of the Shahinshah and their struggle for a progressive and democratic regime which would recognise the national and democratic rights of the Kurdish people in Iran.
10. The Congress:
DEMANDs -The cessation of the Turkish Government's policy to ignore the existence of a Kurdish nationality in Turkey.
-The recognition by the Turkish Government of the national and democratic rights of the Kurdish people in Turkey and a rise in the standards of the economy, health, social aspects and education of the Kurdish people in Turkey.
-That the Kurdish people be permitted to have their own publication and radio programmes in Kurdish.
-That all people in Turkey, regardless of national identity and ideological beliefs, be considered equal.
CONDEMNs -The Toranian ideas which refuse to recognise the non-Turkish nations and consider all inhabitants of Turkey as Turks.
11. The Congress:
DEMANDs -The release of all political prisoners in Turkey.
CONDEMNs -The deporting of 16 Kurds from their home land to parts of Western Turkey
-The re-trial of 20 Kurds, who, when tried two years ago, were declared innocent.
-The denial of prerogative to two Kurdish members of the Turkish Parliament.
The demoting of Kurdish officers serving in the Turkish army.
12. The Congress:
URGES -The Arab citizens, the political parties and organisations, both national and governmental, in the Arab countries to reject the reactionary and chauvinistic propaganda against the aims and principles of the Kurdish movement.
-These people to understand thoroughly the Kurdish national question for the sake of strengthening the ties of friendship between the Arabs and the Kurds and their common struggle against Imperialism, reactionary regimes and military dictatorships and to work for peace, national liberation and democracy.
13. The Congress:
SUPPORTs -The struggle of the Arab people against Imperialism and Zionism and their struggle for democracy and social and economic reforms.
-The Palestinian people in their struggle to retain their national rights.
DEMANDs -The withdrawal of aggressors from the occupied territory.
14. The Congress:
SUPPORTs -All the progressive liberation movements in the world which aim at putting an end to world Imperialism and at building a world based on equality, peace and freedom.
CONDEMNs -The intervention of the Imperialists in other countries' internal affairs.
GREETs -The Vietnamese people in their struggle against American aggression and for the liberation of the rest of their country.
SUPPORTs -The struggle of the Greeks against the military junta for freedom and democracy.
15. The Congress:
THANKs -All organisations that supported the society and assisted her in holding this conference, especially the Union of Yugoslavian Students.
-All the people and organisations who sent greetings, especially those who sent representatives to the conference.
HOPES -That the ties of friendship between us will always remain strong in order to achieve our common aims.



K.S.S.E. has branches in almost all European countries, including United Kingdom, France, Sweden, West Germany, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Soviet Union and Austria. The following is a summary of some of the branches' activities (which regrettably had to be condensed owing to lack of space).

U.S.S.R. Branch

The Soviet Branch held its annual conference on 2nd February 1969 at Friendship University, in Moscow, under the following main slogans:

DEMOCRACY FOR IRAQ AND AUTONOMY FOR KURDISTAN-IRAQ.

LONG LIVE THE KURDISH REVOLUTION AND ITS LEADERSHIP.

LONG LIVE SOVIET-KURDISH FRIENDSHIP.

FOR EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS.

Many guests attended the conference, including the representative of the Council for Foreign Students Affairs in the Soviet Ministry of Higher Education and a representative of Komsmol, who both made speeches reaffirming friendly relations between Kurdish and Soviet students. The delegates represented branches in Moscow, Leningrad, Baku, Karkof, Kier, Tashkant and Kirsindar. Among the resolutions the conference approved were:

1. Greeting the Kurdish armed Revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq, and the partisans of Pesh Merga and its wise leadership led by General Mustifa Barzani.

2. Calling all progressive national political forces in Iraq to form a united front for the overthrow of the militaristic and dictatorial Baathist regime, and the forming of a democratic coalition government, which believes in democracy for Iraq and autonomy for Kurdistan-Iraq.

3. Condemning the policy of national oppression and discrimination directed by the reactionary regimes against the Kurdish people in Turkey and Iran, and demanding from the governments of Iran and Turkey the guarantee of the Kurdish people's national rights.

4. Supporting the heroic Vietnamese struggle against American Imperialism.

The Soviet Branch has been very active in establishing relations with friendly organisations in the Soviet Union. For instance, the Secretary of the Branch, Husain Barzani, was elected as chairman of the International Student Camping – Friendship event in the city of Rustov last summer. The branch participated in a student seminar under the title of "The role of students in the national liberation movement". Further-

more, two lectures were given in the name of the Society, one about the Revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq and the other about the Kurdish student movement abroad.

Finally, the Branch celebrated the Kurdish national day of Newroz at one of the big factories in Moscow, which was attended by many guests including prominent Kurdish soviet citizens. Among them, Firozov, Dr. Bikaev, Dr. Abdul Rehman Kirmiany, Dr. Sultany and the famous orientalist Dr. Aristova.

The Branch issued several issues of a periodical called Nishtiman.

Swedish Branch

Although one of the smallest branches of K.S.S.E. it is one of the most active. Within K.S.S.E. it maintains well organised communications with the General Executive Committee and the committees of all the branches. It has wide contacts with many student and youth organisations as well as political and humanitarian ones.

The Swedish Branch has contributed to the formation of Kurdish-Scandinavian committees, and its co-operation particularly with the Kurdish-Swedish committee (Svensk-Kurd Kommittee), has contributed to the wide publicity given to the Kurdish question in Scandinavia.

One of the outstanding activities of the Swedish Branch is the collection of medical supplies for the victims of war in Kurdistan-Iraq, where supplies are blockaded by the Iraqi government. Amnesty International is amongst those organisations which receives reports on the Kurdish situation from the branch.

The Swedish Branch has prominent contacts with the Press, and the Broadcasting Corporation in Sweden. Within the past year nine lectures have been given by the branch to the Political Parties, student and youth organisations. The Branch has organised a small Kurdish Exhibition in Stockholm.

The Swedish Branch held its fourth general annual meeting on February 28th 1969 in Stockholm. At this meeting many resolutions were passed amongst them were:

1. The Meeting greets whole-heartedly the Kurdistan Democratic Party, Kurdistan Revolutionary Army, the Command Council of the Revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq and the veteran leader, General Mustapha Barzani.
2. The Meeting calls upon all freedom-loving and peace-loving people in the world to denounce and condemn the Baathists atrocities committed in Kurdistan-Iraq.
3. The Meeting condemns the new offensive by Baghdad military government against innocent civilian population of Kurdistan.
4. The Meeting protests against the discriminatory and chauvinistic treatment of the Kurds by the Turkish and Iranian governments and calls upon those governments to stop the suppression of Kurdish basic human and national legitimate rights. Furthermore, the Meeting condemns the Baathist military dictatorship of Syria and its fascist policies such as the 'Arab Belt Plan' with the intention of the destruction of the Kurdish community in Syria.
5. The Meeting expresses its solidarity with all the liberation movements and greets the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against American aggression. It also supports the just struggle of the Palestinian people for their self-determination.
6. The Meeting thanks all the humanitarian organisations that help the Kurdish people.



Polish Branch

Since its establishment in 1962 the Polish Branch of K.S.S.E. has been very active in promoting the cause of the Kurdish people and their just national rights. This year in particular there have been many opportunities where the Society has taken part in activities to publicise the tragic conditions under which our people live in Kurdistan, particularly in Kurdistan-Iraq, where the government has been waging a war. The Branch has taken part in many exhibitions held in different towns of Poland by presenting facets of Kurdish life; traditions,



Polish Branch in a demonstration

customs and national culture. The Branch organised a special exhibition on the current revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq in six towns. The Branch maintains very friendly relations with all public organisations in Poland. Furthermore, the Branch has been influential in presenting special programmes on T.V. and radio. The National Union of Polish Students has been very helpful regarding the presentation of our activities.

D.D.R. Branch

The annual conference was held on 22nd March 1969 at the city of Meersburg. Fifty members participated and it was attended by student delegates from Syria, Iraq, Lebanon and a representative of the Arab Students' Society. The conference discussed many important student and political topics, particularly the grave situation in Kurdistan. At the end of the conference, certain resolutions were passed, among them:

1. The meeting greets the revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq and its leadership.
2. Greets the struggle of the Iraqi people against the dictatorial Baathist regime and calls upon them to unite their efforts in a National front.
3. Condemns the fanatic Baathist rulers of Syria and demands full recognition of the Kurdish peoples' rights.
4. Condemns the Iraqi government for the suppression of the democratic movements of student and youth.
5. Deplores the cold blooded assassination of the University student Mutasher Hawas.

U.K. Branch

The U.K. Branch, being historically the first branch of the Society to be established, still holds an important position in enhancing the just cause of Kurdish students and the overall cause of Kurdistan in its activities throughout Britain. The Branch has established permanent and friendly relations with many students and other organisations, such as the Iraqi Students' Society in the U.K., the Co-ordinating Committee for Overseas Students and the National Union of Students. It has taken an active part in activities pertaining to liberation movements throughout the world, while at the same time being concerned with student problems in particular.

Prior to the Annual General Meeting of the U.K. Branch, a social gathering was arranged on the Kurdish national day of Newroz. Among the resolutions of the Annual General Meeting were:

The Meeting:

1. Warmly greets our Kurdish peoples' revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq and commends the spirit of sacrifice of the partisans of Pesh Merga, the steady shield for the defence of the Kurdish people, and the achievement of their national rights. It also greets the leadership of the Kurdish Revolution — in particular, the Commander-in-Chief, General Mustafa Barzani and members of the Command Council.
2. Condemns the chauvinistic, racist and militaristic Baathist regime in Iraq and deplores its actions against the Kurdish people.
3. Condemns the oppressive policies of those governments ruling other parts of Kurdistan, which flagrantly deny the Kurdish people basic and fundamental national rights.
4. Supports the memorandum presented by Dr. K. Bederkan, the representative of the Kurdish Command Council to the United Nations and its Secretary-General, requesting the organisation to intervene and appoint an international mediator in order to assist in finding a just solution for the Kurdish problem in Kurdistan-Iraq.
5. Thanks the International Union of Students for granting K.S.S.E. two scholarships.

The Branch has been very active in issuing publications on various political occasions, such as the following two statements:

THE SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE KURDISH REVOLUTION

On 11th September, 1961 the Iraqi Army under dictator Kassim launched a full-scale attack on Kurdistan in an attempt to suppress all Kurdish demands for national and cultural rights by brutal force. The undisguised aim of the offensive was to deprive a nation of its own natural identity, to impose upon it a foreign culture by force, to rob it of its natural riches, and thus to bring about the physical annihilation of the Kurdish people in Iraq. It was, inevitably, in response to this savage attack that the Kurdish Revolution was born on 11th September, 1961. On this historic day Kurdish patriots from towns and villages of Kurdistan rallied to the defence of their country and formed a revolutionary movement with the Kurdish Revolutionary Army — PESH MERGA — as its main shield. The Revolution proclaimed the twin aims of its armed resistance and struggle against military dictatorship: first, autonomy for Kurdistan, and secondly, restoration of democratic and parliamentary life in Iraq. Up to now, the struggle has continued without any discernible signs of a just and lasting settlement of the Kurdish problem in Kurdistan — Iraq.

The Executive Committee of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe, U.K. Branch, on behalf of all our members, bow to the memory of the martyrs in the cause of freedom for Kurdistan. Their sacrifice, their courage, their generosity will always serve as an impetus to every Kurd to continue the struggle for freedom and integrity. We also extend our warm greetings to all members of PESH MERGA, the bastions of proud Kurdistan against assimilation and domination.

Since the beginning of our Kurdish Revolution numerous Iraqi Governments have come to power (all through force). These regimes have all been dominated by a military clique in Baghdad who treat politics as a game of musical chairs, with one clique of officers replacing another. The people of the country whose livelihood is directly affected by political and economic decisions have been totally disregarded and unconsulted in the making of these vital decisions. The wealth of the country is daily squandered on unnecessary military expenditure and the maintenance of a privileged officer class.

Moreover, to date, Kurdish demands for national rights have fallen on deaf ears. Baghdad Governments have repeatedly refused to countenance our justified claims, preferring a "solution" based upon the use of force or trickery.

In spite of the negative attitudes of Iraqi regimes the people of Kurdistan — Iraq have not relinquished the hope of a peaceful solution to the Kurdish problem. But any lasting settlement must be based on the idea of an autonomous Kurdistan so that the national rights of the Kurds are explicitly recognised and fully guaranteed.

As we commemorate the Seventh Anniversary of the Kurdish Revolution, we feel duty bound to emphasise our solidarity with the Kurdish cause and renew our pledge to work for the peace and dignity of our Kurdistan. May the example of those who have paid the price of fighting oppression with their lives be a lesson to us all.

The Executive Committee
Kurdish Student's Society in Europe — U.K. Branch
11th Sept. 1968



STATEMENT ON RISING TENSION IN KURDISTAN

Recent reports confirm that the Iraqi Air Force has resumed bombing many areas of Kurdistan. There are ominous signs indicating that the Iraqi Government is once again resorting to its previous aggressive tactics in dealing with the Kurdish problem.

The Baathist military junta is conducting a campaign to vilify the Kurdish movement as a preliminary step for waging yet another military offensive against Kurdistan. The Baathists' first campaign was launched on the 11th June, 1963. It was unparalleled in its savagery: the burning and bombing of Kurdistan villages razing them flat; the mass eviction of Kurdish families and an inhuman economic blockade of the region.

Eventually the military onslaught resulted in the downfall of the regime in November, 1963. Unfortunately, with the help of other army officers, the Baathists managed to grab power again on 17th July, 1968. Initially they declared that their policy was to reach a peaceful solution of the Kurdish question. But judging by their recent actions, they seem to have learnt nothing from their past experience. On the contrary, their plans are even more sinister.

First, they have decreed a new constitution which blatantly reflects the racist and xenophobic nature of their policy. Article One of the Constitution asserts that "The Iraqi people are part of the Arab nation and their aim is comprehensive Arab unity". Apart from defying all historical, geographical and ethnic realities, it is clearly a violation of the principle of equal rights of Kurds and Arab, when the constitution brands the Kurdish people as being part of the Arab nation. It is the duty of every Kurd to fight against this pernicious colonial doctrine.

Secondly, the Iraqi Government is massing troops in Kurdistan and the Army has violated the cease-fire agreement of 29th June, 1966, on several occasions.

Thirdly, the dictatorial Baathist regime is using oppression and cruelty against people of varied political persuasions, and from all walks of life, who are held in prison, subjected to torture and deprived of elementary justice. There is a distinct absence of the right of individuals and associations to freedom of assembly and freedom of political choice.

Finally, the Army is spending lavishly on the recruitment of mercenaries — Jash — to fight the Kurdish Liberation Movement. It directs and encourages these quisling forces to harass and terrorise civilian population of major Kurdish towns, such as Hawler, Sulamani, Kirkuk and Halabja.

In response to the intransigent and negative attitude of the Iraqi regimes for the last seven years, Kurdish patriots have set up their own administration in the liberated parts of Kurdistan. The main aims of the Kurdish struggle are:—

- (a) securing autonomy for Kurdistan;
- (b) achieving democracy for Iraq.

Our Society is gravely concerned about the deteriorating situation resulting from the violation by the Iraqi Government of solemn pledges and obligations. We condemn the Baathist junta for its indiscriminate bombing of Kurdish towns and villages. We deplore the collaboration of the Jash hirelings with the evil plans of the Iraqi Army.

Sooner or later, the national rights of the Kurdish people must be recognised and guaranteed; the name Kurdistan must be recognised and its boundaries within Iraq delineated as a basis for a peaceful solution of the problem.

We support the recent appeal, made by the Command Council of the Kurdish Revolution to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, for the appointment of a United Nations mediator as on other similar occasions, in order to assist in finding a peaceful and equitable formula.

KURDISH STUDENTS' SOCIETY IN EUROPE.
Executive Committee — U.K. Branch
27th Jan. 1969



13TH CONGRESS OF K.S.S.E.

The Kurdish Student's Society in Europe will hold its 13th Annual Congress in West Berlin from 11th to 17th August 1969.

Address of the Congress is:—

1 Berlin,
Buckower Chaussee, 114,
Jugendgaesthaus,

Tel: 7425059



West Berlin Branch

The Branch began its annual conference on 2nd March 1969, with guests from other branches. Amongst its resolutions were:

1. Greet our people at home and the Pesh Merga heroes who have been struggling and sacrificing their lives in defence of our people and its existence in Kurdistan. Urges the revolutionaries and their leadership for increased resistance to Iraqi Government for the attainment of autonomy for Kurdistan-Iraq.

2. Condemns the discriminating and chauvinistic policies of the Baathists in Syria against the Kurdish people. Demands an immediate halt to the Arab Belt policy in Kurdish areas and the restoration of nationality to those Kurds deprived of it simply because they are Kurds.

3. Supports all liberation movements in the world aiming at self-determination for the oppressed nations of the world.

A demonstration
in
LONDON



GEN. EXEC. MEETING

The General Executive Committee held a meeting in Berlin, from 14th – 17th March 1969, which was attended by five members and two reserve members, to discuss its activities since their last meeting at Warsaw in August 1968, and to plan future activities until the 13th Congress.

The Meeting discussed the secretariat report which covered all activities since the Warsaw meeting, and voted unanimously in favour of the report. The General Treasurer presented his financial report which was approved.

On the internal matters of the organisation, the Committee accepted the resignation of one of its members who returned home. A reserve member was elected in his place.

The Committee decided to urge each branch to collect all members' subscriptions, and to ask them for the General Treasury's share in the budget, to enable them to undertake efficiently the responsibilities of the Society.

Each member of the Committee presented his report on the branch which he conducts.

The meeting urged all the Kurdish students to contribute Kurdish articles for the Society's magazine (Pirshing).

The Committee discussed the situation in all parts

of Kurdistan, particularly the situation in Iraqi-Kurdistan. This was followed by a discussion on the Middle East crisis and its implications on the Kurdish question.

The Meeting made many decisions, including the following:

1. K.S.S.E. greets the revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq and the Kurdistan Revolutionary Army, which protects our Kurdish nation from the aggressive enemies.

2. The recent events in Iraq indicate that the Baathist regime 'is not only incapable of solving the radical problems of democracy and stability in Iraq as a whole, but is a corrupt regime which leads Iraq to yet further destruction, and to serious deterioration of the economic situation. This regime, which brings a continuation of the 1963 corruption, has no support in the country. Therefore it is of the utmost importance for all Iraqi democratic and progressive elements to unite in a national front to oust this military dictatorship, and to establish a constitutional parliamentary government to restore stability and peace in Iraq.

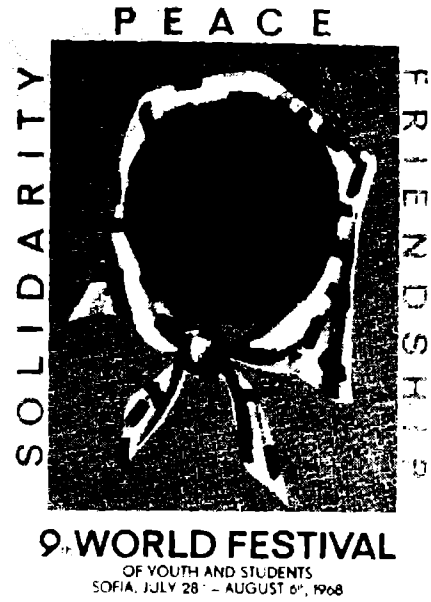
The Meeting once more condemned the racist treatment and discrimination by the reactionary governments of Iran, Turkey and Syria, and demanded basic human rights for the Kurds in those countries.

Sofia International Festival

The 9th World Festival of Youth and Students was held in Sofia, Bulgaria, from 26th July to 6th August 1968. Among those who participated in the festival was a delegation from the Kurdish Students Society in Europe (KSSE), which included a secretariat member of the General Executive Committee.

The festival's activities were conducted under the banner of Solidarity, Peace and Friendship of all peoples of the world. Over 15,000 Young delegates, representing millions of workers, peasants and students from every corner of the globe, regardless of their political, religious and ideological persuasions and affiliations, took part in this historic festival. Prominent themes of the festival were the rising awareness of the new generations everywhere regarding their role in the struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism, colonial wars, military dictatorships, and corrupt and fascist regimes. During the festival, the young men and women of various countries expressed their united stand against the policy of aggression and oppression everywhere, and they showed their determination to support and enhance all progressive, democratic and peace-loving movements.

A major topic in all the meetings and rallies was the courageous struggle of the Vietnamese people against American aggression and intervention. The youth of the



world clearly showed its solidarity and sympathy with the heroic Vietnamese Liberation Movement. Undoubtedly the evil forces of imperialism will eventually have to retreat in the face of the resistance in Vietnam and the wrath of all peace-loving countries of the world. The festival expressed its solidarity with the African nations fighting against colonialist and racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia, and called for an immediate elimination of all forms of racial discrimination and barriers throughout the world. Furthermore, the festival expressed its support for the legitimate rights of the Palestine people.



It was particularly interesting for the Kurdish students coming from their divided country that a prominent slogan of the festival was: "We express our solidarity with all freedom fighters in the world." Indeed the Kurdish delegation found an abundance of respect and sympathy for the Kurdish Liberation Movement among the participants.

The Kurdish delegation undertook several activities during the festival. First, a leaflet on behalf of KSSE, containing a statement on the current conditions of Kurdish students at home and abroad, was distributed. It also explained the bitter life of Kurdish youth and students under the exploiting regimes ruling over Kurdistan, the military dictatorship and fascist regimes in Iraq and Syria; and the reactionary and corrupt regimes in Turkey and Iran. A specific account was given of the dangerous political situation in Iraqi Kurdistan, where for the last eight years our people have resisted and struggled heroically under the leadership of General Mustapha Barzani and the Kurdistan Democratic Party against the colonial and genocidal war conducted by the Iraqi military dictatorship. The leaflet exposed the undisguised aim of this war to deprive our Kurdish nation of its national identity, to impose a foreign culture on it by force, to rob it of its natural riches and thus to bring about the physical eradication of the Kurdish nation within Iraq. The leaflet furthermore explained briefly the basic aims of the revolution in Iraqi Kurdistan and the insistence of the Kurdish people on their right to self-determination to be enjoyed in the form of autonomy within the framework of a

democratic constitutional Iraqi state. Finally, the leaflet called upon all the participants in the festival to transmit the voice of the Kurdish people to their peoples and asked for a solid support of our just struggle for a peaceful and democratic solution to the Kurdish problem.

The natural reactions of the delegates was strong solidarity with our just cause and struggle for freedom and peace. Thus at the end of the Kurdish festival a letter signed by 33 delegations was sent to the President of Iraq, expressing full support for the Kurdish demands in Iraqi Kurdistan.

The signatory delegations represented democratic youth and students movements in the following countries:-

Sweden, Denmark, Sudan, Bulgaria, Tunisia, Iran, Norway, Nigeria, India, Congo (Brazzaville), Chile, Mali, Guinea, Hungary, Morocco, Iraq, Sierra Leone, Austria, Somali, Greece, Ireland, France, Tanzania, Brazil, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Yemen, South Africa, Czechoslovakia, South West Africa, Palestine, West Germany and Great Britain.

The highlight of the festival was the popular procession of all delegations to the festival from 143 countries of the world. At the head of the procession were banners of the World Federations of Democratic Youth (W.F.D.Y.) and the International Union of Students (I.U.S.). The marchers were particularly heartened when young men and women from Vietnam took part in the procession.

From A Delegate

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

★ TWO SCHOLARSHIPS FOR K.S.S.E. FROM ★

★ **I.U.S.** ★

★ The General Executive Committee of Kurdish ★

★ Students Society in Europe expresses its deep thanks ★

★ and appreciation to the International Union of Students ★

★ for granting two scholarships to our organisation. We ★

★ hope that this international organisation will succeed ★

★ in its vital support to all students of the world and in ★

★ promoting students' solidarity for peace, democracy and ★

★ better opportunities. This is not the first time that ★

★ I.U.S. has granted scholarships and other assistance to ★

★ K.S.S.E. since we have become a member of the ★

★ organisation. ★

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★



(5)

PLATE (1.A.)



PLATE (1.B.)

These two pictures, (a) and (b), show a statue, from the front and from behind. I believe it is a statue of Zurvan (Time), the supreme Zurvanic and Mithraic God who virtually unites in his person the power of all the gods, who he alone has begotten (6), and who was closely united and identified with the Firmament or material Cosmos (7), and identified with Destiny (8), and apportions Fortune and Fate whether good or bad, on the Earth (9).

In picture (a), Zurvân wears in front a multiplex tunic to below his knees, similar to the Phrygian or Mithraic garments. It has no opening at the collar as if it were an imitation of the "Sudra", the Zoroastrian shirt. He wears over the tunic a mantle, also multiplex, suspended over his shoulders. His garments appear, with their form and ornaments, glorious and majestic indeed.

The head is missing, but the beard, identifying him as Saturn, remains. Malcolm A.R. Colledge, in his book, "The Parthians," (10) p.231, identifies this picture with Ashur-Bel. His main clue for this identification is the form of the beard, of which he says "The beard is almost Assyrian". Colledge should have examined the forms of some of Iranian beards, belonging to a later period than the Assyrian period, before identifying this picture. For example, the beards of Darius the Great and that of his son Xerxes are of special interest.

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KURDISTAN

Non Amour

Lord Kilbracken

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Lord Kilbracken, who lives in Ireland, is a member of the U.K. Parliamentary Labour Party and has travelled very extensively as foreign correspondent. He is an honours graduate of Oxford University and the author of six books. He has twice visited the liberated areas of Iraqi Kurdistan.

It wasn't supposed to be a holiday but it turned out to be far better than a holiday. I went back this spring to Kurdistan to spend two joyous weeks with the revolutionary army of General Mustafa Barzani which is fighting for Kurdish autonomy within the Iraqi state.

For two-and-a-half years, since the ceasefire of mid-1966 (which is when I was last there), an uneasy armed truce reigned between the Kurds and Arabs as fruitless attempts were made with successive Baghdad govern-

Kurdish troops with a British-made 25-pounder trained at 4 mile range on the Iraqi Government garrison at Rawanduz.



ments to find a peaceful settlement. But it quickly became obvious that this would never be possible after last year's rise to power of the present Baathist regime, a military dictatorship which in no sense represents the people, and during last winter the shaky armistice ended. By March there was fighting on many sectors of the front and I made up my mind to return there.

If Iraqi Kurdistan were as accessible as—let us say—Switzerland and if there were no war there, it would



very quickly become one of the happiest and loveliest tourist centres in the world—and would lose, I suppose, all its charm and delight in the process. But those are two very big ifs; it's almost as inaccessible as anywhere in the world, and the war—even if a cautious visitor stays well behind the lines—means that one may have to dive for cover at short notice occasionally when the Hunters or Migs come over. So it remains totally unspoilt—a savage tract of mountain and valley, almost the size of England but with only two million inhabitants, of breathtaking beauty and superb climate, and its people the kindest, the happiest and most hospitable that it's possible to imagine.



One of the thousands of villages in Kurdistan-Iraq bombed by the Iraqi Air Force

And, for the moment, I have it (as it were) very nearly to myself. That's how inaccessible it is. In peacetime it's easy enough to drive from Baghdad to Kirkuk or Erbil and then to make one's way along one or other of several passable if rather adventurous routes to the great mountainous hinterland. But now the front line runs clear across such paths, and it is possible to enter the 'liberated area' where Barzani's writ runs only by sneaking very unofficially across one of the mountain



From the late April snow of a deserted and perilous pass, at something over 7,000 feet in the rugged Zaghras, I made my way by mule and jeep to a smiling valley not so far behind the lines, where a mountain torrent roared in spate, sometimes through deep ravines where the broken road clung precariously to the rocks, sometimes through wide and fertile country, brilliant with spring flowers, where sheep and goats grazed or where corn or tobacco were growing. And all the



passes between it and Turkey or Iran. A few westerners beside myself—but they are very few indeed—have discovered a way in and possess the equally indispensable *entree* to make use of this knowledge. A condition of acquiring this was that I should reveal its details to nobody, still less the very curious arrangements made to facilitate my progress, so on these matters I can write no more; meantime a flood of summer tourists is very unlikely indeed to disturb my Kurdish delights.

wonderful Kurds: the handsome women and girls, usually bare-headed and unveiled, in their brilliantly coloured dresses (in absolute contrast to the shapeless blacks and browns of Arabs, Azerbaijanis, Persians and the rest); the lovely children; and the men, laughing and turbaned, often fair and blue-eyed always in baggy trousers with a bright entwined sash, a dagger protruding from it. And the soldiers, of whom there are now 15,000 under arms fine fighters known always as the





In the front line; a Kurdish officer and a Kurdistan Democratic Party local leader looks out towards the Iraqi-held garrison town of Rawanduz which can be seen in the valley a short distance away

pesh merga, meaning those who face death : the same but in khaki—no badges of rank, no insignia, no medal ribbons, no brass—their turbans white-and-scarlet or white-and-black, a hundred bullets in their belt and a rifle or submachine-gun slung carelessly from a shoulder. To any of these men I'd gladly trust my life (as indeed I have done) and not give it another thought.

I moved around freely wherever I wanted to go: to Barzani's GHQ, hidden in deep mountains, for several long meetings; to the trading centre of Galala; to the rebel radio station in a lofty cave, to the only hospital—and to the very edge of no-man's-land within sight and range of the Government barracks at Rawanduz. But most nights I spent in the two-roomed mud-brick house that had been put at my disposal with my own *pesh merga* to look after me, outside a river village which was serving for the moment as revolutionary headquarters (and cannot therefore be named). There was much work to be done—but what a life to be led in those long sunny days when Britain was still shivering!





Nine-year-old Kurdish Shepherd

I would wake and rise at 5.30 with the daylight, for no sunrise was to be missed as the first long, sharp shadows were cast across the snow of the westerly mountain range; walk by the river (which has its kingfishers) till the shadows had shortened and the sun had reached the valley; return for the splendid breakfast that would by now be waiting for me—quinces and oranges, cheese from sheeps' milk, fried eggs, yoghurt unleavened bread, wild honey and many cups of coffee—on the table set in the sunshine on the water-meadow by the house. Now was the most likely time for the Migs or Hunters to come over, and I would have my camera at the ready, but they flew too high to be in range for me—or for the men with the Oerlikon on the craggy peak above me. Then out and about my business, at the slow and happy pace at which life moves with country people, all of them so infallibly kind, so friendly, so responsive. A wave and a conventional greeting—*Roz bash* meaning 'Good day' or *Salaam* meaning 'Peace'—and always men would jump smiling to their feet with waves and returned *salaams*, and in some strange way we would manage to communicate. I would walk over the hills—what ski-ing there could be here in the winters!—and return before dusk to watch the sun fall behind the mountains as the first stars faintly gleamed.

Such was my life for those two happy weeks—how far removed from the neuroses and anxieties that pursue us all down grey London streets. . . . And I was sad to leave, like leaving a loved mistress; but Kurdistan, dear Kurdistan, I will return to you again—inch' Allah I will return.



Lord Kilbracken in Kurdish costume

continued from page 19

Mithraic Zurvān, was called Kronos and also Saturn. Under his beard there is a necklace, the ends of which are hidden beneath his cloak. He has no hands, both arms are mutilated near above them.

On his breast is a bust of the god Mithra-Shamash (Invincible Sun) (11); his head is surrounded by twelve rays, alluding to the twelve signs of the Zodiac which were worshipped in Mithraism (12), his mantle, typically Mithraic, is fastened to his right shoulder.

On the statue can be seen a belt, the end of which disappears when it joins the arms of the statue. It may represent a thunder belt.

At the feet of the statue is the statue of a woman, wrapped in a mantle, kneeling on the left knee, both hands covered with the mantle, raised in a posture together with that of her head. Her look is one of supplication. On her head there is a Royal Cap with seven sides which allude to the seven planets. The planets and constellations, the course of which determined terrestrial destinies, were worshipped in Mithraism (13). This is the picture of the goddess of Chance (Tyche), which is identified with Zurvān, the Firmament (14). The covering of her hands in the picture alludes to the mysterious nature of fate.

In picture (b), the back of the statue of the supreme god is covered with the skin of a fish, and in its centre is the head of a Medusa with two wings on its cap, alluding to the moon.

At the feet of the great statue, there stand two eagles, one on each side, their faces towards the front; with their wings they cover both sides and back of the deity. Their wings symbolize promptitude and rapidity in course and execution.

Within the statue are symbols of the Four Elements that compose the universe and were worshipped in the Mysteries. In front, Mihr (Helios) alludes to Fire, and the eagles allude to Air; at the back, the skin of the fish alludes to Water, and the snakes of Medusa to Earth.

In Zurvānism Fire and Air (warm and dry) are substances of Ohrmazd, and Water and Earth (moist and cold) are substances of Ahriman (15). Fire and Air are male, Water and Earth are Female (16).

Thus the front of the statue in picture (a) alludes to the God of Good, Ohrmazd and his world of light – with the exception of Tyche – while the back picture, (b), alludes to the God of Evil, Ahriman and his world of darkness. The front also alludes to day, the summery half of the year between the two equinoxes, and to life; the back alludes to night, the wintry half of the year, and to death. Zurvan is hermaphrodite, the origin of all origins, and comprises good and evil, light and darkness, heat and cold, life and death.

The four wings allude also to the four seasons, and to the four cardinal winds which were worshipped in the mystery (17).

This statue, which we have identified with the Supreme God, TIME, is the most important of the statues found in the Mithraic religion of Hatra, because it is a collection of symbols indicating the faculties and powers existing in the supreme God Zurvan who gave all his faculties and powers to his two sons, the two Gods to whom he entrusted the rule of the universe. He

gave the rule of the world of light to the God of Good, and the rule of the world of darkness to the God of Evil, and he does not interfere with their affairs. But more than this, it is the most important of their statues, because it represents the great God of Destiny.

People were more afraid of him than they were of the Mithraic Ahriman. They submitted to him, and accepted every calamity that befell them, without taking any measures or showing any opposition. They worshipped him as the God of Destiny, which meant blind unopposed submission to fatalism. This belief must have led to the practice of sorcery and religious-magic in Hatra more than anywhere else.

This is indeed a fine artistic statue of the great God of the Mithraic Cosmos or Firmament. It has no equal among the Mithraic remains existing in the world today. It is a collection of Mithraic theological symbols thought up by a brilliant Mithraic Greet artist.



(18)

PLATE (2)

It seems to me that this picture is of the Supreme God Zurvān in Parthian dress, who is about to perform a sacrifice in order that his son, Ohrmazd, might be born of him. The snake behind his neck alludes to the doubt that assailed him, and also caused the conception of the God of Evil, Ahriman.



(19)

PLATE (3.A.)

This plate shows Mithraic Ahriman, the God of Death and Darkness, the Monarch of the Empire of the Underworld, standing in his palace, surrounded by dreadful and deadly creatures. He is the son of the supreme God, Zurvan (Time) and brother of the God of Good, Ohrmazd. Although he was the God of Evil, he could be appeased with gifts and prayers, unlike the Zoroastrian Devil, Ahriman. The Greeks identified him as the God of the Underworld and the King of the World of the Dead; as the dark-haired Pluto, or Hades, brother of the God Zeus, who was identified by them with Ohrmazd.

He is dressed in the Royal Parthian military uniform, with a commanding officer's belt, sword and battle-axe. Over his head is a crown, between two small horns, which symbolized divinity. Over the crown is the eagle, with spread wings, symbol of divine promptness. From both sides of his forehead protrude small snakes. His face is that of a very fearsome person: his threatening wide open eyes, his terrifying nose, and the wild heavy black hair and his moustache and beard peculiar to Hades (20), are of special interest.

His neck is wrapped round with a snake. From his shoulders protrude two other snakes with their heads facing his ears. There are also snakes on his feet. In his right hand he raises a battle-axe, one end of which is a snake, symbolizing eagerness for destruction. In his hand he holds the hilt of his sword. At the lower fringes of his garment are two bells, one on each side. Their sounds announce to the dangerous underground creatures, and to the souls of the dead, that he is present. In illustrated classical Persian manuscripts such as the SHĀHNAMĀ, the devs are depicted with bells at the corners of their garments. The snakes may represent also the souls of the dead. Beside him is the classical,

three-headed dog, Cerberus of Greek Mythology, who was the guard of the souls of the dead. At his neck is a bell, and he is attached by a leash, also a snake, to the belt of the Prince of the underworld. On the latter's right side, two snakes are attached to his waist, one with raised head, the other with drooping head; and at his left side there is a third snake with raised head. From behind him, somewhat hidden by his sword and the skirts of his garment, there protrudes what seems to be a club.

On his left side rise two large snakes, one with its head towards him, the other with its head towards a seated deity. Near his head on the left is a scorpion; there is another to the right of his feet.

In the right-hand bottom corner, a lion lies in the distance, as can be seen from under the body of the dog. The animals we have mentioned may well represent the four elements and the four seasons, which were worshipped in Mithraism; the bird on Ahriman's head may signify air and spring, the scorpions water (being the name of the second sign of the Zodiac in the autumn season, the month of rain), the snake earth and winter, and the lion fire and summer.

To the right of Ahriman may be seen the standard of the Mithraic army and temple. The Mithraic standard will be explained later.

A woman dressed in long garments, whose head is veiled, is seated behind the left of Ahriman, far away in the right corner of the plate; she is the Goddess Hekate, whose name perhaps means The Distant One (21). In Greek mythology she has three personalities, and reigns over the sea, earth and sky. She is identified with Persephone, (22) the Goddess of the Underworld, and is the wife of Pluto (Hades). As Hades is identified with Mithraic Ahriman, so Hekate might well have been identified with Ahriman's Consort Jahi (23).



PLATE (3.B.)

She is on her throne, with a crown on her head, topped with an eagle with outspread wings, like the one on her husband's Ahriman's head. In her left hand she holds a sceptre which is the Mithraic standard, and in her right is, or was, something that might have been a torch (24). She is flanked by a lion on the right, and a dog on the left, standing in front of which were drawn two fishes facing each other with the Goddess on the same base. I believe that the eagle, the lion, the dog and the fishes are symbols of her triple reign. According to Greek beliefs she was the Goddess of sorceries, and had governorship in the sky, the earth and the sea, or hell. So the bird on her head alludes to the sky; the lion and the dog beside her allude to the earth; the fishes allude to the sea, (see Plate 3 (B)).

I would like to quote M.F. Coummont's opinion about the possibility of identifying Ahriman – Hades with the Babylonian God Nergal: – *"L'influence de la religion babylonienne, où le sombre royaume des morts est gouverné par Nergal et par sa compagne Allāt, ne pouvait que favoriser une pareille conception"*.

Finally, the identification of this god of darkness with the Ahriman of Hades (Pluto), was suggested for the first time, in my lecture in 1955, and later published in 1962 (25).



PLATE (4)

It appears to me that this is an altar in front of which is another bas-relief of the God of the underworld, Mihrian (Mithraic) Ahriman. Here also, he raises a battle-axe ending with a snake in his right hand, and he upholds two snakes in his left. Behind his waist are seen hilts of two daggers. One of his horns seems to have been broken. Over his head Mihr (Sun) rises among the mountain rocks (26).



(27)

PLATE (5)

This is the bust of Mithra Mihr (Sun) (28), rising on rocks; he was identified in Babylon with Shamash, or Sun, and by the Greeks with Helios. He appears daily before sunrise on the rocky summits of the mountains in the East; during the day he traverses the wide firmament. In Mithraism he was a warrior God, the god of armies, the protector of kings.

In this bust there can be seen, over his hairy head, a cloud from which come twelve rays, symbols of the twelve signs of the Zodiac. On his forehead he has two small horns, between which appears a part of the edge of a crown. A necklace hangs from his thick neck over his breast. He is wearing a Zoroastrian shirt and over it a mantle. A disc is attached to each of his shoulders in front, with a ribbon hanging down. Each disc contains the bas-relief of an eagle. These two eagles form, with the head of the deity, a triad. The eagle on his left side, stretching its right wing, may represent the deity beginning to rise from the horizon; and the eagle on his right side, with its closing wings, may represent his setting on the horizon. The heads of the birds show the direction of the flight from east to west of the deity who is facing towards the south. His face alludes to his full appearance in his journey through the sky.



(29)

PLATE (6)

In this plate there are two pictures, one of an eagle, the other of a standard.

First, the Eagle:

It appears that the eagle, which is a symbol of might and speed, was in Hatra, in this form, the symbol of the great god Zurvān (Time-Firmanent), identified with Destiny, in his rapidity in executing the course of immutable fate on all persons and things. Around its neck is a collar; and a belt descends from under the right side of this collar down to the eagle's left side, and disappears under its belly. It is possible that the belt may represent the Milky Way, and the collar the Zodiac.

Second, the Standard:

The standard, as can be seen, was composed of a number of symbols set up along a pole, which ended with a crescent-shaped trident, on the centre of which is an eagle like the eagle representing the Firmanent which is seen beside the standard. Does this trident symbolize a triad composed of the supreme God, Zurvān or Time, and his two vice-regents, Ohrmazd and Ahriman, who we have already mentioned? Perhaps it does.

Under the crescent-shaped trident is the God Mithra, with his twelve rays, representing the signs of the Zodiac. Under Mithra is the Orb, symbol of rule over the world, and under the Orb a number of rings, symbols of sovereignty. From behind the crescent falls the drapery of the standard. This standard might have been the standard of the Mithraic army and temples in Hatra.

We see a corrupt form of this standard today with the Yazīdīs, who call it Sanjāq or flat, it represents especially their god Tāwūs ē Malak, (the peacock of angels).



(31)

PLATE (7)

This is the bust of the Moon Goddess MANH or Mah, (in Greek Selene), whom the Mithraists worshipped (32).

This Goddess, who was described by the Greeks as the "broad-faced one", appears here as a charming, beautiful lady symbolized by the crescent which can be seen beneath her breasts. The two small discs, attached to her shoulders, seem probably to be the symbols of her waxing and waning, forming a triad with her face. It is not possible to distinguish these symbols perfectly on the photograph.

(33)

PLATE (8)



This plate depicts a lunar trinity in which can be seen the Goddess MANH (Selene), the "broad-faced" Moon-Goddess in its three aspects. To the right, as can be seen, is the crescent behind its broad face, which symbolizes the moon in its first phase, that is waxing; in the centre it appears in its middle phase as full moon; and to the left in its third phase of waning. In the first and third pictures the shoulders and upper arms are wrapped on to the edge of the garment on the left shoulder. The middle picture has no garment over the shoulders, symbolizing the uncovered full moon.



(34)

PLATE (9)

I think that this is the trinity of the powerful Moon Goddess, represented under the port of Athene. She is wearing a high crested cap. The picture on the right, with her raising her right hand, represents the rising of the new Moon; the one on the left, with the lowering of her right hand, which is broken, represents the waning of the moon. In the middle is Athene with, on her breasts, "the head of Medusa, the image of the Full Moon" (35).

On her shield, which is at her side under her left hand, a crescent can be seen. Her right hand (broken) is holding the lance at her side. The lion in front of her denotes her strength.



(36)

PLATE (10)

This is the picture of the Hellenic God, Heracles, who was identified with the Mithraic God, Verethraghna (37). Mr. Cummont finally says:

"Verethraghna is transformed to Hercules" (38). The name Verethraghna was developed in Middle Iranian to Varhran, Varhram; Vahram, and in the new Persian to Bahram, which is the name of the planet Mars, the God of war (39).



(40)

PLATE (11)

This seems to represent a group of Mithraists wearing the masks and garb suited to their ranks and titles, animal or personal ranks which have been given to the initiates according to the degrees to which they had been promoted.

ABBREVIATIONS

- CMM. Franz Cummont, "The Mysteries of Mithra".
 CTMM. Franz Cummont, "Textes et Monuments
Figures relatifs aux Mysteres de Mithra."
 2 Vols.
 CKGG. Carl Kerényi, "The Gods of the Greeks."
 TYMY. "The Remnants of Mithraism in Hatra and
 Iraqi Kurdistan and its Traces in Yazīdism;
 the Yazīdīs are not Devil-Worshippers."
 London, 1962.
 ZZD. R.C. Zaehner, "Zurvān, a Zoroastrian
 Dilemma".
 MCP. Malcolm A.R. Colledge, "The Parthian",
 London, 1967.
 TWBG. Taufiq Wahby, Bahrām i Gor.
1. TWMY.
 2. TWMY, p.2.
 3. TWMY, pp.7-8.
 4. TWMY.
 5. TWMY, p.8. No.6 and 7, (Dec. the 18th 1954)
 6. CTMM. Vol.1, pp. 85, 87.
 7. CTMM. Vol. 1, pp.85, 87.
 8. CTMM. pp. 124-125.
 9. ZZD., pp. 59, 161, 254.
 10. MCP.
 11. CMM., p.95.
 12. CMM., p. 121.
 13. CMM., p. 148.
 14. CMM., pp. 95, 124.
 15. ZZD., p. 267.
 16. ZZD., p.75.
 17. CMM., pp. 115, 127, 223.
 18. TWMM., p.8, No.8.
 19. TWMM., p.8 No.11.
 20. CKGG., p. 211.
 21. CKGG., p. 30.
 22. CKGG., p. 31.
 23. CTMM, Vol. 1. p. 139.
 24. CTMM., Vol.1. p. 141.
 25. TWMY., p. 8.
 26. TWMY., p.8. No.10.
 27. TWMY., p.7 No.8.
 28. CMM. p.95.
 29. TWMY., p.7 No.9.
 30. TWMY., pp. 39-40.
 31. TWMY., p.7. No.7.
 32. CMM., p.119.
 33. TWMY., p.7. No.3.
 34. TWMY., p.8 No.2.
 35. CTMM. Vol. i. p.150.
 36. TWMY., p.8. No.3.
 37. CMM., p.5, 20, 127.
 38. CMM., p.222.
 39. TWBG., pp.45-51.
 40. TWMY., p.8. No.7.



A Kurdish girl

THE KURDISH WAR IN IRAQ:

THE CONSTITUTIONAL BACKGROUND¹

C. J. Edmonds²

Recent events in Iraq have once more drawn attention to the Kurdish problem.

The Kurds, as a more or less homogeneous community, are established astride the frontiers of Turkey, Persia, (3) and Iraq, with small overlaps into Syria and Soviet Transcaucasia. In Iraq they form an important minority of about one-fifth of the total population; in Turkey and Persia, if the actual numbers are higher, the proportions are substantially lower.

In 1918 the aspirations of the non-Turkish peoples of the Ottoman Empire were encouraged by Turkey's military defeat, coupled with Point 12 of President Woodrow Wilson's 14-point 'Programme of the World's Peace' stipulating that they should be 'assured of an absolute, unmolested opportunity of autonomous development'. The Treaty of Sevres (August 1920) included provision for the recognition or creation not only of the Arab States of Hijaz, Syria, and Iraq, but also, in what is now Eastern Turkey, of an Armenia and of a Kurdistan, to which the Kurds of the Mosul Vilayet, then in British occupation, were to be free to adhere. Although the Treaty did not apply to them, the Kurds of Persia could not remain unaffected by the ambitions and hopes of their kinsmen across a very artificial boundary.

Owing to the rise of Mustafa Kemal the Treaty was never ratified. It was replaced by the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), which repeated the provision for the three Arab States but did not mention an Armenia or a Kurdistan. The future ownership of the Mosul Vilayet was, however, excluded from the settlement and left for direct negotiation between Turkey and Great Britain, the Mandatory Power for Iraq. The negotiations broke down and the dispute was referred to the League of Nations; in December 1925 the Council gave its award in favour of Iraq, subject to certain guarantees. By the tripartite Treaty of Ankara (June 1926) Turkey finally renounced her sovereignty over the vilayet. In 1932 Iraq was

admitted to the League, and the British Mandate came to an end.

From 1920 onwards armed Kurdish nationalist movements, of varying importance but all short-lived, occurred in all three countries. In Iraq, nationalistic activity has been the most persistent and successful because it is only there that the Kurds are officially and legally recognized as an ethnic minority having certain rights of their own *qua* Kurds. This exceptional situation derives from the following facts:

(i) In 1918 British policy, dictated it is true by military considerations but fully in accord with the ideals of President Wilson's Point 12, was at first to avoid commitments in the hills by forming one or more semi-autonomous Kurdish provinces to be loosely attached to whatever regular administration might eventually be established in the plains. Such a regime was actually set up for a time in the region of Sulaymani, where there was an influential 'intellectual' class of former Ottoman officers and civil servants, and Kurdish was introduced as the language of the administration and of instruction in the schools.

(ii) From 1920 to 1923 there was an obligation on the Mandatory Power to keep open for the Kurds of Mosul the possibility of adhering to a Kurdish State that might be formed.

(iii) In 1925 the League of Nations made it a condition of its Mosul award that 'regard should be had to the desires expressed by the Kurds that officials of Kurdish race should be appointed for the administration of their country, the dispensation of justice, and teaching in the schools, and that Kurdish should be the official language of all these services'.

(iv) In 1931, in the context of Iraq's application for admission to the League, the Government enacted a 'Local Languages Law' which specified the administrative units to which these stipulations should apply.

(v) In 1932, when Iraq was admitted, a fresh statement of the Government's undertakings was demanded and given in a 'Declaration' which was to rank as part of the Constitution and 'to be a matter of international concern'.

It seems to follow that the United Nations, as successors of the League, would have a definite *locus standi* to interest themselves in the Kurdish question in Iraq, if they were so minded.

(1) This article was published in *The World Today* journal of the Royal Institute of the International Affairs in Dec. 1968.

(2) Mr. Edmonds served for twenty-five years in Iraq, for the last ten, 1935-45, as Advisor to the Ministry of the Interior; author of *Kurds, Turks, and Arabs* (London, O.U.P., 1957).

(3) In the present context it is convenient to use the name 'Persia' rather than 'Iran' for the political entity and so reserve the adjective 'Iranian' for use in its wider ethnic connotation (embracing not only the Persians but also the Kurds, whatever their political allegiance).

An admirable account of conditions and developments in Iraqi Kurdistan under the monarchy will be found in *The World Today* of October 1956. It appeared to most competent observers at that time that, failing some major political cataclysm, international or internal, concerted armed revolt was becoming more and more improbable with every year that passed. It was not that there were no grievances. Quite apart from the Kurds' initial unwillingness to accept subordination to the Arabs who, like themselves, had been a subject race, it was widely felt, not entirely without reason, that the guarantees given to the League in 1925 and again in 1932 were either being ignored or, at best, grudgingly implemented, and that the Kurdish districts were not getting their fair share of social services, particularly education at all levels, or of development projects.

A few days after the Iraqi Revolution of 14 July 1958 which overthrew the monarchy, the new Head of State, General Abd al-Karim Qasim, promulgated a 'Temporary Constitution' which, although it described Iraq as part of the Arab world, went on (Article 3) to refer specifically to the Kurds as co-partners with the Arabs within the framework of Iraqi unity, and to guarantee their communal rights. Mulla Mustafa of Barzan, a typical Kurdish tribal chieftain with a long record of resistance to the normal processes of ordered administration, was brought back from exile in Soviet Russia and built up into an all-Iraqi figure, a champion of the struggle against 'the imperialists and their stooges.' It was confidently assumed that the equality thus proclaimed would mean a considerable measure of administrative devolution, a fairer share than theretofore in development projects and social services, and enhanced status for the Kurdish language; and on this assumption the various Kurdish organizations, in Iraq and abroad, rallied to the support of the new regime.

But, as the months went by without any serious attempt to implement the promise implicit in the Temporary Constitution, a mounting spirit of disillusion amongst the Kurds was matched by a growing tendency in Baghdad to deny the right of the Kurds to any special recognition at all. In the autumn of 1960 the strongly left-wing Democratic Party of Kurdistan (Iraq Branch), (4) of which Mulla Mustafa had, somewhat incongruously perhaps, been elected President, was declared illegal, some of its office-holders were arrested, and several newspapers were suppressed. Mustafa himself returned from a visit to Russia to find the house, car, and salary allotted to him after his triumphal return in 1958 withdrawn, and retired to Barzan.

Fighting broke out in Sept. 1961, and, the Government forces having suffered a series of reverses at several points in the arc of mountains from Zakho in the north-west of the Kurdish area to Khanaqin in the south-east. Qasim resorted to massive retaliation from the air, inflicting great suffering on the civil population. These brutal air operations tended to unite all shades of Kurdish opinion and to give the revolt the character of a national uprising. This does not mean that the Kurdish front has been absolutely solid throughout. Tribal and personal alliances and feuds die hard, and the Government has recruited, where possible, auxiliaries of disident tribesmen, named officially (after the most

famous Kurd in history who is also a hero to the Arabs) 'Saladin's Cavaliers' but generally known in Kurdistan as the 'mokes'. The war, now over seven years old, has been interrupted by three long periods of uneasy armistice and fruitless negotiations.

The first cease-fire followed the overthrow and death of Qasim in February 1963 at the hands of a military junta associated with the extreme pan-Arab Ba'th party and led by General Tahir Yahya, who became Chief of the General Staff. General Abd al-Salam Arif, who had been Qasim's principal colleague in 1958, was brought back as President of the Republic, and General Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr became Prime Minister. In March, after a visit by Tahir Yahya to Mulla Mustafa, the Government issued a proclamation recognizing 'the natural rights of the Kurdish people on the basis of decentralization'.

A delegation was sent to Baghdad to negotiate the details, and on 24 April published a statement of Kurdish claims for Home Rule, evidently intended as the opening move in some hard bargaining. It was never discussed. On 10 June the Government arrested the Kurdish representatives, issued an ultimatum demanding the surrender of Mulla Mustafa and his forces within twenty-four hours, and launched an offensive with a savagery far exceeding Qasim's. The Kurdish quarter of Kirkuk city was bulldozed out of existence, and the inhabitants of many Kurdish villages in the Kirkuk and Arbil plains were driven out to make way for Arab settlers.

In the meantime, almost simultaneously with the opening of the offensive, the Government had published its scheme of decentralization. It provided: (i) that the country should be divided into six Regions to be named after the cities of Mosul, Kirkuk, Sulaymani, Baghdad Hilla, and Basra, each (except the first two) comprising two or more *liwas* (5), (ii) that the Sulaymani Region should include the *liwas* of Arbil, Sulaymani (plus one *qada* transferred from Kirkuk), and a new *liwa* of Dihok to consist of five Kurdish *qadas* detached from Mosul *liwa*; and (iii) that in the Sulaymani Region Kurdish should rank as an official language together with Arabic, and that the language of public instruction should be Kurdish in the primary and intermediate classes of schools, with Arabic in the secondary classes. The new Regions of Mosul and Kirkuk would each consist of what remained of the present *liwa* of the same name.

(4) In Persia, a committee of Kurdish 'intellectuals', styling itself the Democratic Party of Kurdistan and supported by influential tribal chiefs, had taken advantage of the collapse of central Government authority that followed the Anglo-Russian invasion of August 1941 and of the benevolence of the Russian military command in Azerbaijan, and had taken control of the south-western part of that province. In January 1946 an autonomous Kurdish republic was proclaimed, with its capital at Mahabad; it lasted barely eleven months, however.

(5) For purposes of administration Iraq is divided into fourteen *liwas*, each sub-divided into two or more *qadas*, further subdivided into *nahiya*s. The great majority of the Kurds are established in the former vilayet of Mosul, now the *liwas* of Mosul, Arbil, Sulaymani, and Kirkuk, but they spill over into the former vilayet of Baghdad at its eastern end, now the *liwa* of Diyala.

In one respect the scheme would have marked an important advance: the proposed partition of the great, unwieldy *liwa* of Mosul by the creation of a new all-Kurdish *liwa* of Dihok. The Kurds, however, argue that the scheme, even if it had been sincerely meant, would have been unacceptable because it ignored completely the presence of large homogeneous Kurdish majorities in the greater part of Kirkuk *liwa* and in a large part of Diyala.

In the middle of November 1963 the Ba'ath regime was overthrown, the President, Abd as-Salam Arif, assumed more direct control, and Tahir Yahya became Prime Minister. The change was followed in February 1964 by the second cease-fire, and negotiations between Arif and Mulla Mustafa. These were not helped by a new Temporary Constitution, Article 19 of which did mention the Kurds, but only in a bald statement even less satisfactory than Article 3 of Qasim's Constitution. No progress was made, but full-scale fighting was not resumed until April 1965, when the Government committed even larger forces than before.

At the beginning of September of that year Tahir Yahya resigned the Premiership, and was succeeded, at one short remove, by Abd ar-Rahman Bazzaz, the only civilian to have held the office since 1958. In the interval, on 9 September, an amendment to Article 19 had been promulgated to read: 'This Constitution confirms the national rights of Kurds within the framework of the fraternal national unity of the Iraqi people'. The change of Prime Minister was followed by the usual lull in hostilities and the usual assurances of the new administration's good intentions. But no serious discussions ensued, and the Government, encouraged perhaps by the defection of several 'intellectual' members of the Democratic Party of whom the most active was Jalal Talabani, demanded that the 'rebels' should first lay down their arms.

Desultory fighting was soon resumed. The death in a helicopter crash of President Abd as-Salam Arif on 13 April 1966 and the succession of his elder brother Abd ar-Rahman Arif brought no change of policy. On 1 May the army opened a much-heralded offensive, but suffered its most serious defeat of the whole war on the 12th, when two battalions were very badly mauled on the heights of Handrén above Rawandiz. After a period of intensive retaliatory bombing, the third formal cease-fire was agreed to in the middle of June on the initiative of the Prime Minister, who, on the 29th, broadcast a 12-point programme, which was accepted by Mulla Mustafa as a starting-point for fresh negotiations.

This important pronouncement, since officially known as the 'Declaration (or Agreement) of 29 June 1966', has been adopted by subsequent administrations as the basis for their promises of 'a just and peaceable settlement'. It may be summarized as follows: (1) the recognition of 'Kurdish nationality' to be confirmed in the Permanent Constitution; (2) enactment of a Provincial Administration Law providing for decentralization and the transfer of wide powers to locally elected councils; (3) use of Kurdish for administration and public instruction; (4 and 5) early parliamentary elections, and representation of the Kurds in the National Assembly and all branches of the public

service in proportion to their numbers in the total population; (6) generous grants for study abroad at all levels, establishment of a faculty of Kurdish studies in Baghdad University, and, eventually, of branches of the University in 'the north'; (7) appointment of Kurdish officials to Kurdish districts; (8) permission for political association and for literary and political publications; (9 and 10) a general amnesty 'when violence ends' to include persons already convicted and deserters reporting with their arms, disbandment of the Cavaliers, and reappointment of absentee officials as far as possible to their previous posts; (11) formation of a special Ministry to supervise reconstruction and compensation for sufferers 'in the north', and to co-ordinate administration in the various Kurdish districts; (12) resettlement of persons evicted from their homes or compensation in lieu.

The Baghdad press has recently mentioned three supplementary 'unpublished articles', which were presumably added at some point in the subsequent discussions. These promised: (i) release of all political prisoners; (ii) specific permission for the Democratic Party of Kurdistan to function publicly; and (iii) formation of all Kurdish districts of the Mosul *liwa* into a new *liwa* of Dihok.

Chances of a settlement on the basis of the Declaration have, however, been bedevilled by frequent changes of Cabinet or regime. Bazzaz resigned on 6 August 1966. He was succeeded, at two removes, at the end of July 1967, by Tahir Yahya, who lasted just a year, until 17 July 1968. The Arif regime was then toppled by a junta of officers styling themselves the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), and General Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr emerged as President. On 30 July, after a little local difficulty with his new Prime Minister, who seems to have sought to make the Cabinet independent of the overall control of the RCC, and with the Minister of Defence, he dismissed them and himself assumed the Premiership in addition to his other duties.

The situation that has obtained in Iraqi Kurdistan since the third cease-fire of June 1966, as described by recent arrivals in Britain, is so extraordinary that even the author of *Alice through the Looking Glass* could hardly have invented a story quite so topsy-turvy. Evidently neither side, each for its own reasons, is anxious to resume open hostilities just yet. The army has continued to garrison the towns and some of the larger villages. Officials nominated by the Government, most of them Kurds, have been allowed to proceed even to isolated posts, but are unable to exercise very much authority. Schoolmasters paid by Baghdad are, of course, welcomed, and even customs-and-excite men are tolerated, since they are not in a position to be a nuisance and their certificates of origin allow the valuable tobacco crop to be sold in Baghdad without complications with the monopoly. But the Commandos (*Peshmerge*) of Mulla Mustafa dominate much of the countryside and collect taxes for the 'Free Kurdish' organization.

After each change of Cabinet or regime the incoming rulers have issued a statement of policy, including a promise to 'seek a just and peaceful settlement of the

north'. Visits to Mulla Mustafa by deputations of Ministers, high-ranking officers, and (on one occasion) even the President himself have been frequent, and Kurdish negotiating teams have spent long periods in Baghdad. Exasperated by the absence of progress towards the promised decentralization, Mulla Mustafa has from time to time issued a new letter (sometimes called an ultimatum) restating the Kurdish demands, Kurdish Ministers, who had been induced to join a new Cabinet or had accepted the *fait accompli* of their inclusion in the published list without their previous knowledge, have resigned, and rumours have circulated of an imminent renewal of the war.

On the other hand, both sides have made conciliatory gestures as the result of some of these contacts. In 1966 Mulla Mustafa, in addition to admitting the officials, called off his wireless propaganda and handed back several captured heavy guns for which he had no ammunition. The Government has mitigated its blockade and, more recently, Tahir Yahya, during his second term of office, restored to their former inhabitants the villages in which Arabs were planted in 1963.

Although successive administrations thus seem to have recognized that any real settlement would have to be negotiated with Mulla Mustafa, they have sought to divide and rule by still maintaining large forces of well-paid Cavaliers to co-operate with the army. But these are of two kinds: the Old Cavaliers, mostly in the north and drawn from tribes with ancient feuds with Barzan, and, in the south, the New Cavaliers, mercenaries attracted as individuals by the high pay and now associated with Talabani and his group of dissident Democrats, who are collaborating with the Government. Such fighting as has occurred seems generally to have resulted from unpremeditated encounters, and at least on one occasion there has been a clash between the Old Cavaliers and the New.

All recent evidence tends to confirm that it is Mulla Mustafa, and not the 'intellectual' Talabani, who enjoys the support of most of the rising generation of Kurdish nationalists both at home and in the student associations of Europe and America. Mustafa, of course, came back from one year with the Mahabad Republic and eleven years in Soviet Russia a very different person from the comparatively unsophisticated tribesman who fled the country in 1945; he now has the assistance of a committee representative of all classes. An interesting sidelight on his prestige is furnished by the current vogue for the ladies of Sulaymani, long the cultural centre of modern Kurdish nationalism, to affect the Barzani variety of the national costume as an alternative to their own.

The return to power in July 1968 of Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr at the head of the same group of officers who were responsible for the savage policies of 1963 might seem to augur ill for any chances of a settlement. But his announcements of a determination to bring about a just and peaceful solution on the basis of the Declaration of 1966 were unusually emphatic. They were quickly followed by two Decrees, the first for an immediate start with the implementation of Article 6 of the Declaration by the formation of a Kurdish Cultural Academy and the nomination of a committee to draft a Law for a University of Sulaymani, and the second

(based on parts of Articles 9 and 10) proclaiming a general amnesty (in which the condition that deserters from the army and police must return with their arms was waived) and directing the restoration of dismissed civil servants as far as possible to their previous posts. On the other hand, the appointment as Minister of State of a friend of Talabani, had led to the resignation of two Ministers who had joined the Cabinet as representative Kurds.

An interview given on 25 August by Mustafa to an Iraqi journalist, suppressed by the censorship but published in *al Nahar* of Beirut on 9 September, throws an interesting light on his present policy. He explained that, while not hostile to the new regime, he has 'withdrawn from active participation' (presumably a reference to the resignations) because of its failure to honour three undertakings given at the time of the formation of the Cabinet: (i) that the Cabinet should include four Kurdish Ministers and nobody hostile to the Kurdish people; (ii) that the Agreement of 29 June 1966 would be fully implemented (as regards the action already taken, Kurds had not been among the political detainees so far released, and the formation of a Kurdish Cultural Academy was the least urgent of all matters covered); and (iii) that representatives of other political persuasions should be included in a coalition (the Kurdish struggle, although the most important, being only one of several political movements claiming to have a say in directing government policy as a whole).

Any remaining hopes of progress can hardly have been encouraged by the promulgation, on 22 September, of yet another Temporary Constitution which: (i) affirms even more categorically than before that 'the Iraqi people are part of the Arab nation and that their aim is comprehensive Arab unity' and that 'the Government obligates itself to work for the realization of this unity' (Article 1); and (ii) mentions the Kurds once, it is true, but only in a package statement that, in regard to their rights and obligations, 'all Iraqis, including Arabs and Kurds' are equal before the law and are required to co-operate in safeguarding the homeland, and that their national rights are guaranteed within the framework of Iraqi unity (Article 21). A fulsomely worded announcement two days later that the Iranian New Year's Day (Nawruz, 21 March) is to be observed annually as an official Kurdish holiday is likely to be received as another piece of irrelevant window-dressing.

The most positive action which the regime could take to prove its good faith would seem to be to make a start with the implementation of Article 2 of the 1966 Declaration by the enactment, to be confirmed in due course by the promised elected Parliament (Article 4), of a Provincial Administration Law providing for real decentralization on the lines already promised. But there is always present in the Iraqi 'establishment' a chauvinistic pan-Arab element determined to wreck any fair settlement which a liberal-minded Prime Minister might sincerely wish to make, and at the moment of writing (mid-November) it looks as if this element is once more getting its way.

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Barzani writes

to de Gaulle

"Would the Kurdish People be less dear to you than the Vietnamese?"

This message comes from, without doubt, the oldest resistance fighter in the world. He joined the Kurdish resistance movement thirty-three years ago, and since then he has practically never left it. For the last six years he has been leading a pitched battle in defence of the legitimate rights of his people.

The name of this exceptional man, by now legendary, is Mustapha Barzani.

Since the "Depeche du Midi" revealed, eighteen months ago, the atrocious genocide to which the Kurdish people have fallen victim, it has never ceased to denounce this inhuman conflict in which the interests of oil and politics combine to conceal the systematic extermination of thousands of women and children. The particular relations that were recently established between France and Iraq, and seem to cover an oil armament trust, threaten to condemn the Kurdish people to still further massacres. . . . Already, awareness of this drama is stirring up the conscience of mankind.

In France the Committee of Relief for the stricken population of Kurdistan has appealed to the French government to subject the supply of arms to Iraq to the formal understanding that they are not to be used against the Kurdish people.

It is with this hope that General Mustapha Barzani, "the leader of the Command Council of the Revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq", addressed the following message to General de Gaulle, which we quote in full.

La Depeche du Midi
February, 8th 1968.

General,

Allow an old man, who has been fighting since his youth for the freedom and dignity of his people, to send you this supreme appeal. You are the greatest resistance fighter in Europe and you freed your country; you cannot but sympathize, therefore, with the almost desperate battle the Kurdish mountain people have been fighting for the last six years in Northern Iraq. Furthermore, you are President of France, the very nation that gave the world the idea of political freedom and the right of all people to self-determination. Last but not least, you are General de Gaulle, liberator



General Mustapha Barzani

of the French overseas countries, a true adversary of all means of oppression and a true friend of all men who fight for freedom.

General, you did not fail to denounce the Vietnam war; I am sure the fate of the Kurdish people is not less dear to you than that of the Vietnamese. We are utterly alone in our fight for national survival; the U.N. ignore us and certain great powers compete with each other to supply Iraq with modern arms aimed at our destruction. De Gaulle's France remains therefore our one and only hope.

Iraqis are requesting arms from France. Without a prior settlement of the Kurdish problem, however, the supply of these arms will only lead to still further destruction of our country and to the massacre of our women and children.

The Koran says: "For every man there is a small heaven in the skies towards which he may turn in prayer" You and France are the heaven in our sky.

Mustapha Barzani.

Iraqi-Kurdistan
February, 1968.

After this letter was sent to General de Gaulle a statement was issued by many prominent public figures in France including M.Francois Mauriac (the novelist), M.Leo Hamon (a Gaullist deputy) and M.Wladimir d'Ormesson (Director General of the state Radio and Television service), urging the French Government to supply arms to Iraq on the condition that they would not be used against the Kurdish population.

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MEMORANDUM ON THE KURDISH QUESTION PRESENTED TO THE UNITED NATIONS IN NOVEMBER 1968

The Kurdish Nation is still living under the shocking shadow of a grave danger to its total physical existence. Serious threats still hang over this nation, and behind the relative quiet, which is nothing but a fiction, lies a tremendous amount of tension, which without an advanced warning may bring about a most serious explosion which in turn will cause the renewal of the genocide which successive Iraqi Governments have since 1961 been conducting against the Kurds.

The history of the Kurds dates well into ancient times. Today, it is known that in the period of about 6000 – 9000 B.C. the Kurdish population turned from the economy of recolté (i.e. consumption) in order to reorganize itself within the framework of the economy of production.

The Kurdish nation, a people of Indo-European stock and linguistically belonging to the Iranian group of languages, possess a magnificent history based upon great values of human traditions. The nation has been ruled for the last 25 centuries by 25 kings of the same family.

Today, in Iraq there are about 2,000,000 Kurds (the total Iraqi population is about 7,000,000) living in an area of 80,000 square kilometers (the total area of Iraq is 444,442 square kilometers). The history of the Kurds is a story of heroic existence; and its modern history witnesses the everlasting struggle for self determination. The purpose here is not to elaborate upon the evolution of the Kurdish history but rather to shortly describe the war of genocide which the Iraqi Government, regardless of the changes in the regime, conducts against them since 1961.

In 1961, and during the following two years, the Iraqi Armed Forces, equipped with the most modern arms – from airplanes to cannons – waged a war the purpose of which was to exterminate the Kurdish people. It is therefore no wonder that all members of Kurdish nation rallied under the flag of rebellion carried by General Mustafa Barazani. Due to the heroic stand in the fights that were imposed upon them, the Kurds forced the National Council of the Iraqi Revolution to recognize in March 1963 the "National Rights of the Kurdish Nation."



Emir Kamuran A. Bedir Khan

The Kurds believed those promises and started to establish contacts to examine their realization. However, it became clear that all the contacts and the talks were intended to deceive the Kurds. For in February 1965 the Iraqi Minister of Interior Mr. Subhi Abed El-Hamid declared that "Iraq does not intend to grant autonomy to the Kurds, in the present or in the future," and the new war in which the Kurdish nation heroically stood its ground against the wild warfare conducted by the Iraqi military forces fully spread again. Regardless of the heavy losses accrued to the Kurds they refused to surrender, forcing the Iraqi leadership to admit its military defeat and its failure to silence the Kurdish voice. On June 29, 1966 the former Iraqi Prime-Minister Abed El-Rahman Bazzaz signed an agreement

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with the leaders of the Kurdish Revolution which was in essence a recognition of the Kurdish right for autonomy, and a promise to respect and honor it. A coup eliminated Bazzaz and successive governments have denied this new obligation to the Kurdish people.

Two years have elapsed since then, and in Iraq governments and regimes have changed. Iraqi leaders try to renounce the identity of the Kurdish Nation and continue to negate their right to lead an autonomous life. The Kurds do not ask a separation from Iraq. They simply ask for the right to live as a national minority (which is about 30% of the total population), to speak their own language, to open their own schools, and to conduct their own affairs. But these elementary rights are obviously considered to be exaggerated in the eyes of the ruling government in Baghdad.

In this war, which has flared up several times since 1961, the Kurdish Nation has suffered more than 60,000 casualties and more than 3,000 destroyed villages. These figures are not imaginary. Foreign newsmen and observers who visited Kurdistan in recent years have testified to this fact.

On July 2, 1963 the People's Republic of Mongolia decided to bring the crime of genocide perpetrated by the Government of Iraq against the Kurdish people before the next (18th) session of the United Nations' General Assembly. Also on July 9 of the same year, the head of the Soviet delegation at the 36th session of the U.N. Economic and Social Council, held in Geneva requested in an official letter to place on the agenda of the Council "the policy of genocide which is being pursued by the Government of the Republic of Iraq against the Kurdish people." It is also to keep in mind that the former U.S. Secretary of Defense, Mr. Robert Macnamara, speaking on the Middle East, said that one of the three questions worrying the U.S. Government is the bad treatment reserved for the Kurdish people.

The right of the Kurdish people to exist as a nation has been recognized through legal, international guarantees even in modern times. The Sevres Treaty of 1920, in the section entitled "Kurdistan" and under Articles 62, 63, and 64 formed the modalities for the establishment of a Kurdish state. Article 64 of that Treaty states that no objection will be raised by the Allied Nations regarding voluntary membership to this independent Kurdish state, the Kurds who live in Kurdistan (in Iraq). Through political maneuvers, this part of Kurdistan was kept within Iraq against the will of the Kurdish population.

In a joint Declaration of the British Government and the Baghdad regime, dated December 24, 1922, officially communicated to the League of Nations, the following terms of the right of autonomy of southern Kurdistan within Iraq were stipulated:

"The Government of His Britannic Majesty and the Government of Iraq recognize the rights of the Kurds living within the frontiers of Iraq, to establish a Kurdish Government within these frontiers. They hope that the different Kurdish groups will arrive as soon as possible at an arrangement among them on the form they desire for this government and the limits within which they would like it to extend. They will send responsible delegates to discuss their economic and political relations with the Government of His Britannic Majesty and the Government of Iraq."

Action on the part of the Iraqi Government to implement the terms of this Declaration has always been stalled and never implemented. There were several uprisings with the aim to establish within Iraq an autonomous Kurdish territory, but they were all forcibly and with great bloodshed suppressed by the Baghdad government.

The leaders of the Kurdish Nation have tried for years to call the attention of international bodies to their cry of help for the international consciousness to awaken and call upon the Iraqi government to recognize the elementary human rights of the Kurdish people before it is too late, before a new war is waged against them.

Emir Kamuran A. Bedir-Khan

Envoy of the Command
Council of the Kurdish Revolution
in Iraqi Kurdistan

New York
November 15th 1968

His Excellency U Thant
Secretary-General
United Nations
New York, N.Y.

Your Excellency:

In the memorandum which I had the honor of presenting on November 15, 1968 I attracted your Excellency's attention to the dangerous situation in Iraq between the Kurds and the Baghdad Government which is a result of the Government's refusal to honor its obligations.

As it must be known to your Excellency, more than half of the Kurdish territory (an area of about 80,000 square kilometers) has been under the full control of the Kurds where there already exists a de facto autonomous administration since 1961. Consequently, this territory is under the sovereignty of the Kurds, an area into which no one, not even an Iraqi minister can enter without permission from the Kurdish authorities.

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This situation has lasted for seven years.

In the light of these facts, it is more than misleading for any Iraqi Government to claim that the Kurdish question is an internal affair. These facts prove that the Iraqi governments have been unable to break the will of the Kurdish people to achieve their legitimate rights in a full autonomy. The only thing that these governments have done has been to bring misery and destruction to the civilian population through their indiscriminate air attacks.

We Kurds are a peace-loving people and you your Excellency, are the man in the highest position of authority and responsibility for keeping justice and peace throughout the world. Thus in the name of the Command Council of the Kurdish Revolution and its leader His Excellency General Mustafa Barzani, I am urging your Excellency to name a United Nations mediator, as you have wisely done on other similar occasions, to intervene and settle the Kurdish question in a just and peaceful manner.

Please your Excellency accept my highest considerations.

Respectfully,

Emir Kamuran A. Bedir-Khan

Envoy of the Command
Council of the Kurdish Revolution
in Iraqi Kurdistan

New York
November 18th 1968

Emir Bedirkhan writes to the Secretary General
of the United Nations.

His Excellency U Thant
Secretary-General
United Nations
New York, N.Y.

May 16.69

Your Excellency:

In the name of the Kurdish people and their leader, Mustafa Barzani, I submit this appeal for your kind consideration.

It is a known fact that for the past eight years the Kurdish people living in the northern part of Iraq, have been subjected to severe military attacks, from ground and by air, in addition to the application of an intolerable economic blockade, depriving the whole Kurdish community of nutrition, education and other necessary amenities of life, by successive Iraqi dictatorial governments who have assumed power by military coups.

No doubt your Excellency is well familiar with the recent history of Iraq. At the end of the first world war the new state of Iraq was carved out of the Ottoman Empire, with Faisal the first imposed on Iraq as king, by the British government.

Despite the composition of Iraqi population representing a number of indigenous minorities, the Arab majority rule became dominant from the start, thus on many occasions stepping on the legitimate rights of these non Arab population, particularly the Kurds. This situation led to many uprisings by the Kurds against trespassing on their right by the Arab authorities supported by the British, because of their oil interests which lies mainly in Kurdish Territory.

However these differences were some what composed and the situation had become tolerable, specially after the second world war, when the discrimination against the Kurds was lessened.

Unfortunately with the advent of the revolutionary era, this picture was reserved, particularly with the appearance of young militant Arab Nationalist Officers on the scene, who become bent on the total assimilation of non Arab minorities, specially the Kurds, who constitute so large a portion of the people of that country.

War have been waged by these Arab Nationalist enthusiasts against the Kurds with unrelenting ferocity using all the modern means which the present military science has produced and which most of the great powers have been pleased to place at their disposal, for money obtained from oil revenues, drived from Kurdish soil.

Despite all sincere attempts to reach an amicable solution by the Kurds, the Iraqi authorities instead of responding in a similar spirit have used periods of truces provided for the conduct of such talks, to regroup for eventual resumption of hostilities at their choice. The closest point to a genuine agreement was reached during the tenure of office by Abdulrahman Bazaz as prime minister, in June 1966, which policy although declaredly upheld by successive governments, no results have been obtained, because of their evasive tactics to impliment this agreement, and again resorted to taking full advantage of the lull, in the fighting, in order to get the army ready for the resumption of hostilities, and finally the present extremist government embarked on a most barbaric air and ground attack, indiscriminately on the Kurdish population on January 3, 1969. The intital reports of these operations show that the losses suffered by the innocent population both in life and properties have been on a scale surpassing all previous operation.

This in short is the sad history of the helpless Kurds of Iraq, who have lived there from recorded history, deprived of every worldly possession and even their lives for the simple fact that they want a democratic regime under which they could live as equals with other

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BRITISH ARMS AND THE KURDS

On Thursday, 15th May 1969, while the use of British aircraft by the United States in Vietnam was under discussion in the House of Lords, Lord Kilbracken asked: "If it is undesirable to supply military aircraft to the United States in Vietnam, is it not all the more undesirable to supply them to such a Government as

that in Baghdad, which is using them indiscriminately against the civilian population in Kurdistan?" The Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Housing and Local Government (Lord Kennet), replied that he would need notice of the question.

FRENCH ARMS AND THE KURDS

M. Ruais asks the Foreign Minister how he has ensured or intends to ensure that the arms France is engaging to supply to Iraq will under no circumstances be used to start once more the war of extermination waged against the Kurdish people of Iraq since 1961 and interrupted by the ceasefire of June 1966. The French people, who have been the first to exalt the rights of man, could not allow French armaments to be used for the denial of not only the freedom but also the very existence of the Kurds in Iraq, whose heroism they unanimously applaud. M. Ruais asks, in cases where the undertakings obtained from the Iraqi Government have not been kept, what concrete steps of a political and military kind the French Government envisages, to oppose the recommencement of genocide against the Kurdish people of Iraq. (Question of January 27th 1968).

Answer:

The Iraqi Government has often let it be known through its official representatives that it was resolved to find a peaceful solution to the problems that a Kurdish minority in the North of Iraq poses, problems that naturally arise from Iraqi sovereignty. General Aref himself declared during an interview in the course of his recent visit to Paris: "Since 1966, peace reigns in the North of Iraq, and it is absurd, unthinkable, that we should again take up hostilities against our brother Kurds." It comes out, finally, from the meetings that took place between General Aref and the French President, as the communique states that was published on February 10th, "that in military matters it is above all a question of Iraq affirming her independence and contributing to the maintenance of peace."

The General Executive Committee of K.S.S.E. presented a memorandum to His Excellency, Nur Al din Al Attassi, President of the Arab Republic of Syria, dated 22nd Nov. 1968 of which the following are extracts:

"The Kurdish Students' Society in Europe expresses its anxiety regarding the dangerous policy which your government implements to suppress 500,000 Kurds in Syria."

"The intention of the Syrian government to cancel the citizenship of over 120,000 Syrian Kurds in an attempt to destroy the Kurdish community and is a provocative encroachment which will create a grave situation."

"This policy is not in conformity with traditional Arab courtesy; and certainly contradicts the principles of socialism which your government claims to follow."

"The Kurdish people have always stood by the Arab

people in their just struggle for freedom and legitimate rights. The Arab people who suffered the bitterness of colonial domination would surely denounce the policy of oppression against the Kurds. Furthermore, it is not in the interest of the Arab nation to lose the Kurdish people as a friendly neighbour."

"A realistic understanding is of the utmost necessity if reason and logic are to prevail in the context of the present Middle East situation."

"In the name of all Kurdish students in Europe, we urge your Excellency to put all your efforts into stopping this aggression, of which your government will bear the consequences."

General Executive Committee of K.S.S.E.,
Berlin.

Outlines of

Kurdish Chronology

in Modern Times

1. Ottoman Empire to WWII—Latent Nationalism

Up to mid-19th century, Kurdistan has known very long periods of de facto and de jure self-rule in the form of autonomous principalities.

- 1843–46** The last of these principalities of Vadr-Khan Bek revolted against Ottoman oppression and was one of the last to be finally suppressed in 1847.
- 1849** The Ottoman Sultan destroyed the autonomous government of Bitlis founded by Hakim Idris.
- 1878–81** Uprising against the Ottomans led by Sheikh Obeidallah.
- 1892** The Ottoman Government opened "tribal schools" in Constantinople and Baghdad.
- 1898** Kurdistan, the bilingual (Kurdo-Turk) organ appears in Cairo under the editorship of the Bedr-Khan's.
- 1908** First attempts at organizing a national Kurdish Movement.
- 1910** The Hewa (hope) society is founded in Northern Iraq.
- 8.11.1918** After the signature on 30.10.18 of the armistice with Turkey (at Mudros) a joint Franco-British Declaration was issued on 8.11.18 confirming that the two powers had but one aim i.e. that of "the complete and definitive liberation of the peoples oppressed by the Ottomans and the establishment of national governments and administrations drawing their authority and inspiration from a free choice of the indigenous populations".
- 1.12.18** Sheikh Mahmud presents Sir Arnold Wilson with a document signed by 40 tribal chiefs demanding the granting of certain rights to the Kurdish people.
- 23.5.19** Sheikh Mahmud revolts against the British in Sulaimani.
- 1919–1930** A period of unbroken struggle against the British carried on under Sheikh Mahmud Berzendji of Sulaimani – a revolt accompanied by bloody repressions and deportations.
- 10.8.20** The Treaty of Sevres, envisaging the creation of an Independent Kurdistan.
- 1920** The Kurds boycotted the Referendum held by Iraq for approving the accession of Prince Feisal I.
- 24.6.23** The Treaty of Lausanne, (replacing the Treaty of Sevres) between the Allies and Turkey – excluding the Kurdish Question and the fate of the Mosul region).

- 24.12.24** A Statement made by the British High Commissioner "recognizing the right of the Kurds living within the frontiers of Iraq to establish a Kurdish Government inside these frontiers".
- 1925** The Three-man Commission of the League of Nations polled Kurdish leaders concluding that they preferred Turkish Administration to Arab rule.
- Feb. Apr. 1925** The Revolt of Sheikh Said.
- 16.12.25** The Council of the League of Nations adopts the border line between Turkey and Iraq annexing Mosul to Iraq for 25 years against the will of its Kurdish population.
- 1927** The creation of the Kurdish National Committee in Iraq Khoybun marking the beginning of the contemporary struggle.
- 1930** The Anglo-Iraqi Treaty.
- 1943–45** A revolt led by Sheikh Ahmad and Sheikh Latif, lasting until October 1945.
- 1945** Memorandum addressed by Kurds to the United Nations Constitutive Assembly outlining national claims.

II. Post W W II the Present National Revolution

- 14.7.58** The Republican Revolution in Iraq.
- 27.7.58** The Promulgation of the Provisional Constitution of Iraq. Article 3 of which reads: "the Arabs and the Kurds are partners in this fatherland".
- 7.10.58** Mustafa Garzani returns to Iraq from exile in the Soviet Union.
- Oct. 1960** The Kurdish daily Khabat attacked Gen. Kassem for failing to implement Art. 3 of the Constitution.
- 8.6.61** Breakout of the present war in the first stage of which the army remained passive. The period of the first 3 months was characterized by mercenaries (Jahsh) being employed against the patriots – with airforce indiscriminately bombing peaceful villages.
- 11.9.61** As the main bulk of the Baghdad army went into action against the Kurds, our fighters have launched a general attack thus marking the turning of the revolt into a national Revolution.
- March 62** A whole battalion is wiped out by our fighters in the Zakho region.
- August 62** The oil pipelines of the I.P.C. near Kirkuk are sabotaged.

- 11.3.63 Declaration of the Revolutionary Council (Baath) that "this Council recognized the rights of the Kurdish people".
- April 63 Negotiations with the government of Baghdad.
- 24.4.63 Kurdish Memorandum with a detailed definition of demands and the claim of autonomy (Hakum Dhati).
- 1.6.63 A Project of Decentralization in Iraq envisaging the creation of an administrative entity in the North (Baath).
- 10.6.63 War breaks out again (following the fall of the Baath government), the new government addressing the Kurds with an ultimatum to lay down arms within 24 hours.
- 28.10.63 "The International League for the Rights of Man" condemned the Iraqi Government for its "mass slaughter" and "virtual genocide".
- 10.2.64 Barzani & Arel announce a cease-fire.
- 26.5.64 The Accord on Union between Egypt and Iraq is concluded without consulting the Kurds.
- 29.9.64 "Conference of the People" at Qala-Diza -
- 25.10.64 Communique of the K. D. P. - on the setting up of the Council of the Revolution.
- Oct. 64 Negotiations and talks are opened (in secret) - 8 months after cease-fire.
- 11.10.64 Barzani submits a memorandum defining Kurdish claims and safeguards.
- End April 1965 Iraqi army resumes the war.
- Oct. 65 - Jan 66 Iraqi army implements policy of total destruction of Kurdish villages on an unprecedented scale.
- 9-16.1.66 A major Iraqi army attack against our forces in the Penjwin sector is repulsed.
- 30.1.66 Barzani's Memorandum on genocide and other atrocities perpetrated against the Kurds - submitted to the Secretary General of the United Nations and other international bodies.
- Dec. 65 - Jan. 66 Our units launch continuous attacks, and raids, on army units, bases, camps, installations in Erbil, Kirkuk, Sulaimaniya, Khanaqin and other sectors.
- 3.5.66 The Iraqi Army launches an all out offensive in the Rawanduz area.
- 12.5.66 In a Counter-attack by the Kurdish Forces the Iraqi 4th Brigade is entirely destroyed on Handren Mountain.
- Jun 29.66 Cease-fire agreement, accompanied by 15-point programme of the Iraqi Government which was accepted by the Command Council of the Revolution as a foundation for a peaceful settlement.
- Dec 11.66 Memorandum from Barzani to the Iraqi Government holding them responsible for not implementing the 15-point programme and declaring the failure of the government in honouring its promises.
- Jan 5.67 Letter from Barzani to U Thant informing the Secretary General of the U.N. of the serious situation facing Kurdistan-Iraq.
- Jul 17.68 Baathist Coup d'Etat in Baghdad.
- 23.9.68 The Command Council of the Revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq including all members of Kurdistan Democratic Party's Central Committee held a general meeting.
- Nov. 68 Hostilities started by the Baathist regime.
- Nov. 18.68 Envoy of the Command Council of the Revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq presented a memorandum on the current situation to the United Nations and urging U Thant to nominate a UN mediator to intervene in the settlement of the Kurdish question in a just and peaceful manner.
- Mar. 1.69 Major attack on the Kirkuk oil installation reported in full by Lord Kilbracken, which was published on 11th May 1969 in the Sunday Times of London.
- Mar. 10.69 Daily Telegraph of London reports "heavy fighting and napalm bombing by the Iraqi Army and Air Force"

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Iraqi nationals.

At this juncture we bring to your Excellency's sense of justice the inhuman measures taken by the present dictatorial, military authorities of Baghdad, with the hope of your Excellency using all the measures at your Excellency's disposal to bring an end to this destructions of innocent, and defenseless civil lives and their properties.

Finally it is our greatest faith in your Excellency's personal aim to bring about a rule of justice and order in this turbulent world that we submit this appeal, hoping that the Kurds will not be left to be destroyed by default.

Please, your Excellency, accept my highest considerations.

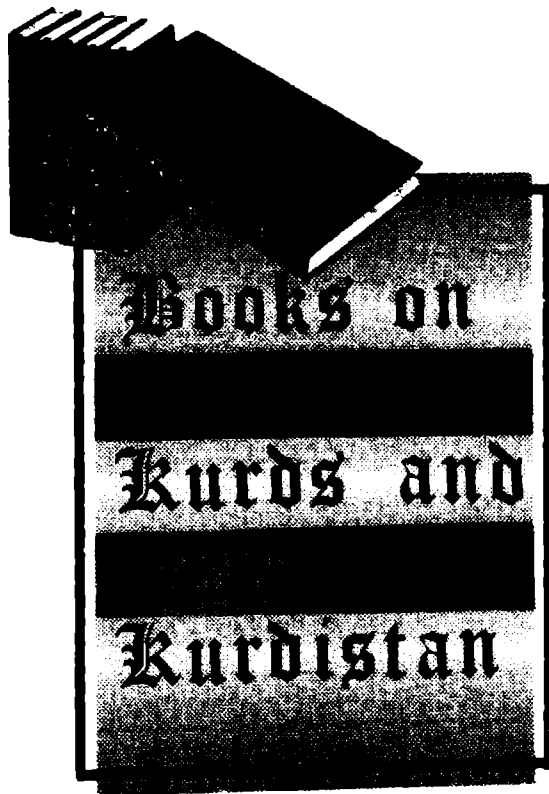
Emir Kamuran A. Bedir Khan

Kurdistan.

A country with vast and varied natural resources, Kurdistan is capable of self-support, with abundant water resources and forests which cover wide areas of its mountains. Though agriculture, for the present, remains the backbone of the Kurdish economy, Kurdistan has all the potentialities for industrialization and for substantial exports.

Iraqi Kurdistan is rich in some of the world's oldest oil-fields, such as Kirkuk, Ain-Zaleh and Khanakin. Proven oil reserves, as yet unexploited, remain vast. Yet the Kurds themselves derive no benefits from their natural wealth. The tremendous oil revenues, which in 1965 alone reached \$ 400 million, have been and are being entirely spent by the Baghdad Government in the Southern part of Iraq and on the war of repression against the Kurds.

Besides its oil, Kurdistan is extremely rich in coal, iron and chrome. It also possesses considerable resources of natural gas, all awaiting exploitation. Great hydroelectric plants could be established by harnessing the current of the country's swift-flowing rivers, thus providing new sources of power to promote industrialization.



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Published by the Committee for the Advancement of Kurdistan in the United Kingdom (CAK-U.K.).
The first issue, published in July 1968 contained the following items:

Why Kurdica?
Two Years After – Editor
The Kurds in 1968 – A.M. Hamilton
Diary of a Kurd – M. Bapeer
Kurdica Essay: "The Role of the Military in the politics of the Developing Nations".
CAK Manifesto (The Essential Aims of the Kurdish Revolution)
A Tale from Baghdad – Spectator
Book Review: The Kurds by General Hassan Arfa
Various Press cuttings from British newspapers
Map of Kurdistan issued by the League of Nations

The next issue of Kurdica will be published shortly.
All correspondence to CAK U.K. and Kurdica should be addressed to:

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A CHANCE FOR PEACE

The negotiations between the Kurdish revolutionaries and the Iraqi Government ended on March 11, 1970 with the conclusion of a 15-point Agreement guaranteeing autonomy for Kurdistan (see actual text elsewhere). This agreement marked a notable victory for the Kurdish people after a decade of struggle and sacrifices in order to achieve the minimum national liberties. One does not have to attribute the agreement to pure reasons of altruism on the part of Iraqi Government. There were many factors which brought about the agreement.

The Kurdistan Revolutionary Army—Pesh Merga—have demonstrated their resolution to continue to fight for the aims of the armed struggle which began since September 11, 1961. The steadfastness of the Kurdish people has known no bounds in the face of awful conditions generated by the repression and onslaughts of the Iraqi Army. It became evident that all attempts at destroying the Kurdish movement were futile. The war against the Kurdish people, furthermore, met with courageous disapproval by the vast majority of the Arab people in Iraq which are of many political persuasions. The conflict has seriously retarded the economic development of Iraq which, with its considerable resources, should have been one of the most dynamic countries in the region. For the Government the cost of fighting had been very high. The war absorbed £100 million in 1969, nearly 30 per cent of the Iraqi budget. On the military side in the autumn and winter of that year the Iraqi forces sustained heavy casualties when they staged a major offensive in the areas of Sulaimani, Dukhan, Karadagh, Akra, and Shekhan. Finally, public opinion saw the war as a diversionary tactic by the Government in order to throw its full military weight against Israel.

The crux of the agreement is Article 14, which provides for unification of the areas, where Kurds form the majority, into one administrative unit to be run by Kurdish officials i.e. autonomy. Article 10 states that the provisional constitution would be amended to recognise the existence of two nationalities in Iraq—Arab and Kurdish. Article one says that Kurdish shall be an official language alongside Arabic in the areas where Kurds constitute the majority of the popu-

lation. The remaining articles deal with other aspects of the Kurdish problem such as the representation in the legislature, the government, and the public service; the compensation to the victims of the war and the procedure by which the principles are to be implemented. The terms of the agreement are by no means over-ambitious. The significant point about this agreement compared with previous ones, is the manner in which it was declared. It constitutes a formal recognition and declaration by the Iraqi Government of a basic principle, the denial of which plunged Iraq into civil strife for a decade, namely that Iraq as a state comprises two basic nationalities, with equal rights and duties. And the only guarantee for the progress of the country is the strict adherence by all political forces to this basic principle.

It would be premature to assume that the 11th March 1970 Agreement will bring an enduring peace in Kurdistan. There have been many cease fires and intermittent parleys in the last decade. But a formal agreement has been made for the first time and its provisions are such that the prospect of an enduring solution looks good—as long as the Baghdad Government fulfill the spirit, as well as the letter, of the agreement.

Political observers have become cynical about Baghdad's past declarations and may be tempted to dismiss them as "words without action". For instance, the 29th June 1966 12-point Programme remained a dead letter, yet the President of Iraq was claiming in January 1969 that all the provisions of that programme have been implemented and the only point outstanding was for Pesh Merga to lay down arms!! The Iraqi Government is duty-bound to demonstrate the difference of approach this time by carrying out the points of the 11th March Agreement in a manner such that the Kurdish people regain confidence in the sanctity of agreements reached with Baghdad regimes.

Naturally, there are many problems of implementation such as the delineation of the autonomous area and the form of representation the Kurdistan Democratic Party will have in Government. Then there is the crucial problem of defining the nature of future government in Iraq in general and the democratic rights of all political forces in Iraq. Since the declaration of the 11th March Agreement certain steps have been taken in order to pave the way towards implementing the basic 15-point principles. Iraqi troops have begun to withdraw from many areas of Kurdistan. All the mercenary forces have been disarmed and disbanded. Kurdistan again is breathing the air

of freedom from economic blockade and suppression of movement in the area. Five Kurdish ministers are included in the Iraqi Government. The Supreme Supervisory Committee, which is responsible for the implementation of the Agreement, has begun its deliberations.

But though there are no signs of deliberate attempts at repudiating the principles of the agreement, observers are not particularly struck with the pace at which the agreement is being implemented. The inclusion of the five ministers (who occupy relatively unimportant ministries) does not amount to more than a token gesture to the Kurdish movement. For there is no cabinet or council of ministers as such, but all executive legislative and judicial powers are vested in the secretive body of the Revolutionary Command Council, which comprises purely members of the Baath Party.

What the present Iraqi Government has to realize and absorb is that partnership of two nations in a state means effectively equal rights and opportunities, and respect for each other's national and political rights. Therefore, a policy which is based on pure rhetoric and paternalism is doomed right from the start. The Kurdish people are entitled to assert their inherent right to decide their own future; and just because they have chosen the path of joining forces with the Arab nation within the Iraqi Republic, it does not follow that they have to accept national rights on a "charitable" basis. This kind of policy, in the long run, is not in the interest of the Arab people either. For it is rare in history that a nation has built a genuine civilization at the expense of other nations. We, therefore, call upon the Iraqi Government to absorb the lessons of the last decade and put into practice the principles it has formally accepted on the 11th March 1970.

K.S.S.E. NEWS

THE 13th K.S.S.E. CONGRESS

The Kurdish Students Society in Europe held its 13th Annual Congress at West Berlin from 11th to 17th August, 1969. Student delegates representing 14 branches of the Society were present. Friendly student organisations had sent their representatives to attend this important gathering in Berlin. The Kurdish Revolution was represented by a delegation who were warmly welcomed by the 250 participants. Many Kurdish patriots from all parts of Kurdistan took an active part in the proceedings of the Congress.

The Congress discussed in detail the position of the Kurdish people in all parts of Kurdistan, Iraq, Syria, Iran and Turkey. In its deliberations and resolutions the Congress re-affirmed the belief that the Kurdish people's rights can only be permanently guaranteed under progressive and democratic regimes which uphold people's rights to self-determination.

At the time of the Congress, the Iraqi Army was waging a bitter war against the Kurdish people in Kurdistan-Iraq. The Congress expressed its solidarity with the Kurdish Revolution and the gallant struggle of Pesh Merga for autonomy in Kurdistan and a democratic Iraq. The delegates condemned the atrocities being committed against the civilian population of Kurdistan and urged world student and human organisations to highlight the plight of the Kurdish people in order to alleviate its miserable conditions. The Congress expressed its indignation at the treatment of all democrats in Iraq by assassination, imprisonment and torture.

The Congress condemned the other regimes suppress-

ing Kurdish national rights and all basic civil liberties in Iran, Syria and Turkey. In Iran the Kurdish people are deprived of even teaching and writing in their mother tongue plus the political subjugation of every Kurdish civil right. The Congress called for the establishment of a democratic regime in Iran which will safeguard the national rights of the peoples of Iran—Persians, Kurds and Azerbaijanis. It called for the release of all political prisoners in Iran.

The delegates considered the chauvinistic policies of the Turkish policies to be in violation of minimum human rights and called for the release of Kurdish political prisoners in Turkey. They also condemned the outrageous racist policies of the Syrian regime which is implementing the Arab Belt Policy aiming at depriving Kurds of citizenship from more than 100,000 Kurds.

The Congress expressed its solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for liberation against forces of reaction and imperialism; particularly the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against American Imperialism, and that of the Arab peoples against imperialism and Zionism.

The Congress, finally, sent its greetings to the International Union of Students (I.U.S.) and expressed its appreciation of their support for the defence of the just rights of the Kurdish people.

The Congress was concluded with the election of a new General Executive Committee of the K.S.S.E., amongst whom duties were allocated according to the procedure laid down by the Constitution of the Society.



K.S.S.E. NEWS

"11th September" Magazine:

The Kurdish Students Society in Europe—U.K. Branch has started the publication of a magazine in Arabic by the name of "11th September", which is the date in 1961 when the Kurdish Resistance began. The Branch has already published 2 issues of the magazine.

The 14th Congress:

Kurdish Students Society in Europe will be holding its 14th Annual Congress from 1–5 August 1970 in Stockholm—Sweden. The procedure for the congress is

First Day: Opening of the congress with a press conference

Second Day: Election of specialist committees and the presentation of the General Executive Report, followed by discussion.

Third Day: Discussion of specialist committees.

Fourth Day: Discussion, election of the new General Executive Committee, and resolutions.

Fifth Day: A tour of Stockholm, and a Kurdish night—singing, dancing etc., in the evening.

The Kurdish Students Union in Lebanon:

"Kurdistan" welcomes the formation of the Kurdish Students Union in Lebanon, from which we have received its inaugural statement and its constitution. The Union is centred in Beirut and it acts as the organisation for strengthening social and cultural ties among Kurdish students in Lebanon.

The Swedish Branch

The K.S.S.E. Branch in Sweden held its annual meeting on 11th January 1970 in which the organisation and future activities of the Branch were fully discussed. A number of resolutions were adopted concerning the situation in all parts of Kurdistan in particular and the liberation movements in the world in general.

TRIBUTE

BERTRAND RUSSELL May 18, 1872—February 2, 1970

"Three passions, simple but overwhelmingly strong, have governed my life; the longing for love, the search for knowledge, and unbearable pity for the suffering of mankind." From the first volume of Bertrand Russell's autobiography.

The Kurdish Students Society in Europe expresses its appreciation of the services to the cause of peace, justice and survival of humanity rendered by Bertrand Russell throughout his long life.



The Role of K.D.P. in the Kurdish Revolution

by H.Z.

The Kurdish Revolution of September 1961 was the inevitable consequence of the aggressive and chauvinistic policies of the Iraqi Government. This revolution developed on a mass basis—it was not merely the work of a single party in Kurdistan. The participants are of various political and ideological groupings within the body politic of Kurdistan—Iraq. This fact notwithstanding, one particular political organisation can be singled out in the process of analysing the political elements organising and leading the Kurdish people's struggle: the Kurdistan Democratic Party (K.D.P.).

The Origins of K.D.P.

The origins of K.D.P. date back from the events which led to the establishment of the Kurdish Republic in Kurdistan—Iraq in 1946, which was a year of great significance in Kurdish history. On 16th September 1942 a group of citizens held a meeting in the town of Mehabad with the specific aim of organising a Kurdish political party as an instrument for furthering their nation's cause. Of course, there were many political societies and political associations in existence in various parts of Kurdistan prior to this date, notably Hewa (Hope) in Iraqi Kurdistan. Those at the meeting decided to constitute themselves as a committee, in Kurdish, Komala. The Komala extended its membership and developed its organisation as a fully pledged political party. In November 1945 the Komala was changed to the Kurdistan Democratic Party with a clear programme for attaining self-government for the Kurdish people. Thus, the movement was formalising a trend that developed during the preceding year towards a more efficient and effective organisation.

The Mehabad Republic was declared on 22nd January 1946, by Qazi Muhammad, who had taken a leading role in the Kurdish movement and thus became the President of the Republic. The most influential persons in the formation of the new republic were members of the Central Committee of the Kurdistan Democratic Party.

After an eventful period of one year, the young republic sadly came to an end and its President Qazi Muhammad was hanged by Iranian authorities who had instigated a military onslaught on the Kurdish regime. The fall of the Republic was due to several factors, namely the power-political game played by the various states interfering in the region, plus the Iranian Army's military attacks.

Meanwhile, inspired by the political developments in Mehabad Iraqi Kurds were determined to organise them-

selves more efficiently for the achievement of the Kurdish national rights. Thus, the Kurdistan Democratic Party was formed in Iraqi Kurdistan and held its first party congress on 10th August 1946, and Mustafa Barzani was elected its chairman, although at the time he was serving in the Mehabad Army. In Syria a K.D.P. was also formed.

Since the fall of the Mehabad Republic the K.D.P. in Iraqi Kurdistan has been the main vehicle for organising the Kurdish political struggle for national rights. The K.D.P. had to operate underground before 1958, but it made an impressive impact upon the new generations in Kurdistan, drawing its support from a broad spectrum of Kurdish society—particularly active were students, teachers and peasants. The party built a massive following in the towns of Kurdistan. It had its regular party organ "Khabat" clandestinely published, in addition to pamphlets and policy statements regarding major political issues.

The K.D.P. fully supported the new regime which overthrew the monarchy on 14th July 1958, and its hopes for a better era were increased by the promulgation of the Iraqi Provisional constitution of 27th July 1958, which proclaimed in section 3 that "Arabs and Kurds are partners in this homeland", and by the freedom for political activities which culminated in the K.D.P. attaining legal existence in January 1960 and "Khabat" was published openly as a daily in Baghdad. This trend, however, came to a halt when the Iraqi Prime Minister Kassim saw dangers in the consolidated authority of the K.D.P. The fifth party congress on 5-10th, May 1960, was the occasion for the expression of disillusionment of many party members with the Government's performance over the implementation of the provisions for the exercise of Kurdish civil liberties. A provocative campaign, with tacit approval of Kassim, was started by the Government, denying the existence of Kurdish nationhood. This was followed by the suspension of the party organ on 22nd March 1961 and the dissolution order for the K.D.P. on 23rd September 1961, on flimsy legal grounds. On the 11th September 1961, an Iraqi Army onslaught had already begun, which met with an unorganised local resistance in Kurdistan. On 25th September 1961, the K.D.P. Central Committee formally decided to join the armed struggle against the Iraqi Government.

K.D.P. after the 11th September 1961 Revolution

The K.D.P. became the major organising force in the Kurdish armed struggle. Naturally, it had to adapt itself



HABEEB KARIM, General Secretary of K.D.P.



MUSTAFA BARZANI, Chairman of K.D.P.



Dr. MAHMOUD OSMAN, Member of the K.D.P. Polit-Bureau and Secretary of the Executive Bureau of the Command Council.



MOHAMED 'SAMMY' ABDUL-RAHMAN, Member of the K.D.P. Polit-Bureau.



PESH MERGA HOSPITAL

A HEALTH OFFICER DISPENSES PRESCRIPTIONS
TO PATIENTS

THE VOICE OF IRAQI KURDISTAN RADIO STATION



from a party of peacetime to a political organisation capable of conducting guerrilla warfare. This transition was essential for the success of the revolutionary movement. The party had to devise practical methods of achieving the strategic objectives. It had to deal with specific problems related to raising the Kurdish Revolutionary Army—Pesh Merga—and developing it in order to defend the territory under its control and taking action against the Iraqi Army. The party had to deal with problems, such as the recruitment of suitable guerrillas; the acquisition of supplies; the training of military and political cadres; organising the lines of communication among the Pesh Merga and also the urban party network within Kurdish towns under Iraqi control.

Che Guevaras' description in "Guerrilla Warfare" and "Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War", are vivid reminders that a guerrilla's life is a harsh one: the physical and mental demands placed upon him are immense. Thus many of the K.D.P. leaders who had previously had little experience of the rigours of country life, let alone guerrilla type of situation, had to adapt their method of political activity to suit the new environment. The positive outcome of this process astonished even some members themselves. Members of the Kurdish intelligentsia experience in peace time politics became adept in organising peasant life and acquired military techniques.

The Evolution of K.D.P.

Since its foundation in 1946, the K.D.P. has become a major political force not only in Iraqi Kurdistan but in Iraq as a whole. The path for its development has not always been smooth. Apart from the fact it had to face the suppression exercised by various Iraqi Governments, there were occasions when the internal party organisation was under serious stress. Without a doubt the greatest threat to its effectiveness occurred in 1964 when a number of its leaders broke away and assumed the party's name. They ended up in the Iraqi Government's pay as mercenaries—Jash. Although for a while it created uncertainty within the Kurdish Revolution, the K.D.P. managed effectively to recover from the setback.

The K.D.P. Today

The Pesh Merga is obviously the backbone of the Kurdish Revolution. The vast majority are peasants. There are between 18000-20000 mobilised members, with the possible figure of 40000 as reserves. The Pesh Merga is divided into 17 brigades (a brigade varying in numbers depending on its strategic position), which form three divisions.

The political and military leadership of the Revolution is conducted by the Command Council of the Revolution, comprising 46 members who elect an Executive Bureau of 9 members. The Command Council represents all political and social elements which subscribe to the idea of the Kurdish armed struggle.

The K.D.P. is represented on the Command Council and the Executive Bureau by the members of its political

bureau and Central Committee. The Command Council is headed by the K.D.P. Chairman.

The party makes its influence felt in many spheres. The leadership of Pesh Merga and that of the local party are often combined. The party emphasises political training within Pesh Merga through a special school for party cadres. In the educational field in general, the party has to cope with the immense problem of offering primary and secondary education in the liberated areas as the Government abandoned their maintenance. There are 3 teacher training courses to cope with the increasing need for teachers as new schools are opened. On the administration side, the party is in charge of collecting taxes, and the judiciary in the area. Health and medical affairs—facilities for which are negligible—are catered for by the party. The land reform scheme of the Revolution is administered by the party. Finally, the K.D.P. is in charge of publications and publicity for the Revolution. It publishes the organ of the party "Khabat" and "Dengi Pesh Merga" (Voice of Pesh Merga) plus local party's own publications. The political bureau of the party supervises broadcasting over "the Radio of Iraqi Kurdistan".

Looking back at the history of the K.D.P. since 1946 it has become obvious that the party has consolidated its position within the Kurdish society in Iraq due mainly to the popular basis for the presentation and advocacy of its policies. Furthermore, these policies, though marred by occasional setbacks have been pursued with vigour and consistency. The party did not flinch from the courageous decision of advocating armed struggle as a means of attaining the Kurdish national rights when all other means had failed. On the Iraqi level, the K.D.P. has enhanced its position as an important factor in deciding the future politics of Iraq.

This paper was presented in a seminar at the University of South Wales-Cardiff on 6th March 1970.

STATEMENT ON SYRIAN KURDISTAN

The half a million Kurds living in the northern regions of Syria have been for a long time experiencing all kinds of discrimination and personal and national oppression at the hands of the various Syrian governments. The policy of the so-called "Arab Belt" and the "Census", the mass deportation and withdrawal of citizenships from the Kurds do not seem to suffice. Neither does it satisfy the Syrian authorities. Chauvinistic attitudes and policies toward the Kurds, Arrest, detention, deportation, insults, denial access to education, to health services, and to work, and even prohibition on reconstructing ruined huts and homes are daily happenings which the Kurds suffer from. To all this the Syrian government has added new measures; e.g. preventing the Kurds from ploughing and sowing their land and harvesting their produce, despite the fact that these Kurds and their ancestors have been living in these areas from times immemorial. But when petroleum shows its head, and it has recently done, history, facts and human factors and considerations seem to sink to the bottom.

Not only does the Syrian authorities oppress the Kurds living in Syria, but they also encourage and demand the others to do the same. The Syrian authorities have denounced the Iraqi government because the latter seems to be trying to approach the Kurdish problem in Iraq from a different angle than the Syrian government wishes. In addition the Kurds in Syria have been banned from expressing their satisfaction because their brothers in Iraq have just recently been promised some human and national rights. The few Kurds who dared to express their real feelings about the event were arrested and detained. Tens of Kurdish students and other Kurds have been recently arrested in Damascus and other parts of Syria just because they peacefully

demonstrated their sympathies with their fellow – Kurds in Iraq.

The Kurdish Students Society in Europe strongly protest and denounces the latest oppressive and anti human rights measures of the Syrian government and at the same time demands that this government respect the human and national rights of the Kurds living within the Syrian borders. K.S.S.E. meanwhile reminds the Syrian government to learn from the lessons of history and asks the international public opinion and all those who are concerned with human rights and dignity to voice their protest against these oppressive measures and to help the peaceful Kurds in Syria by demanding the Syrian government to lift these measures and respect the rights of the Kurds in Syria.

K.S.S.E.
Secretariat
25th May 1970

KURDISTAN AND IRAQ OIL

by H. Saman

The Problem

The importance of Iraqi Kurdistan increased when the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC) struck oil near Kirkuk in 1927. This has, ironically, increased the oppression exercised by the successive Iraqi governments over the Kurdish people in Iraq, and has resulted in the mass expulsion of Kurdish population from the Kirkuk area in recent years.

Considering the fact that oil revenues form the major part of Iraq's income, with Kirkuk providing a substantial proportion of it, it was not surprising to hear that the negotiations, between the Kurdish delegation and the Iraqi government which preceded the conclusion of the recent 11th March 1970 Agreement, encountered a serious obstacle when the future of Kirkuk provinces was discussed.

The Kurdish delegation have made it clear from the outset that any solution which excludes Kirkuk from the autonomous area will not be acceptable. The government, after a series of claims and counter-claims, have recognised eventually the Kurdish character of Kirkuk, but a census will be conducted to determine which parts of the province will join the autonomous Kurdistan.

Until such a census is conducted, and the manner in which it is conducted satisfies the Kurdish revolutionaries, no firm and final peace in Iraqi Kurdistan can be achieved.

History of Oil Agreements

Iraq's oil export production has always come from the concessions of the Iraq Petroleum Company and its associates the Mosul Petroleum Company (MPC) and the Basrah Petroleum Company (BPC). The IPC concession dates from 1925 and in 1928 the company's shareholding was established in its present form viz:—

Company	% shareholding
B.P.	23.75
Royal Dutch/Shell	23.75
Compagnie Francaise des Petroles	23.75
Near East Development Corporation (Joint Jersey Standard and Socony Mobil)	23.75
Participations and Explorations Corporation (Gulbenkian estate)	5.00
Total	<u>100</u>

The concessions of MPC and BPC were granted in

1932 and 1938 respectively. The shareholding in these two companies is the same as in IPC.

The territorial waters of the southern concession (granted to BPC) were released to the Iraqi Government in 1959. Iraq started to receive its substantially increased revenue in the early fifties when plans for development were drawn up and a Development Board was established in 1950, and a Ministry of Development created in 1953.

The 1952 Agreements of all three companies, in simplified terms, provide for the receipt by the State of half of the theoretical profit from their operations in Iraq; part of the government's share can be taken as oil in kind and there are certain guaranteed revenue and production minima.

Prolonged negotiations between the government (with General Kassim heading its delegation), and the oil companies, on government requests for a revision of the 50/50 formula, share participation, relinquishment of unexploited areas and a number of minor changes, were terminated in October 1961 without any accord. Kassim's weakness at the time, resulting from his oppression of almost all political parties and groups in the country, was the main reason for the failure of the negotiations. Nevertheless, on 11th December, 1961 the State enacted Law No. 80 of 1961 which restricted the Companies' area of operations to 1938 km (being about 0.5 per cent of their previous area), declaring the rest of their concessions withdrawn.

In 1970 the government formally revoked Article 3 of Law No. 80 of 1961, which permitted the re-allocation of a further small area to IPC. Active exploration has already been stopped by government order in April 1961. Iraq rejected a royalty expensing offer made by the oil companies in November 1964, accepted by most other OPEC members.

A clash between IPC and the Syrian government over transit royalties resulted in the closure of the pipelines by the Syrian authorities. The shut-down caused a considerable reduction in oil exports and consequently in revenues which has soured the relations between Iraq and Syria.

Oil exports from Iraq were again seriously disrupted in 1967 following the June War, when Iraq cut off all oil supplies in company with other Arab states.

On 1st March 1969, the Kurdish Revolutionary Army attacked the oil installations in Kirkuk. The attack was selective in that it was not aimed at destroying the entire complex of oil installations. The crude oil stabilisation

plant was attacked with mortar fire. Ten out of the twelve installations were destroyed. The Kurdish action was justified, from the Kurdish viewpoint, by the fact that the destructive capability of the Iraqi Army is financed by oil revenues accrued from Kurdistan region. The attack caused a fall in oil production in early 1969. In fact the fear of further attacks by the Kurdish Revolutionary Army, has contributed towards the conclusion of 11th March 1970 Agreement.

Kurdistan—the major producer

Iraq's exported oil is produced by IPC and its associates. IPC operates in the North, MPC in the north west and BPC in the south of the country. The north and north west form part of Kurdistan. Kurdistan produces most of Iraqi oil. IPC operates the major field in Kirkuk, and smaller fields at Bai Hassan and Jambur. MPC's fields are in Ain Zalah and Butmah. BPC's southern fields are in Rumailah and Zubair.

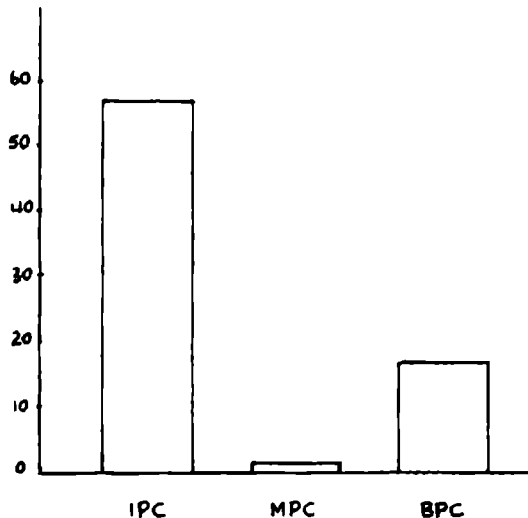
In 1969 IPC and its associates' production was as follows:—

	Mn tons	%
IPC (a)	56.4	75.7
MPC	1.3	1.7
BPC	16.8	22.6
	<u>74.5</u>	<u>100</u>

(a) IPC production was affected by the Kurdish attack in 1969, therefore production should be higher in normal times.

Source: Iraq Petroleum Company.

mn ton



IPC Group's Oil Production in Iraq (1969)

From the above figures one can see that 77.4 per cent



THE OIL PLANT AT KIRKUK.

of Iraqi oil is produced in Kurdistan, and the rest in other parts of the country.

Pressure has been put on the IPC group by the Iraqi government to increase its production, but these attempts have failed due to the politically weak position of the government.

Now that the 11th March Agreement with the Kurds has been concluded, it is hoped that the new strength acquired through the backing of the Kurdish people, will play a big role in future negotiations between the government and the IPC group.

Production in 1968 is set at 73.8 mn tons, 23 per cent up on the preceding year 1967. The table below shows increases achieved during the first nine months of 1969.

Country	Increase %
Kuwait	6
Iran	18.5
Iraq	0.8

The Iraqi figure has later been adjusted to 1.2 per cent and therefore is still the lowest.

The oil companies in Iran have agreed to Iran's demand for an increased production in 1970, amounting to 18 per cent over 1969. It is estimated that the international increase in demand for oil amounts to 8% annually.

Increased oil production and therefore oil export is the only way (other than nationalization or amending the 50/50 agreement which is resisted by the Companies) by which Iraq can get more revenues from the IPC group.

Kurdistan Democratic Party has always pursued an oil policy based on the national interests of Iraq.

Article 13 of its programme reads:—⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ The programme of the Kurdistan Democratic Party as approved by the Seventh Congress of the party in 1966

"We strive to increase the royalties from oil; the appropriation of a particular share of these royalties for expenditure on industrial and agricultural projects in Kurdistan in proportion to the population ratio of the region, supervision of the execution stage—production, marketing, etc.; the activation of the Law 80 of 1961; strengthening the national oil company, and the prevention of the interference by the oil companies in the internal affairs of Iraq, the establishment of subsidiary industries from oil products by the government in the areas of extraction according to their particular locations, and the training and preparing of administrative and technical personnel for the eventual nationalisation of the oil industry".

Oil revenues are the main source of the Iraqi annual budget and of the five year Development Plan, sharing them 50-50 each.

Without this income the Iraqi balance of trade would show the following horrifying picture:—

ID mn	1963	1965	1967	1968
Exports fob (excluding oil)	16.73	18.12	20.66	23.03
Re-exports (excluding oil)	2.26	3.12	3.14	4.52
Imports	112.46	161.67	150.39	143.36
Deficit	93.47	140.43	126.59	115.81

Source: Central Bank of Iraq Monthly Bulletin.

In the revised Ordinary Budget estimates for 1968/69 oil revenues formed ID mn 81.4 out of the direct taxes amounting to ID mn 111.4, the total of all revenues being ID mn 222. The comparative figures for 1967/68 were: ID mn 70, 89.5, 214.1 respectively.

And as to the Development Plan the figures were as follows:—

Estimated^(a) and Actual Receipts and Expenditure of the Five-Year Development Plan 1966/67-1967/68 (ID mn)

	1966/67		1967/68	
	Estimates	Actual	Estimates	Actual
Receipts				
Oil Revenues	70	61.2	70	75.8
Profits of Government Departments	4.5	0.7	3.3	0.8
Foreign Loans	32.4	2.2	12.0	3.3
Domestic Loans	—	—	0.9	0.0
Other	29.0	0.6	14.2	0.9
Total	135.9	64.7	100.4	80.8

(a) as budgeted annually.

(b) provisional.

Source: Central Bank of Iraq.

In 1970, the broad outlines of the 5-year plan for the period 1970-74 were published. Total expenditure is estimated at ID 1144 mn of which ID 425 mn will be drawn from oil revenues and the balance found from government enterprises and departments and loans.

A review of the 1966/67 and 1967/68 estimated and actual receipts makes one to look at 1970 estimates with some reservation, if not doubt. But one thing may not change and that is oil revenues.

INOC and government contracts

The Iraqi National Oil Company was established by the government, one of its main objects is to reduce the reliance by Iraq on revenues from foreign oil companies, i.e. IPC and its associates.

In August 1967 Law No. 97 was promulgated assigning exclusive rights to INOC for the development of hydrocarbon resources within Iraqi territory including offshore areas and the North Rumailah field. Under the new law INOC develops all areas directly or in association with others, as in the case of the INOC-ERAP agreement signed in November 1967, under which ERAP (France) is to explore certain concessionary areas of the dispossessed IPC group under a six-year contract, with exploited oil divided 50-50 between the two parties. The agreement is considered to be a setback for Iraqi oil policy.

Iraqi-Soviet agreement signed in July and effected through a series of contracts signed in December 1969, calling for the construction of oil production installations at the North Rumailah field; the construction of a pipeline between the field and the terminal at Fao, and the exploration and development of other potential oil bearing structures in southern Iraq, are being implemented.

Another contract valued at \$1 mn was signed with Hungarian Komobomplex for development drilling in the North Rumailah field in October 1969. It was followed by a co-operation agreement covering the grant of oil equipment and services over a 10-year period.

An agreement with Czechoslovakia was recently ratified providing for the construction of a refinery at Basrah. A proposed oil pipeline from North Rumailah to the Mediterranean coast is under study, and it has been suggested that a French company will soon begin the engineering and survey studies of the \$420 mn scheme. No further progress has yet been reported on the proposed Iraq-Turkey gasline.

Several other contracts concerning the exchange and sale of Iraqi oil were concluded with UAR, the Sudan, Hungary and other countries.

Refining and other government activities

Refining for general distribution is carried on by the

government Oil Refineries Administration, one of several directorates under the Ministry of Oil. The principal state refinery, at Daura near Baghdad, with a capacity of 75 000 b/d (barrel per day), draws its crude from the main IPC lines.

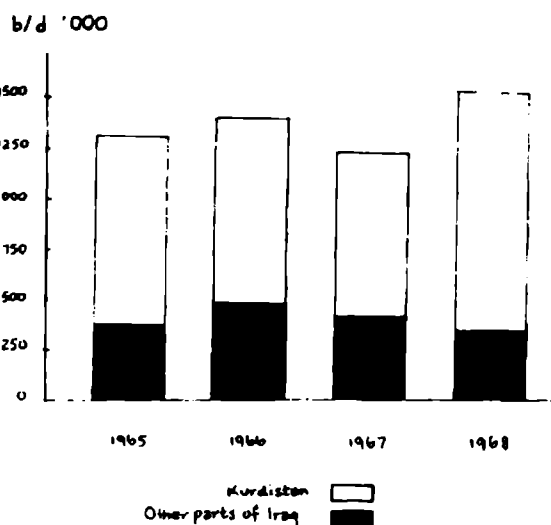
Developments at Daura include the construction of a 36,000 b/d lub oil plant, a kerosene hydro-desulphurisation plant (12,000 b/d) and a catalytic reformer. The Alwand refinery (0.6 mn metric ton) of Khanaqin Oil Company was bought by the State in 1952, its crude is obtained from the Naft Khaneh field now state-operated.

There is another state-owned refinery (0.2 mn tons), it is situated at Muftiyah (Basrah), and draws its crude from BPC. The capacity of the Basrah refinery to be built by Czechoslovakia will be 70,000 b/d. A second refinery of 60,000 b/d will be constructed at Mosul. Total annual output of refined products is over 2 mn tons (77,900 b/d at the end of 1967).

The government also intends to develop a petrochemical industry, which may be INOC's responsibility. The construction of two 292-Km pipelines from Kirkuk to Baghdad, comprising a 16-inch gas line and an 8-inch line for LPG and natural gasoline (8,500 b/d), a gas distribution network serving industrial consumers in the Baghdad area, a 12,000 b/d LPG processing plant, and a 4½ inch, 30-km natural gasoline pipeline from Taji to Daura refinery have been completed.

Distribution and the sale of the gas will be handled by the new Gas Distribution Administration incorporated into the government Oil Refineries Administration in early 1968.

Iraq Oil Production (1965-1968)



Conclusion

Considering the above mentioned facts, certain conclusions are apparent:

Kurdistan is the major producer of oil in Iraq and consequently the major part of exported oil comes from this area. It is, therefore, the major earner of Iraq's foreign currency, and without this income the economy of the country would collapse within a short period of time.

Oil Production by Companies 1963-1969 (b/d '000)

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Kurdistan					
IPC	910.3	891.5	781.6	1,136.0	— ^(a)
MPC	25.7	25.6	25.4	26.0	—
	<u>936.0</u>	<u>917.1</u>	<u>807.0</u>	<u>1,162.0</u>	<u>—</u>
Other parts of Iraq					
BPC	370.5	467.9	413.5	341.0	—
Government	6.1	7.2	—	—	—
	<u>1,312.6</u>	<u>1,392.2</u>	<u>1,220.5</u>	<u>1,503.0</u>	<u>1,518.4^(b)</u>
Metric tons mn	64.4	68.0	60.1	73.8 ^(b)	74.5 ^(b)

(a) not available

(b) Excluding Khanaqin production. Though Khanaqin is part of Iraqi Kurdistan, in this article Khanaqin production is ignored as no accurate information is available.

Applying the data to Iraq's receipts from IPC and its associates in proportion to each area's production, the result will show:—

Revenues Received by Government from IPC and Associates

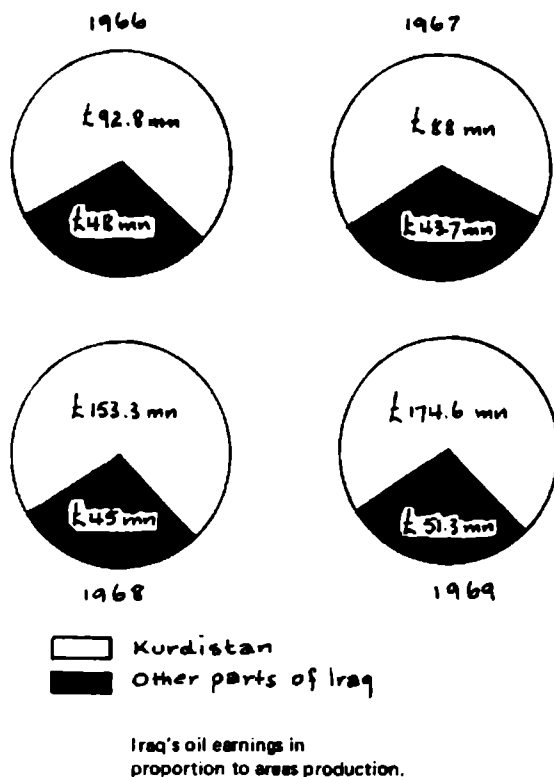
Year	Total ^(a)	Kurdistan	Other parts of Iraq
	£	£	£
1965	131.3	93.6	37.7
1966	140.8	92.8	48.0
1967	131.7	88.0	43.7
1968	198.3	153.3	45.0
1969	225.9 ^(b)	174.6 ^(c)	51.3 ^(c)

(a) Original figures in US Dollars converted at \$2.80 = £1 for years 1964, 65, 66 & 67 \$2.40 = £1 for years 1968 & 69, due to November 1967 devaluation of the pound sterling.

(b) Provisional

(c) 1968 production figures were used.

Note: Total figures are actual receipts not entitlements, i.e. they include back payments.



This article is not intended to raise a claim for the proportion of receipts listed under (Kurdistan £) column. But it is an attempt to point out the injustice suffered by the Kurdish people in Iraq, especially in the sixties, when they had no choice but to revolt against the dictatorial and discriminatory policies of Iraqi governments.

It is particularly odious from the Kurdish viewpoint that the natural resources of Kurdistan, namely oil, are exploited in such a manner that the region itself does not derive any economic benefits from it. But, on the contrary the wealth is used as a source for sending lethal weapons to Kurdistan which have played havoc with both human and economic lives of the region.

It is also clear from the evidence available concerning the oil industry in Iraq, that there have not been any plans for establishing oil subsidiary industries in Kurdistan. In fact, all economic activity related to oil industry has been static—even new drilling—for the last 30 years.

And as far as the INOC is concerned one can see that most, if not all, of its activities are concentrated on the non-Kurdish areas of the country. All new pipelines, refineries, oil installations and exploration works are being constructed or done outside Kurdistan.

This policy of ignoring the northern areas of the country should be discontinued and a new policy with the aim of developing Kurdistan should be adopted.

The considerable concession made by the Kurdish leadership during the last peace negotiation with the government, by not insisting on a clear and just share of oil revenues, based on the proportion of Iraqi Kurdistan to the whole of Iraq's population, to be ploughed back into the Kurdish area, should not be considered to mean an acceptance by the Kurdish leadership of the unjust and disproportionate investment policies of the past Iraqi governments.

The Kurdish area which has been continuously bombed and destroyed during the last nine years, urgently needs the funds necessary to put it back on its feet. The Kurdish war has deprived Kurdistan from normal educational facilities with the withdrawal of funds by central government for the last decade.

It is vital that article seven of the 11th March 1970 agreement should be implemented in letter and spirit. The Committee which is to be created, supervising the rapid re-development of the Kurdish area, should have sufficient funds under its control to achieve its task otherwise it will be another grandiose body of little consequence. Funds should be set aside to compensate those who have been victims of the tragic war.

Finally, the economic future of Kurdistan and Iraq depends heavily on proper exploitation of the oil industry and a policy of fair regional investment between Kurdistan region and the South. The role of oil in Kurdistan so far has been negative and served as a "curse" rather than a "blessing". It requires swift and deliberate action to reverse this trend.

The Constitution of The Kurdish Students Society in Europe Founded 10th August 1956

Art. 1: The Name: The Kurdish Students Society in Europe.

Art. 2: The Basic Aims:

A – To strengthen the relationship of Kurdish students in Europe and to help to solve their academic problems.

B – Facilitate mutual aid between Kurdish students.

C – To promote the national Kurdish Culture and to work towards the good of the people and its national question.

D – To enlighten the world on the culture of Kurdistan, the condition of the Kurdish people, and its national problem.

E – To strengthen the spirit of co-operation and friendship between Kurdish students and students of other countries, to make contact with students and non-student organisations, both national and international, and co-operate with them within the scope of our mutual aims and interests.

F – To contribute towards the struggle of the divided Kurdish people, support all peoples in the struggle against imperialism, racial discrimination and dictatorial regimes for peace, democracy and liberty.

Art. 3: The Society's organ is the Magazine "Kurdistan".

Art. 4: Membership:

A – Membership is granted to every Kurdish student or students from Kurdistan studying in Europe if the following conditions are fulfilled:

1 – Accepts the constitution of the Society and endeavours to fulfill its basic aims.

2 – Pays the annual subscription of three pounds (sterling) or its equivalent.

B – The General Executive Committee or the Branch Committee accepts the application.

C – The member is liable to the following procedural methods if he violates the constitution or commits a harmful act towards the Society or the Kurdish people:

1 – Warning and then reprimand by the Branch Committee.

2 – Suspension by the General Executive Committee.

3 – Expulsion by the General Congress.

Art. 5: The Organisation:

A – The General Congress:

1 – It comprises all members present.

2 – It is the highest authority of the Society; it can amend the constitution by a simple majority.

3 – Is held once a year. An extraordinary Congress may be held on the request of not less than two-thirds of the members of the Society, or two-thirds of the members of the General Executive Committee. In both cases all the members of the Society must be notified about the date and place of the meeting a month in advance at the least.

4 – Only the General Executive Committee has the authority to appoint the place and

the date of the General Annual Congress.

5 – A Committee should be elected among the members present at the General Annual Congress to lead the meetings before the discussions on the Annual Report of the General Executive Committee (G.E.C.)

B – The General Executive Committee (G.E.C.)

1 – The G.E.C. is the highest authority of the Society between two General Annual Congresses.

2 – The G.E.C. has seven permanent members and two candidates. They are elected annually by the Congress.

3 – The G.E.C. meets before and after the Congress. During its first meeting after the Congress, it elects from among its members a Secretariat of three members, a treasurer and the editor of the Society's organ "Kurdistan" Magazine. The Secretariat executes the decisions of the General Executive Committee between two meetings and it meets once every three months at the least.

4 – The G.E.C. prepares the Agenda of the General Annual Congress and presents it to all the members of the Congress for discussion during its first meeting.

5 – The G.E.C. meets within six months after the Congress.

6 – The G.E.C. is responsible to the Congress.

C – The Branch

1 – The Branch is established by the members of the society in a country and by a decision of the G.E.C.

2 – The Branch meets annually.

3 – The Branch elects a committee in its annual meeting.

D – The Branch Committee

1 – The Branch Committee has from three to seven members.

2 – The Branch Committee organises the activities of the Branch and has a leading role in fulfilling the aims of the society in their country of residence in a manner that does not conflict with the G.E.C.'s policy.

Art. 6: The Finance

1 – The finances of the society are from:

A – The Annual subscription fees

B – Contributions from members and the friends of the Society

C – From the Society's activities

D – The Branch Committees should provide half their annual income to the G.E.C.

In case of aid The Branch Committee could demand support from the G.E.C.

As approved by the
13th Annual Congress
of K.S.S.E.
11/8/1969
Berlin

ON SOME ASPECTS OF THE KURDISH MOVEMENT

by A. Shakno

The Kurdish Movement as a popular movement is, in my opinion, irreversibly established by now. The dominant factor in bringing this about has been the military activity of the Armed forces led by Gen. M. Barzani. With this background in view, I shall attempt to discuss some non-military aspects of the Kurdish movement, which, as a popular movement, differs fundamentally from a rebellion, in that, we must look for its motivating power and sustaining power outside the realm of military activity, stressing at the same time that the military aspect must occupy the position of first priority for the foreseeable future, eventually however not as the only occupant of this position.

The success of a popular movement depends on the extent to which a mass of people identify themselves as a unit with a common objective both practically and spiritually. To attain fully this desirable state, the Kurdish people stand in front of two main obstacles. The policy of assimilation, implemented to various degrees of ruthlessness by the states controlling the different parts of Kurdistan, and, the social structure of most Kurdish communities, which can most briefly be described as not belonging to this century. These two obstacles are in fact not completely independent in that the success of the first leans heavily on the gravity of the second, which may thus be considered to be the more fundamental of the two. I shall now give a more detailed description of the nature of these obstacles, always keeping in mind that there is one Kurdish nation irrespective of the present political geographical situation.

The first, the assimilation policy against the Kurdish people is at its most intense in Turkey, to such an extent that this problem there, is of a different order of gravity compared with other parts of Kurdistan. But although this is only one part of Kurdistan, its importance is, however, difficult to exaggerate, as the overwhelming majority of the national population of Kurdistan is in this area. The solution of this problem should therefore attract maximum attention. At present, the reality of the national population of Kurdistan is refuted by the Turkish Government and Kurdish language, culture, and any other community activity is, apart from being 'not-recognised', also forbidden! Economically Kurdistan is the most neglected area of that country, which is perhaps objectively the recognition of Kurdistan as an alien entity by that Government. The national population which was once subjected to forcible dispersal from its native land still continues to disperse because of the extreme poverty conditions, young men leaving mainly to join the unemployed labour forces of expatriate Kurds carrying on a squalid and tragic existence in the larger towns of Turkey.

In this way, members of families are parted for years on end or forever, with the consequence that the only unforbidden part and the last thread of Kurdish life are broken by this breakdown of the family unit. The Kurdish intellectual on the other hand, faced with this tragic and apparently hopeless situation often finds the easiest refuge in turkification, neglecting his duty of leadership to his more common compatriots,

to whom even the luxury of turkification is not offered. What demoralises the intellectuals most, is probably the social structure of the Kurdish community which is the substance of the second obstacle mentioned above.

Whereas the danger of assimilation is grave in Turkey especially, the problems arising from the social structure of the Kurdish communities are more universal and have got common characteristics all over Kurdistan. Basically the trouble is that many parts of Kurdistan have not yet come out of their feudal systems, although it must be stressed that this statement does not hold generally. There are considerable areas of Kurdistan where the situation has progressed somewhat. One weakness that can and must be tackled immediately is the isolationist attitude of many communities. Another is the system of blood-feuds that reigns, which is undoubtedly one of the greatest social evils posing as a formidable barrier against co-operation within and between Kurdish communities — a fact which is recognised by some governments in control of Kurdistan who actively and sometimes even blatantly support the perpetuation of this system. We shall not discuss the economic and other more fundamental aspects of the existing social structure as that would go beyond the scope of this article.

It is, I hope, clear from the exposition of the obstacles considered above that their removal depends entirely on the cultural and social development of the national population of Kurdistan, with great urgency and as one people irrespective of the presently existing borders. This duty falls predominantly on the Kurdish intelligentsia. It is therefore necessary to attract all intellectuals to this task which of course is in turn the duty of the leadership of the Kurdish movement which must also consider its task the preparation and training of more people capable of contributing to the collective effort made to tackle these problems, drawing its manpower from all levels of the national population of all regions of Kurdistan equally as far as possible. Needless to say, if this is to be a successful exercise, the area of activity must be the immediate environment of the people, that is inside Kurdistan, and the inefficient regime of having such manpower scattered in distant and exotic foreign metropolises must be kept at an absolute minimum. The effective implementation of such a plan is not easy but it is an indispensable element of the Kurdish Movement.

Finally, I shall give two examples of such activity, which in my opinion would serve in a positive way to the solution of the above mentioned problems — at least in the initial stages of development.

The first is the establishment of a Kurdish Academy, which would occupy itself with the standardisation of all cultural matters across state, regional, and tribal boundaries, and their efficient propagation. One obvious first task would be the creation and finalisation of a Kurdish Alphabet designed especially to suit the phonetics of the Kurdish language, which would also be easy to learn and hence be similar in structure to

the European alphabets and yet sufficiently different to have a complete character of its own.

The second is the establishment of a University of Kurdistan. It is true that the most urgent need of Kurdistan at present is teachers for schools and not high-powered specialists in any field. On the other hand, this supply of teachers simply does not exist at present and will not be catered for by any of the states controlling Kurdistan. The creation of a University on the other hand may attract the bulk of the Kurdish intelligentsia to join, who would then be in a good position to prepare teachers of the desired quality and other needed manpower.

THE KURDISH JOURNAL

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KURDISTAN AND THE PRESS

Iraqi Government moves to end Kurdish problem

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

FINANCIAL TIMES 30 DEC. 1969

BEIRUT, Dec. 29.

THE IRAQI Government has initiated contacts with the Kurdish insurgent leader, Mulla Mustafa Barzani, to end the Kurdish war in the northern part of the country, according to informed travellers from Baghdad.

They said Barzani is favourably disposed to negotiations which, if successful, would relieve Iraq of its most chronic and serious problem. It would also leave the Iraqi Army free to give greater attention to the confrontation with Israel.

On or about December 18 the Iraqi Government contacted a former Kurdish Minister, Fuad Arif, who is known to be a Barzani man, and asked him to mediate with the Kurdish leader at the latter's stronghold in Rawanduz, near the Iranian border.

Basic demand

Arif agreed and went with a representative of the ruling Baath Party. After meeting with Barzani the latter sent his own emissary to Michel Aflak, founder of the Baath Party and an important Baath figure. Apparently Barzani wanted assurance at the highest Baathist level because of deep mistrust between the Kurdish insurgents and the Baathist leaders.

According to the travellers Barzani also asked that if agreement were to be reached with the

Iraqi Government it must be registered with the UN to guarantee that it would be implemented.

Aflak was reported to have emphasised the Iraqi regime's desire to end the Kurdish problem on a basis of recognition by



Mustafa Barzani, the Kurdish leader.

Baghdad of Kurdish nationalist rights. Barzani was reported to have made a basic demand that Kurds should enjoy the same rights as Arabs.

It is understood that the Iraqi

Government has formed a high-level delegation for full negotiations with Barzani once agreement is reached during initial contacts. The delegation is to be led by Sidam Hussein Takriti, Vice-President of the Iraqi Revolution Command Council—the country's highest executive authority. Mr. Takriti is the second in command in Iraq to-day, after President Ahmed Hassan Al Bakr.

The Kurdish war has been dragging on since 1961. A truce was reached in 1961, but broke down over disagreement between the 66-year-old Barzani and the Baathist regime which came to power in July last year.

New Cabinet

Kurdish insurgents have been fighting for autonomy within a unified Iraq.

The present regime was reported to have stationed as many as two divisions in the North to keep insurgents under control. Because of this Iraq's contribution to the confrontation with Israel has been hindered. If agreement is reached with the Kurds, Barzani representatives could well enter a new Iraqi Cabinet now being formed in Baghdad. Agreement with the Kurds will be good news to foreign oil quarters because of the threat the Kurdish war posed to oil installations in the North.

THE GUARDIAN Thursday March 12 1970

Beirut, March 11

Peace with Kurds

Overshadowed by the Arab-Israeli conflict, another war has been nagging at the Middle East for the past nine years—the civil war in Iraq between the rebellious Kurdish tribesmen in the North and the Government. Today it ended for the third time.

Saddam Hussein Takriti, who has been emerging in Iraq as the Ba'ath Party's strong man, made the announcement in a broadcast statement. "Real

brotherhood between Kurds and Arabs has been established today and all disputed matters concerning North Iraq settled," he said. Then, hopefully, he added: "This solution is... a permanent solution that will last for ever."

He presumably had his fingers crossed. For the war has stopped at least twice before, only to burst into life later with mutual charges of ill faith.

President Al-Bakr later announced the terms of the agreement, disclosing a surprising generosity by the Government. The Kurds would get autonomy within the Iraqi

State, proportional representation in Parliament, a Kurdish National Vice-President, and recognition of Kurdish as an official language in areas with Kurdish majorities. The Kurds, in return would hand over their broadcasting station and heavy arms.

Persia is one country where the agreement may inspire concern. It could release some 20,000 troops to boost Iraq in its confrontation with Persia on the river border, and might start similar agitation among Persia's own Kurdish population.

KURDISTAN AND THE PRESS

Kurdish "ready-to-dies" keep Iraqi Army at bay

Fighting between the Iraqi Army and Kurdish rebels under General Mustafa Barzani has stepped up sharply over the past weeks.

Many newspapers in the Arab world, generally quick to denounce the "lies" of the "imperialist press," have confirmed Kurdish reports of the Iraqi offensive.

The Kurdish military command has issued a report on the massacre of sixty-seven persons, including women and children, who were allegedly burned alive by government forces near the village of Dakan on August 16.

Intense bombing took place on August 22 around Zakho and Mount Saffin; the Aqrah area was struck on August 23; the following day, bombs fell on Bajan, Barbasht and Sandoona. The Iraqi Army's offensive against the Kurdish guerrillas was in full swing. At the same time, a wave of arrests hit the Kurdish communities in Baghdad and in the large northern towns.

We slipped across the border on the night of September 1-2 and walked six days to reach Nao-Perdam, headquarters of the Kurdish revolutionary forces.

During these first six days, we skirted along the Iranian border. It was high land grazing country and, in this season, livestock was moving down to the valleys. Iraqi planes flew over us on several occasions, but they dropped their bombs further north, near Amadiyah.

Iraqi planes were more frequent over Nao-Perdam. The Kurdish headquarters, buried in a deep valley, was protected by four anti-aircraft guns which twice forced the Migs to turn tail.

When the Kurd revolution marked its eighth anniversary on September 11, celebrations were kept to a minimum although the authorities did organise cultural gatherings. Dr. Mahmud Osman, a member of the revolution's ruling council and secretary of its executive branch, told us: "We do not want our children to be sacrificed as we have been. The Kurd uprising of September 11, 1961, lies far in the past. Today, more than ever, it is a revolution."

A few days later General Barzani termed the Kurd movement a "revolution that could stand for the entire Iraqi people."

Hopes for a peaceful solution to the conflict have been waning constantly since last January, and the latest clashes have dashed them altogether.

Survivors tell their story

Dakan was a tiny Kurdish village on the Khazir, in the Mosul area, situated practically on the line separating the belligerents after the cease-fire of June 29, 1968.

The massacre was the work of troops engaged in a general retreat. They entered the village about noon. After hunting in vain for guerrillas they began to search for the inhabitants of the village. The latter had taken refuge in a cavern and were quickly located by the invaders.

Soldiers stood guard outside while others gathered wood and straw to fill the entrance to the cavern. The pyre was doused with petrol and set ablaze. The troops left the village, believing that all the Kurds had died. But three persons, including a ninety-year-old villager, survived to tell Kurdish leaders of their ordeal. Altogether, sixty-seven men, women and children were burned alive.

The Iraqi drive against the guerrillas intensified in September. Several operations were led personally by Defence Minister General Hardan El Takriti and Interior Minister General Saleh Mahdi Ammache, who hold power jointly in Baghdad

Two Frenchmen who carried out separate fact-finding missions in the areas controlled by the Kurdish Democratic Party have given a first-hand account of the situation. One of them, Michel Besson, said: "I was not more than a few hours' walking distance from Dakan. I have the names of the victims, and pictures. Baghdad has not dared to deny reports on the massacre broadcast on the Kurds' underground radio."

The second observer, Marc Alain, has given the following account of clashes between the Kurds and Iraqi troops.

with Iraqi President-General Hassan El Bakr. The attacks were repelled by the pesh-merga (in Kurdish: "ready to die"), an army of 20,000 men, at heavy cost to both sides.

In mid-September, the Iraqi Army set out to recapture Mount Saffin in a bid to gain control of the entire Arbil plain from the Kurds. An enormous war machine was set into motion: twenty-two regular army battalions and 6,000 Kurdish mercenaries, with air support, which amounted to roughly 23,000 men. General Barzani's strength in the region was no more than 3,500 pesh-merga but the Kurds managed to beat off the attack.

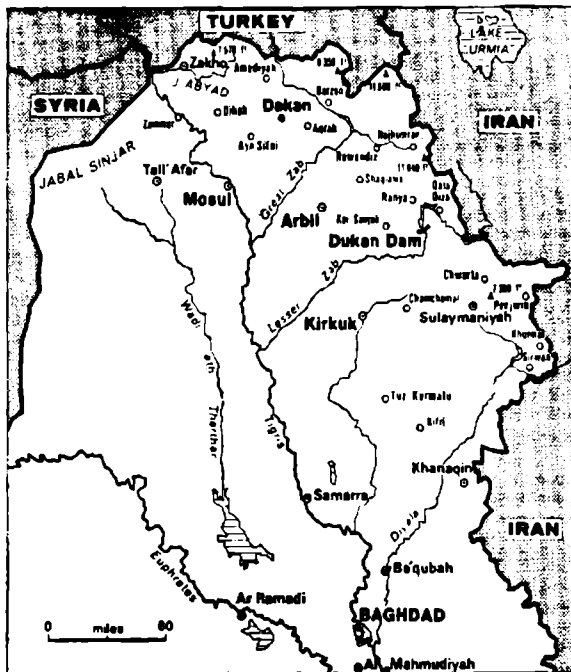
On September 18, we started out for the southern front in the Qala Disa district. Three days of travel enabled us to measure the full horror of the war: Migs and Hawker Hunters dived on villages where we stopped for rest; women and children ran for cover in makeshift shelters. In the small village of Sultan Ahmed, two Ilyushins dropped napalm bombs on a house. Fourteen persons were burned to death.

Organized insurgents

In each village we met the elected chief and also found a delegate from the party, a teacher sent by the revolutionary leaders, a nurse who had been trained at headquarters: we were in a Kurdistan that was fighting on all fronts.

A school to train party members has been functioning for the past six months in Nao-Perdam. A training centre for "soldiers of knowledge" was set up two years ago. Some 275 schools have been opened in "free territory."

KURDISTAN AND THE PRESS



LE MONDE — Weekly Selection,

November 12, 1969

A new political awareness has been born. The dead are mourned but the struggle goes on. The Kurds have taken heart from ever-growing signs of fatigue and demoralization in the government ranks. Regular soldiers and Kurdish mercenaries have deserted to join the guerrillas. One of them, Laoka Surahi, with whom we were able to talk, went over to the guerrillas with 101 men from the 22nd Shakiwa Brigade. He claims that he was "sickened" by the spread of massacres and reprisals.

A mercenary in the government ranks earns ten dinars (roughly \$30) a month. A Kurdish guerrilla is paid only one dinar a month. But money no longer counts, he said.

Sporadic fighting continued around Mount Salfin but the victory of the pesh-merga seemed only a matter of time. A communiqué from the Kurdish headquarters announced that Abdel Wahab Karim, member of the Iraqi Baath Party's national executive, had been killed in an attack. The same day, Radio Baghdad announced that he had died in a car accident near Mount Salfin. He was given a state funeral.

We spent two days in the thick of fighting. The front moved along the top of a mountain range which separates the Qala Disa plain (liberated at the end of May following bloody fighting that lasted thirty-five days) and the Ranya flatlands. The pesh-merga harassed the government posts to prevent a counter-attack from developing.

Throughout the day, artillery fire kept us moving from one shelter to the next. The mountains were stripped and burned by incendiary bombs.

Mig fighters flew over us once or twice a day, diving, climbing, diving again and shooting at anything that moved. They left an eerie silence behind them.

The Dukan Dam, south of the Ranya plain, was prized by the government as a strategic stronghold. Although the dam's waters could cause great damage if released, Dukan's location at a main crossroad in flat country, made it easy to defend by air and ground. Baghdad had long deemed the position to be invulnerable.

The pesh-merga struck at Dukan during the night of September 20-21. From our vantage point twenty miles away, we could hear the rumbles of battle until one o'clock, when the camp fell and the leader of the Kurdish attack, Colonel Assiz, sat down victoriously in the Iraqi commander's armchair. Fighting had been fierce, and the camp had been cleared of its last defenders by knife.

The pesh-merga controlled Dukan for three hours but pulled out at dawn in order to avoid massacres.

A hard blow, however, had been struck to Iraqi morale. Before abandoning the camp, the guerrillas destroyed thirty tanks, ten armoured cars, six trucks, ten heavy guns and six fortified positions. They carried off many weapons and considerable amounts of ammunition and equipment. Casualties were high: ten pesh-merga fighters were killed in the assault and forty-one seriously wounded. Government losses were reportedly higher.

Despite this setback, the Iraqi government did not halt its offensive. On September 24, Jalal Talabani, leader of the Kurdish minority that remains loyal to Baghdad, personally led Kurdish mercenaries into battle against guerrillas near Sulaymaniyah. They were quickly routed, with a loss of twenty-one dead.

For the moment, the Kurds still hold the terrain, but other battles lie in store for them. Their livestock has been slaughtered, their crops burned. The rebels must feed the Kurdish population and provide medical treatment to more than 1 million people... with only two doctors.

Meanwhile, the Iraqi government continues to refer to the "Kurdish problem" and to "clashes" with the "Barzanist bandits." It reassures world opinion that "the Kurdish language will henceforth be taught in the senior classes of secondary schools, and in the universities."

MARC ALAIN

KURDISTAN AND THE PRESS

THE TIMES FRIDAY MARCH 13 1970

Kurds' leader backs pact with Iraq

From Our Correspondent

Beirut, March 12

Mullah Mustafa Barzani, the Kurdish leader known as the "Red Mullah", in a message read over Baghdad radio last night put his seal to the agreement between the Iraq Government and the Kurdish rebels which had earlier been announced in a broadcast by President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr.

The Mullah said that the agreement granted the Kurds their just and equal rights and announced that he and his

Kurdish Democratic Party (K.D.P.) were bound by its terms and would cooperate with the revolutionary Government in Baghdad.

The agreement recognizes the right of nearly a million Kurds to autonomy within the Iraq Republic. The Districts inhabited by the Kurds in the north are to be unified administratively. Their boundaries will be defined by agreement between Kurdish leaders and a higher committee, presumably representing Arabs and Kurds, which will supervise the carrying out of the pact.

Until this area is unified there is to be coordination in governing it between the governors of the Kurdish districts and the Government in Baghdad.

The provisional constitution is being amended to recognize the Kurdish language as an official one, together with Arabic, in the Kurdish area. The Kurds will be represented in the legislature, in the Government and the Services in proportion to their strength among the population of Iraq, which is believed to be about 15 per cent.

There is to be a Kurdish Vice-President and the Kurdish holiday, the *Nawroz*, is to become a national holiday as a sign of unity.

The cultural rights of the Kurds are recognized. They will have a weekly and a monthly publication in Kurdish. Kurds or other people with fluent Kurdish are to be employed in the Civil Service in the north. Kurdish students are to be given a proportion of seats in universities, colleges and military academies and the Kurds will have their own university in Suleimaniya.

The Financial Times Friday March 13 1970

Kurds get their own way

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BEIRUT, March 12.

IRAQI troops in Northern Iraq have begun to withdraw following the agreement announced yesterday between Government and Kurdish insurgents under Mulla Mustafa Barzani, according to informed travellers from Baghdad to-day.

They said withdrawal is one of the secret provisions in the agreement that will not be announced. The Government was reported to have maintained two whole divisions in the north totalling about 35,000 men. Under the secret provision, the Government, travellers said, will keep a token force in Kurdish areas, and a special security force to guard the oil-fields and installations in Kirkuk. In future, movement of troops in Kurdish areas for national security reasons would be subject to Kurdish approval, they added.

Another secret provision provides that Kurds will retain their irregular army called Pesh Mergha, as a national guard to police Kurdish areas where Kurds now are to exercise autonomy. Pesh Mergha is said to total 12,000 men.

Furthermore, the Government is

to disband the "Saladdin Horsemen," the irregulars which the Iraqi Army had recruited from anti-Barzani Kurds to fight the insurgents. The Anti-Barzani Kurdish faction led by Jalal Talabi will also be dropped completely, travellers said, and claimed the Government used to pay Talabi and his followers about £50,000 each month to keep up the fight against Barzani.

The nine-year Kurdish war was said to have cost the Government £1,000m., plus thousands of casualties on both sides.

SELF RULE

According to informed sources the Iraqi Government has sent a letter to the United Nations asking for a statistics expert to supervise the forthcoming census of the Iraqi population in the north. The census will determine the areas where the Kurdish majority resides.

The agreement yesterday said these areas will be united in one district and become one administrative unit where Kurds will exercise self rule.

Travellers expect the Kurdish vice-president, who is to be appointed soon as provided in yesterday's agreement, to be one of the following three:

Idris Barzani, eldest son of Mulla Mustafa; Fuad Arif, a former Kurdish Minister, or Dr. Mahmoud Osman, secretary-general of Barzani's Kurdish Democratic Party and who led the Kurdish negotiating team to Baghdad.

Reports said Barzani is reluctant to have any official office personally, and does not want his son to have one, either. Dr. Osman is believed to be his favourite. Dr. Osman to-day stood side by side with President Ahmed Hassan Al Bakr on the balcony of the Presidential Palace in Baghdad waving to huge Arab and Kurdish crowds which demonstrated in support of the Kurdish-Government agreement. For the first time Barzani's name was cheered in Baghdad. This was when Dr. Osman declared in the name of the Kurdish leader that Kurds will stand by Arabs in the fight against Israel.

KURDISTAN AND THE PRESS

THE TIMES THURSDAY MARCH 12 1970

War with Kurds ends in Iraq

By NICHOLAS HERBERT

Peace was reported yesterday to have broken out in the long battle between the Iraq Government and the Kurdish rebels in the north who have been struggling for autonomy for more than a decade. The Iraq news agency said that all fighting had stopped.

Saddam Husain al-Takriti, the Deputy Chairman of the ruling Revolutionary Command Council in Baghdad, was quoted as saying that the settlement was not a temporary truce as in the past, but "a complete, substantial, political and constitutional solution ensuring brotherhood for all time between Arabs and Kurds".

President Ahmed Hassan Al-bakr said in a broadcast on Baghdad radio last night that part of the agreement called for amendments to the Iraq constitution to create two nationalities.

He said the two nationalities would be designated Arab and Kurdish. The state would have a Kurdish vice-president, a new post, and Kurdish would be the official language with Arabic in those areas where Kurds are in the majority.

Given a certain tendency to hyperbole in the Baathist temperament and considering the past history of the Kurdish dispute, the announcement will be received with caution.

Yet encouraging noises had

been coming from Baghdad for several months and some kind of rapprochement was obviously being attempted with Mullah Mustapha Barzani, aged 69, the Kurdish nationalist leader.

Another member of Iraq's ruling council, perhaps more realistic than his colleague, was quoted recently as saying that a 10-year-old wound cannot be bandaged in one day.

Since 1958, when the monarchy was overthrown and fighting with the Kurds became perennial, there have been numerous truces and settlements which have all foundered.

The most notable was concluded on June 29, 1966 by Dr. Abdul Rahman al Bazzaz, the then Prime Minister, who is now in a Baghdad prison.

His 12-point peace agreement provided for a good deal of autonomy for the Kurds, the use of Kurdish in schools, Kurdish representation in the National Assembly under a permanent constitution, a general amnesty and resettlement of those displaced by the fighting.

With Dr. Bazzaz's fall hopes that this agreement could be implemented faded fast and for most of last year Mr. Barzani's supporters were complaining bitterly of Iraq atrocities in what they said was fierce fighting.

More recently, however, the Baghdad Government was reported to have given up its alliance with Jalal Talabani, a

collaborationist Kurd, in an effort to placate Barzani.

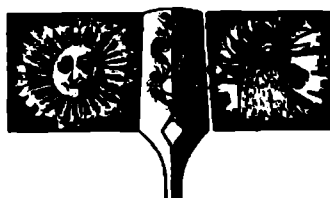
In February, the Baathist newspaper Al Thawra invited the Kurdish leadership to purge itself of secessionists, imperialist agents and feudalists. It also suggested that the Government's main objection was to demands for a specific geographic zone in which Kurds would be autonomous.

What was needed was to create in a democratic atmosphere a constitutional and administrative situation in which the Kurds could exercise their rights all over Iraq not just in the north, the newspaper added.

This may give a clue as to what has been done, although still later it was reported that the administrative future of Kirkuk, an oil producing area, was in dispute and was preventing agreement.

Iraq has every reason to want peace with the Kurds at present. Apart from the demands of the Arab-Israel situation, which has taken Iraq forces into Jordan and brought militant Palestinian guerrillas to Iraq, there is the simmering dispute with Iran over the Shatt-al-Arab at the head of the Gulf.

Nor has the regime's internal position shown any more stability than usual. No wonder that Mr. Takriti said settlement of the Kurdish problem was an achievement equal in historical importance to the July Revolution, which overthrew the monarchy.



KURDISTAN AND THE PRESS

Iraq—peace in the North and a bloodbath in Baghdad

BEIRUT—The Iraqi government last weekend declared a general amnesty for Kurdish rebels and civilians in a move to end nearly nine years of guerrilla war in the north of the country.

In a Sunday broadcast the Baghdad government confirmed the amnesty proposals contained in a communiqué published on June 29, 1968, which also guarantees autonomy to the Kurds of Iraq and recognizes their language as the official tongue in provinces with a Kurdish majority.

Last weekend's announcement follows the visit to Baghdad earlier this month of three representatives of the Kurdish insurgents—Salah Yussefi, Dara Osman and Dara Tewfik.

Thus, the highly nationalist Baathist Party—whose own programme calls for the unity of the Arab nation from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic—has come to recognize the aspirations of General Mustapha Barzani's hard-fighting Kurds.

Over recent months the guerrillas have held out for exact application of the 1968 communiqué, and it is an indication of the Baghdad government's seriousness that it has promised to abide by just these terms, despite some internal opposition.

Certainly much of the army was committed to the principle of a "pacification by force," and negotiations with the rebels were carried on in the utmost secrecy while the military went on with its task.

The secrecy of negotiations was further ensured by the government's public refusal to recognize General Barzani as leader of the Kurds. They had established Baathist supporter Jalal Talabani as head of a faction aiming at a Kurdistan administered within the framework of the Iraqi state and the Arab nation.

"Kurdish nationalism is a legitimate sentiment, in no way suspect, whose goals have been distorted. Not being an imperialist creation it does not conflict with the Arab revolution," he wrote.

But recently, Mr. Talabani was exiled by the Iraqi regime, while the government may also have taken advantage of last week's abortive coup d'état to eliminate pockets of opposition in the army. More than forty persons were hanged on charges of complicity in the conspiracy.

Certainly, most of the victims of the post-plot repression were rightists or pro-Westerners. On the other hand, the government took the unprecedented step of denying rumours that General Barzani had been involved in the conspiracy.

Concurrently, President Ahmed Hassan el Bakr might have been clearing the way for his government's policy of an "opening to the Left and to the East."

This has been reflected in the incorporation of Communist Party members into his cabinet, and a variety of economic concessions to the Eastern European countries.

The 1968 communiqué which spelled out the details of Kurdish autonomy was elaborated under the government of former Prime Minister Abdel Rahman Bazzaz. It is exceptional in the guarantees that it offers for the implementation of the agreement.

Mr. Bazzaz has recently been under house arrest, but the latest announcement seems likely to be followed by his release and rehabilitation.

His release might prove a much needed trump card in the government's hand. The former prime minister still enjoys considerable popularity in the country—a fact the present regime cannot afford to ignore.

Despite its severity and hostile repercussions abroad, the repression that followed the plot undoubtedly strengthened the gov-

ernment's hand. It neutralized groups of officers who felt that there should be no compromise with the Kurds and that the insurrection should be put down by force whatever the cost.

The government seems to have emerged in a stronger position from this "trial of strength," and some even suggest that it was responsible for provoking—if not concocting—the coup attempt.

Whatever the truth of the matter, the regime is anxious to mobilize public opinion against the inevitable cries of "capitulation" which will be heard in some quarters. The release of Mr. Bazzaz should help to some extent to win goodwill and political support.

Twelve points

The talks which led to the present settlement began in June 1968, in Beirut, with the Kurds categorically refusing to accept any basis for negotiation other than the twelve points worked out with Mr. Bazzaz and his government.

They began in the apartment of influential Baathist leader and theorist Michel Aflak, a Syrian who has been living in the Lebanese capital since October 1968.

The talks continued throughout the summer, and by October the negotiators appeared to have reached a detailed agreement and an atmosphere of mutual confidence had been established.

Mr. Aflak took it upon himself to use his considerable prestige as Baathist founder to "condition" party militants to the idea of an accommodation with the rebel Kurds. For there were many who felt that any compromise represented something barely short of doctrinal heresy.

He discussed the matter in *El Ahrar*, organ of the Iraqi Baathist Party published in Beirut.

KURDISTAN AND THE PRESS



LE MONDE Weekly Selection,

January 28, 1970

From our correspondent
EDOUARD SAAB

Mr. Afk went on to say that Arabs and Kurds had lived as brothers for centuries and stressed the importance of "thwarting the designs of imperialists who seek to open a gulf of hatred between the two peoples."

There are some 8 to 10 million Kurds in an area extending over parts of Iraq, Syria, Turkey and Lebanon.

An important provision of the communiqué, which seems likely to bring an end to hostilities, dispenses the insurgents from handing over their arms in order to profit from the amnesty.

After referring to the 1966 communiqué last Sunday's broadcast said the government had decided that "a general amnesty was to be granted to all civilians and soldiers who had participated in the events in the North."

"All... are released from the obligation to hand over their arms and ammunition. The authorities are invited to reinstate civil servants who were dismissed as a result of the events."

The 1966 communiqué also made provision for a special ministry responsible for the reconstruction of the northern provinces. Kurdish military and police personnel will be permitted to rejoin their units.

If the communiqué does bring peace, it will mean the first trouble-free period in the north of the country since early 1962.

The Financial Times Thursday March 12 1970

Iraq gives autonomy to 1½m. Kurds

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BEIRUT, March 11.

THE IRAQI Government to-night announced that, with the aim of ending the nine-year-old Kurdish war, it was giving autonomy to 1½m. Kurds who live in the north of the country.

The news was given in a radio and television broadcast by President Ahmed Hassan al Bakr, who proclaimed to-morrow as a national holiday so that Kurds and Arabs might celebrate the occasion. "A new page in Iraq's life has been turned," the President announced. The radio announcer who introduced him said the Kurdish-Government agreement was "one of the greatest achievements in Iraq and the Arab world within the past ten years."

Earlier, Sidam Hussein, vice-chairman of the Revolution Command Council, who led the Iraqi team to the negotiations with the insurgent leader Mulla Mustafa Barzani, emphasised: "This is not a mere truce or cease-fire but a permanent establishment of Arab-Kurdish brotherhood."

President Bakr said henceforth Arabs and Kurds in Iraq would devote their joint energies to fighting "the common enemy, Israel, and world imperialisms."

To-night's agreement releases the Iraqi Army from heavy commitments in fighting Kurds and leaves it free to turn to the current confrontation with neighbouring Persia, and to fighting Israel. The agreement deprived the Persian Government of a former ally in Barzani's person against the Iraqi régime. Persians had in the past provided Kurds with military assistance.

The agreement provides the Kurds with more rights and privileges than those they got under the arrangement they reached with the former Premier, Dr. Abdelrahman Bazzaz, in June, 1966.

For the first time in any Iraqi declaration on Kurds the word "autonomy" was used to refer to the self-government Kurds are to get now under the 15-article declaration issued in the name of the R.G., the country's highest executive authority.

A Kurdish vice-president is to be appointed, and the declaration implied that a legislature is in the making. The R.C. currently exercises both legislative and executive powers.

The provisional constitution is to be revised to state that the Iraqi people "are formed of two nationalities, Arab and Kurdish."

Article 14 is the crux of the agreement. It provides for unification of the areas in Northern Iraq, where Kurds form the majority, into one administrative unity to be run by Kurdish civil servants. The article, however, made a condition that exploitation of the natural resources in the northern area will be the responsibility of the Baghdad Government. This is obviously a reference to the oil wealth centred in Kirkuk.

A "higher committee" has been formed to carry out these measures.

Richard Johns writes: Although there has been no confirmation of the agreement from Mullah Mustafa Barzani's headquarters at Rawanduz, Kurdish sources in London last night had no doubt that a settlement had been reached.

The continuance of the force of the irregulars which has defied the well equipped Iraqi army for nearly a decade is seen as a necessary guarantee of any settlement.

However, the Kurdish sources were reassured by the mention in the Baghdad announcement of the word "autonomy" — which they say has been used officially for the first time.

KURDISTAN AND THE PRESS

THE ECONOMIST MARCH 21, 1970

Two nations in one state

If the Kurdish peace sticks—and at least it looks more like doing so than the previous attempts at a settlement—it will make Iraq's constitution unique in the Middle East. Iraq will be virtually two nations, Arab and Kurd. But the Moslem faith links the two peoples of different language and race. And, as Sunni Moslems, the Kurds will bolster the Baathists' Sunni leadership, reasserting a Sunni majority over those Arabs who are Shia Moslems.

The Kurds—some 1.5 million people out of Iraq's total population of 9 million—will have administrative autonomy in all areas where they predominate; but Baghdad will deal with such matters as oil and development. Thus it should not be beyond human wit to apportion responsibility at Kirkuk, Iraq's major oilfield, should the Kurds prove their claim to outnumber other people living there. At present they do not do so, since so many Kurds were driven out of the district during their nine years in revolt. Nor has it ever been established that they did, in the past, outnumber the local Arabs and Assyrians. But the Kurds are to be repatriated before a census is taken.

The Kurds have won a great victory in obtaining their right to autonomy and also—by, reportedly, a secret treaty—to retain their own militia. What is openly

accepted is that their heavy arms and their radio station are not to be handed over until all 14 clauses of their agreement with Baghdad are in force. Their leader, Mullah Mustapha Barzani, who has warmly welcomed the agreement, needs to keep his military apparatus intact both as a guarantee for the settlement and to carry his soldiers with him along the unfamiliar road to peace.

It may still be a road full of obstacles. The test of an enduring settlement may well be in the Baghdad government's ability to associate Kurds in practice as well as theory in all policy-making decisions. Only so can the two nations coalesce. There remains the more distant question of whether the project, if successful, will give ideas to the other 5 million Kurds, in Turkey, Syria and Iran. In Syria they appear to be assimilated and in Turkey, where they are known as "Mountain Turks," have caused no concern for many years. But the Iranian Kurds have been helping their brothers in revolt in Iraq and some have bitter-sweet memories of their own brief period of Russian-aided autonomy in 1946.

FICTION

SAUVE QUI PEUT

by Lawrence Durrell

We dips (said Antrobus) are brought up to be resourceful, to play almost any part in life, to be equal to any emergency almost — how else could one face all those foreigners? But the only thing for which we are not prepared, old man, is blood.

Blood?

Blood!

Mind you, I am thinking of exceptional cases, out-of-the-way incidents; but they are not as rare as one might imagine. Old Gulliver, for example, was invited to an execution in Saigon to which he felt it was his duty to go. It affected him permanently, it damaged his concentration. His head is quite over on one side, he twitches, his ears move about. Unlucky man! I cannot claim an experience as radical as his, but I can speak of one which was almost as bad. Imagine, one fine day we are delivered a perfectly straightforward invitation card on which we read (with ever-widening eyes) the following text or something like it:

His Excellency Hacsmit Bey and Madame Hacsmit Bey joyfully invite you to the Joyful Circumcision of their son Hacsmit Hacsmit Abdul Hacsmit Bey. Morning dress and decorations. Refreshments will be served.

You can imagine the long slow wail that went up in the Chancery when first this intelligence was brought home to us. Circumcision! Joyfully! Refreshments! "By God, here is a strange lozenge-shaped affair!" cried De Mandeville, and he was right.

Of course, the Embassy in question was a young one, the country it represented still in the grip of mere folklore. But still I mean... The obvious thing was to plead indisposition, and this we did as one man. But before we could post off our polite, almost Joyful refusals to these amiable Kurds, Polk-Mowbray called a general meeting in Chancery. He was pensive, he was pale and grave, quite the Hamlet. "I suppose you have all received this" he said, holding up a pasteboard square on which the dullest eye could descry the sickle and minarets of the Kurdish Arms with the sort of crossed cruets underneath.

"Yes" we chorused.

"I suppose you have all refused" went on our Chief, "and in a way, I am glad. I don't want my Mission to develop a taste for blood... these things grow on one. But it does raise rather a problem, for the Kurds are a young, buoyant, up-and-coming little country with a rapidly declining economy, and they are fearfully touchy. It is inconceivable that HMG should not be represented at this affair by one of us. Besides, who

knows, it might be informal, touching, colourful, even instructive... what the devil? But *someone* should be there; we just can't ignore two-legged Kurds in the modern world. The next thing is they will vote against us in UNO. You take my point?

"Well, I have sat up all night worrying about the affair, and (having no taste for blood myself) have arrived at a perfectly democratic solution which I know you will approve and I hope you will respect."

From behind his back came his left hand holding a packet of straws.

"Whoever draws the shortest straw will represent us" he cried shrilly. We all paled to the gums but what could we do? It was a command. Closing our eyes, tips moving in prayer, we drew. Well and... yes, of course I did. I drew that short straw.

I let out — I could not help it — a rueful exclamation, almost a shout. "But surely, Sir..." I cried. But Polk-Mowbray, his face full of compassion, smote me on the shoulder. "Antrobus" he said, "I could not have wished for anyone more reliable, more circumspect, more jolly unflinching, anyone less likely to faint. I am glad — yes, glad with all my heart that fate should have chosen you. *Courage, mon vieux.*"

This was all very well. I wasn't a bit cockered up by all this praise. My lip trembled, voice faltered. "Is there no other way?" I cried out in my anguish, gazing from face to stony face. There wasn't it would seem. Polk-Mowbray shook his head with a kind of sweet sadness, like a Mother Superior demobbing a novice. "It is *Kismet*, Antrobus" he said and I felt a sort of coffin-lid close on me. I squared my shoulders and let my chin fall with a thump onto my chest. I was a beaten man. I thought of my old widowed mother in St Abdomen in the Wold — what would she say if she knew? I thought of many things. "Well" I said at last. "So be it." I must say, everyone brightened up, looked awfully relieved. Moreover, for the next few days I received every mark of consideration from my colleagues. They spoke to me in Hushed Voices, Hushed Commiserating Voices, as if I were an invalid; they tiptoed about for fear of disturbing my reveries. I thought of a hundred ways out of the affair but none of them seemed practicable. I went so far as to sit in a draught hoping I would catch pneumonia; I hinted broadly that I would surrender my stalls for the Bolshoi to anyone kind enough to replace me — in vain.

At last the day dawned; there was nothing for it but to climb into sponge-bag and hoist gongs. At last I was ready. The whole Chancery was lined up to shake my

hand and see me off. Polk-Mowbray had put the Rolls at my disposal, pennant and all. "I've told the driver to take a First-Aid Kit with him" he said hoarsely. "One never knows in these matters." You would have thought that I was to be the sacrificial lamb from the way he went on. De Mandeville pressed his smelling-salts into my hand and said brokenly "Do give little Abdul all our sympathy." As for Dovebasket, he pressed his Leica upon me saying "Try and get a close-up. The Sunday Times colour sup is crying out for something new and they pay like fiends – I'll split with you. It's one chance in a million to scoop Tony." The little blackhead! But I was too broken to speak. I handed the thing back without a word and stepping into the car cried faintly "To the Kurdish Embassy, Tobias."

The Kurds had everything arranged most tastefully, I must say; lots of jolly decent-looking refreshments laid out in a huge marquee on the back lawn. Here we dips congregated. I noticed that most Missions had sent acting vice-consuls smelling for the most part of brandy and looking pale and strained. Now the Kurds may be a young nation but they look as crafty as some of the older. The Mission was dressed in spanking *tenue* but in one corner, presiding over a side-table covered in grisly-looking Stone Age instruments, stood a small group of sinister men clad in horse-blankets of various colours. They had shaven skulls and purple gums and they conversed in a series of dry clicks like Bushmen. Faces which suggested nothing so much as open-cast coal-mining. This, I took it, was the Medical Wing of the Kurdish Embassy – the executioners. But where was the little beardless youth in whose honour all this joyful frolic had been arranged? I went so far as to ask.

"Ah" cried the Ambassador, "he will be here in a minute. He is on his way from the airport. He arrived from London this afternoon." I was a bit puzzled by this, but... Kurds have their own way of doing things. "And think of it!" went on the Head of Mission, clasping his hands. "Abdul knows nothing of all this. It is a surprise for him, a little surprise. He will be very joyful when he sees..." He waved at the group of executioners. Well, I thought to myself, let joy be unconfined, and tried to draw strength from some rather good *rahat lokoum* – Turkish Delight – which I found in a corner. After all, one could close one's eyes, or turn the head; one needn't actually *look*, I told myself.

Luckily my fears were groundless. Imagine our collective surprise when Abdul bounded into the tent to embrace his mother and father: instead of some puling adolescent, we beheld a tough-looking youth of some twenty summers with a handsome moustache and a frank open countenance. This was to be the victim! I must say, his frank open countenance clouded as he took in the import of the business. He showed every sort of unwillingness to enter into the full joyfulness of the occasion. Wouldn't you? Moreover, he was just down from Oxford where he had not only taken a good degree, but had got his boxing blue. His mother and

father looked troubled and began to urge, to plead, in Kurdish.

But he respectfully declined, giving every mark of disapprobation. He shook his head violently and his eye flashed. At last his father lost patience and motioned to the thugs in the corner. He was going to force him to enter into the joyfulness of the occasion. But the young man had learned something at Oxford. With a right and left he sent two sprawling; the others climbed on his back. A terrible fracas broke out. Cartwheeling round like a top with the Kurds on his back, Abdul mowed half the Corps down and upset the trestle tables; then, reversing, knocked the tent-pole out and and the whole thing collapsed on us in a billowing cloud of coloured stuff. Shouts, yells... I lost my topper, but managed to crawl out from under. I tottered to the gate yelling for Tobias. All I got out of the affair was the box of Turkish Delight which I shared round the Chancery. It met with approval and I was the hero of the hour. Compliments? They fairly forked them up to me. Polk-Mowbray was in two minds about the sort of figure I had cut, but after giving it thought he summed the matter up jolly sagely. "In diplomacy" he said, "it is so often a case of *saue qui peut*."

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TS DOCUMENTS DOCUMENTS

THE TEXT OF THE 11th MARCH, 1970 AGREEMENT

"(1) Kurdish shall be an official language alongside Arabic in the areas where Kurds constitute the majority of the population. Kurdish shall be the language for teaching in these areas. Arabic shall be taught in all schools which use Kurdish as a teaching medium while Kurdish shall be taught as a second language in all other schools throughout Iraq in accordance with the limits prescribed by law.

"(2) The participation of our Kurdish brothers in the Government without discrimination between Kurds and non-Kurds in appointments to public posts, including important and key posts in the State such as Cabinet ministries, Army commands, and other such posts, had been and still is one of the important points which the Revolution Government aims to achieve. While approving of this principle the Revolution Government reiterates the need for work to apply it in just proportion, taking into consideration qualifications, population proportion and the deprivations which our Kurdish brothers have suffered in the past.

"(3) In view of the backwardness which afflicted the Kurds in the past, both culturally and educationally, a plan shall be drawn up to redress this backwardness by means of the following:

"(a) The speeding up of the implementation of the Revolution Command Council's resolutions concerning the linguistic and cultural rights of the Kurdish people, and the control of the preparation and direction of the programmes relevant to Kurdish national affairs on radio and television at the General Directorate for the Kurdish Information and Culture.

"(b) The return of school students forced to abandon their studies because of the violence in the area, irrespective of their actions, or finding suitable solutions to their problem.

"(c) Increasing the number of schools in the Kurdish area, raising the Kurds' standard of education, and accepting Kurdish students in the universities and military academies and granting them scholarships in just proportion.

"(4) Officials in the administrative units inhabited

by a Kurdish majority shall be Kurds, or Kurdish-speaking persons should the required number of Kurdish officials already exist. Key officials – such as governors, district officers, police chiefs, and public security chiefs – shall be appointed and immediately begin developing the State machinery in the area after consultation with the Supreme Committee entrusted with the implementation of this statement, to ensure this implementation and to buttress national unity and stability in the area.

"(5) The Government accepts the Kurdish people's right to establish student, youth, women's and teachers' organisations of their own. These organisations shall become members of similar national Iraqi organisations.

"(6) (a) The operation of paragraphs one and two of Revolution Command Council Resolution No.59 of August 5, 1968, shall be extended until the date of issue of this statement, and shall be made to cover all those accused of committing acts of violence in the Kurdish area.

"(b) Workers, officials and employees, both civilian and military, shall be reinstated in the service, without taking into consideration questions of establishment. The civilians shall be employed in the Kurdish area in accordance with the needs of that area.

"(7) (a) A body of specialists shall be formed to raise the standard of the Kurdish area in all fields in the shortest possible time and to compensate it for the losses it suffered in recent years, and to allocate a sufficient budget for achieving this. The body shall be attached to the Northern Affairs Ministry.

"(b) An economic plan shall be drawn up to ensure the development and equality of all parts of Iraq after taking into consideration the conditions of backwardness in the Kurdish area.

"(c) Pensions shall be allocated for the families of those martyrs who fell during the regrettable fighting, be they members of the Kurdish armed movement or others. Pensions shall also be granted to those who have been disabled or disfigured because of the conditions in the North in accordance with special legislation

based on the laws in force.

"(d) Immediate action will be taken to provide relief to the victims and the needy in housing and other projects, ensuring work for the unemployed, and providing suitable assistance in cash and in kind and reasonable compensation to the victims who need assistance. This will be done through the Supreme Committee. Persons affected by the previous paragraphs are exempted from this.

"(8) People of Arab and Kurdish villages shall be returned to their former places of residence. If the areas cannot be used as residential areas and are requisitioned by the Government for the public interest and in accordance with law, the people will be resettled in neighbouring areas and shall be compensated for resulting damages.

"(9) There will be immediate action to apply agrarian reform in the Kurdish area and to adjust it in such a way as to liquidate feudalistic relations. All peasants shall obtain suitable plots of land and shall be exempt from arrears in agricultural tax which have accumulated during the years of regrettable fighting.

"(10) It was agreed to amend the provisional Constitution as follows:

"(a) The Iraqi people consist of two main nationalities, the Arabs and Kurdish nationalities. The Constitution will acknowledge Kurdish national rights and the rights of all minorities within the Iraqi unity.

"(b) The following paragraph will be added to Article Four of the Constitution: The Kurdish language will be an official language in addition to the Arabic language in the Kurdish area.

"(c) The above shall be stated in the permanent Constitution.

"(11) The radio station and the heavy weapons will be returned to the Government. This will be connected with implementation of the final stages of the agreement.

"(12) One of the Vice-Presidents of the Republic will be a Kurd.

"(13) The Governorates Law will be amended in harmony with the contents of this statement.

"(14) After this statement is broadcast, the necessary measures will be taken by consultation with the Supreme Supervisory Committee to unify the provinces and the administrative units with majority Kurdish populations in accordance with an official census to be carried out. The State will strive to develop this administrative unit and deepen and expand the Kurdish people's exercise of their rights in this unit to ensure that they enjoy

self-government. Until this administrative unit is achieved, Kurdish national affairs will be co-ordinated in periodic meetings between the Supreme Committee and the Northern Region Governorate. Since self-government will take place within the framework of the Iraqi Republic, the exploitation of the natural resources in this Region will of course be within the jurisdictions of the powers of this Republic.

"(15) The Kurdish people will take part in the legislative authority in accordance with the proportion of the Kurdish population.



A Persh Merga camp somewhere in Kurdistan



Moment of relaxation for the hard pressed Persh Mergas

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THE KURDS AS IN ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA

KURDS, the name applied since the 7th century A.D. to western Iranians and neighbouring iranized peoples established astride the mountain systems of the Zagros and the eastern extension of the Taurus.

Their ethnic origins are uncertain. The Kurtioi or Cyrtii of Atropatania Media and Persis mentioned by Polybius (c. 200–120 B.C.) and later by Strabo and Livy were probably Kurds; also possibly the Kardouchoi who attacked Xenophon and the Ten Thousand (401 B.C.) near modern Zakho. The records of the early civilized empires of the plain (Sumer, Akkad, Babylonia and Assyria) contain frequent references to wars on their eastern and northern frontiers with mountain tribes that had names resembling Kurd. Personal names in contemporary documents indicate the presence of Indo-Aryan elements in Mesopotamia in the 16th century B.C. These were followed into the region of the western Persian plateau by the Iranians (*i.e.*, Medes and Persians). Names of Iranian type borne by Median princes are found in Assyrian texts of the 8th century B.C. Thereafter the Medes pushed on westward and southward until by 650 B.C. they dominated the Zagros and beyond. According to Herodotus (book i, 72 and 74) the western boundary of the Median empire was the Halys river, modern Kizil Irmak, having been fixed by a treaty with the Lydians (585 B.C.). The Medes, like the Persians, appear to have constituted an aristocracy controlling a mixed population on whom they imposed their language and their religion.

From about 550 B.C. the Median empire was replaced by the Persian, which was overthrown in 331 B.C. by Alexander the Great at the battle of Gaugamela between Mosul and Irbil. The region formed part of the empires that followed: the Seleucids (333–129 B.C.), the Parthians (247 B.C. to A.D. 226), the Persians Sasanians (226–636), the Arab caliphate (636–1258), the Mongols and the Turkmens (1258–1501). By the 16th century the frontier between the Ottoman-Turkish and the Safawid-Persian empires was more or less stabilized, leaving about three-quarters of the Kurds in Turkey and the rest in Iran. The Kurds thus never have enjoyed anything approaching political unity.

The Kurdish dialects, called Kirmanji, belong to the northwestern division of Iranian languages (*q.v.*) as distinct from the south-western Persian. Though showing minor differences, almost from valley to valley in the

higher altitudes, the dialects fall into two principal groups, northern and southern, the dividing line running approximately from the southern shore of Lake Urmia to the nearest point on the Greater Zab and thence down that river to the Tigris confluence. To the south-east, on a line running roughly from Kermanshah through Karand to Mandali, Kirmanji merges into the Lakki and Luri dialects of the southern Zagros. Within the Kirmanji area there are pockets of another group of dialects (belonging to the central division of Iranian) called Zaza in the northwest and Gorani in the south. Distinguishing characteristics in all the Kirmanji dialects suggest descent from an ancient and powerful basic language, perhaps the Median.

For 600 years after the Arab conquest (A.D. 636) and their conversion to Islam, the Kurds played a recognizable and considerable part in the troubled history of western Asia but as individuals or turbulent groups rather than as a nation. Among the petty Kurdish dynasties that arose during this period the most important were: the Shaddadids ruling a predominantly Armenian population in the Ani and Ganji districts of Transcaucasia (951–1174); the Marwanids of Diyarbakir (900–1096); and the Hasanwaihids of Dinavar in the Kermanshah region (959–1015). The most famous of all Kurds was Salah al-din (Saladin; *q.v.*), the chivalrous opponent of Richard I of England and founder of the Ayyubid dynasty of Egypt and Syria (1169–1250). Less is written of the Kurds under the Mongols and Turkmens, but they again became prominent in the wars between the Ottomans and the Safawids in circumstances favourable to the growth of a feudal system and a chain of semi-independent principalities. In spite of the later centralizing policies of both governments, several of these principalities survived into the first half of the 19th century, notably those of Bohtan, Hakari, Bahdinan, Soran and Baban in Turkey and of Mukri and Ardelan and Persia.

Kurdish nationalism is no recent growth. Before and after the suppression of the principalities, there were frequent risings against the central governments in which the leaders appealed to racial sentiment to rally their followers. A sturdy patriotism animates the work of the poet Ahmad-e Khani of Bayazid (1651–1706), who wrote in the northern dialect, as it does that of many of his successors, notably Haji Qadir of Koi (1815–96), who wrote in the southern dialect. In its modern form,

Kurdish nationalism developed along with similar movements of the other minorities of the Ottoman empire, the Arabs and the Armenians. The first Kurdish newspaper, *Kurdistan*, appeared in 1897 and was published at intervals until 1902 in Cairo, Geneva, London and Folkestone, Eng.; it was revived at Istanbul in 1908 (when the first Kurdish political club, with an affiliated cultural society, was also founded) and again in Cairo during World War I.

World War I marks an important turning point in the history of the Kurdish people. Their aspirations were encouraged by the defeat of Turkey and by point 12 of Pres. Woodrow Wilson's "program of the world's peace" (Jan. 1918), which stipulated that the non-Turkish nationalities of the Ottoman empire should be "assured of an absolute unmolested opportunity of autonomous development." A delegation representing the Kurdish patriotic societies attended the peace conference. The treaty of Sèvres signed in Aug. 1920 by representatives of the Allies and of the sultan, provided for the recognition or creation not only of the three Arab states of Hejaz, Syria and Iraq but also of Armenia and, to the south of it, Kurdistan, which the Kurds of the Mosul vilayet, then in British occupation, would have the right to join. Owing to the military revival of Turkey under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, this treaty was never ratified. It was superseded in 1921 by the treaty of Lausanne, confirming the provision for the Arab states but omitting Armenia and Kurdistan. Mosul was excluded from the settlement, and the question of its future was referred to the League of Nations, which awarded (1925) in favour of Iraq. This was made effective by the treaty of Ankara signed in 1926 by Turkey, Iraq and Great Britain.

Although the treaty of Sèvres was stillborn, this project for an independent Kurdish state on record in an international document was not forgotten. Although not applicable to the Iranian Kurds it excited similar hopes among them; short-lived armed risings occurred. In Turkey the most serious was that of Sheikh Said in the Kharput region (1925), followed by such outbreaks as that near Ararat (1930). For some years after 1920 the Kurds south of the Greater Zab continued to resist incorporation in Iraq, and in 1922-23 Sheikh Mahmud of Sulaymaniyah proclaimed himself king of Kurdistan; in 1931-32 and again in 1944-45 serious risings in Barzan in the extreme north were suppressed with difficulty. In 1922 for several months, and again from 1941 to the end of World War II, Iranian administration virtually ceased to exist in parts of the frontier region, and in Jan. 1946 the Kurdish Republic of Mahabad was set up under the presidency of Qazi Mohammed.

The liberal ideas that had inspired the treaty of Sèvres nevertheless continued to have important consequences, directly in Iran and indirectly in the other countries. In 1925 the League of Nations, endorsing for the whole of Kurdistan in Iraq the policy introduced for the southern part as early as 1918 by the British stipulated that Kurds or those proficient in the Kurdish language should be appointed for the administration of their country, dispensation of justice and teaching, and that Kurdish should be the official language. In 1932, when Iraq

applied for admission to the League of Nations, the council required from the Iraq government a declaration, which was to rank as part of the constitution and an obligation of international concern, reaffirming their rights the Local Languages law was enacted to give it statutory effect. However, a sense of grievance was kept alive by what was considered, not entirely without justification, to be grudging and halfhearted implementation by the government. An article in the temporary constitution of Iraq promulgated immediately after the military *coup d'état* of July 1958, specifically mentioning the Kurds as partners with the Arabs in the state, was therefore warmly welcomed. But hopes of a measure of administrative devolution enhanced status for their language and a fairer share of social services and development projects were not fulfilled, and in 1961 there began a movement of organized resistance marked by alternating periods of open hostilities and uneasy armistice for fruitless negotiations.

Most Kurds are Sunni Muslims of the Shafi'i rite (see Islam). The mystical dervish orders, especially the Qadiri and the Naqshbandi, have numerous adherents. Heterodox sects of interest are the Bechtashi-Qizilbash, the Yezidis (q.v.) and the Ahl-i Haqq, popularly known as Kakai in Iraq and Ali-Ilahi in Iran.

On the basis of the census of 1965, the Kurdish population of Iraq is about 1,550,000. Reliable statistics for other countries are lacking, but 3,200,000 for Turkey, 1,800,000 for Iran, 320,000 for Syria and 80,000 for the U.S.S.R. are acceptable estimates, making a total of about 7,000,000, including Iraq. A figure of 10,000,000 often claimed by nationalists includes the Lakhs and Lurs (Shi'i Muslims with some Ali-Ilahis), who are classed as Kurds in the *Sharafnama* (1596, in Persian), the earliest history of the Kurdish people, but are not covered by the term as generally understood. Islands of Kurds are found isolated from the main body: for instance, in Damascus, Syr., near Aleppo, Syr., and as far away as Ankara, Turk., and in the Iranian provinces of Kazvin, Khurasan and Kerman. Until 1914 the Kurds lived close to Christian communities with a similar mode of life: Armenians of the Anatolian plateau, Old Chaldeans of the Hakari highlands and the adjacent Urmia plain, and Uniate Chaldeans farther south. Relations were reasonably good, but the record was stained from time to time by bloody incidents generally attributable to provocation from outside. After World War I most of these Christians disappeared from Turkey, but several thousand Assyrians, including many from Turkey, remain compactly settled in the Amadiyah district in Iraq. Small colonies, probably dating back to the Babylonian exile, of Jewish weavers, dyers, tanners and peddlers survived in many towns and market villages until after World War II, when they emigrated to Israel.

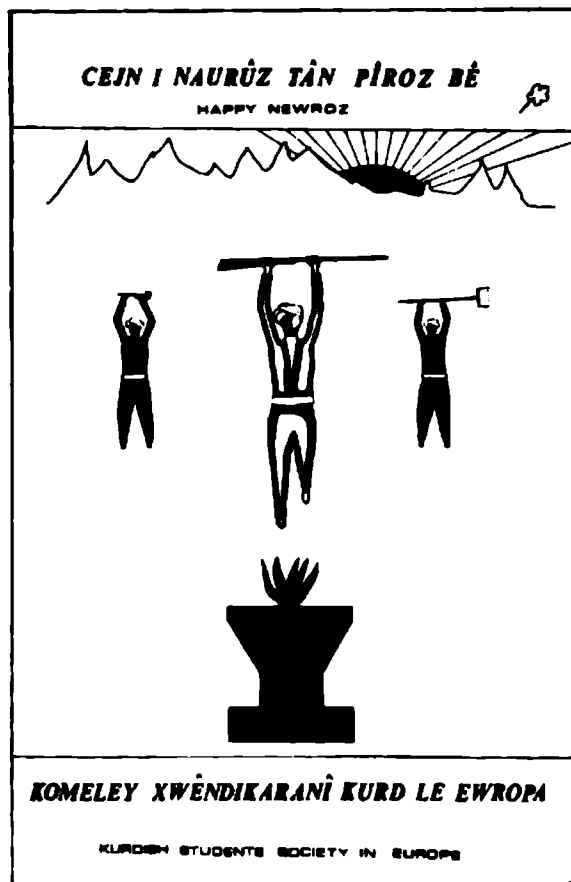
Outside the towns the population consists chiefly of settled agriculturists. Nomads, who lived throughout the year in black goat-hair tents, driving their flocks between the Mesopotamian plains and the highlands of Turkey and Iran, were formerly numerous. But after World War I a combination of economic and government

tal pressures obliged many to turn to agriculture or to assimilate themselves to semionomadic villagers who move their flocks in summer to hillsides within their own frontiers. Improvements in communication, the consolidation of the administrations, the spread of education and the emergence of a new type of labour force, trained in the oil industry and on the great development projects financed by oil royalties, are tending to change the social structure. The traditional tribal or feudal society was based on groups of villages owing allegiance to a hereditary chief, a sheikh of one of the dervish orders, or a landlord, who, in return for certain fees and perquisites, was expected to protect the interests of his peasants vis-a-vis their neighbours or the government.

Kurdish peasant women are said to have enjoyed greater freedom than their Turkish, Persian and Arab neighbours. A number of women of the upper classes have been prominent in tribal administration, local politics, nationalist agitation or even war. The environment was thus favourable for female emancipation, and all classes have been eager to take advantage of any opportunities for modern education.

In Iraq, since 1918, Kurdish has become widely used in private correspondence, and there has been continuous journalistic activity, there also has been a steady if not very prolific output of anthologies, collected works of classical poets, contemporary verse, histories, books on religion and morals, grammars and the like. In Iran, Kurdish newspapers and pamphlets appeared at Mahabad between 1943 and 1946, and in 1959 an official weekly, *Kurdistan*, was inaugurated at Teheran. In Syria for a few years from 1932 onward a monthly magazine and some books were published in both the Arabic and Roman scripts. Kurdish studies are encouraged in Soviet Armenia, where a modified Cyrillic alphabet is used. Programs in Kurdish have been broadcast in Iraq, Iran, Armenia and (for reception abroad) Egypt. In Turkey any manifestation of Kurdish political or cultural activity was firmly discountenanced in the late 1960s.

C.J.E.



NEWS FROM KURDISTAN

The K.D.P.'s Eighth Congress

At 9 a.m. on 1st July 1970, at Naw Pirdan, Mustafa Barzani, Chairman of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (K.D.P.), officially opened the important eighth Congress of the party with a speech in which he called for national unity and peace for the Iraqi people as a whole for a better and democratic future for the Arab and Kurdish peoples.

The Congress was being held at an important juncture in Kurdish history when the citizens of Kurdistan-Iraq have formally secured recognition by the government of their right for autonomy. But the struggle for the realization of this right is by no means over. Hence, the 400 delegates discussed in great detail what should be the role of the K.D.P. in the process of achieving Kurdish national rights and K.D.P.'s views concerning securing a democratic and popular regime in Iraq as a whole. Indeed, the General-Secretary of the party Haval Habeeb Kareem delivered a comprehensive report to the Congress, analysing the present state of affairs in Kurdistan and Iraq. In it he pointed the significance of the 11th March 1970 Agreement as an achievement after the considerable sacrifices given by the Kurdish people. He also emphasised the need for a government which enjoys the confidence and support of the people as the only guarantee against the repetition of all the misfortunes suffered by the people of Iraq throughout its turbulent history.

The Congress attracted a great deal of attention, both at home and abroad. All major Iraqi political parties were represented at the Congress and addressed the delegates. There were also numerous foreign press representatives covering the event. The Kurdish Students Society in Europe had sent a group of representatives to Naw Pirdan.

The general atmosphere at the Congress, according to observers, was remarkable for its freedom of discussion and genuine spirit of constructive analysis by the delegates. Representatives of other parties were truly impressed by this strange phenomenon of political democracy at work at a time when repression and authoritarian methods have become common practice. Details of the new revised K.D.P. Programme and the resolutions of the 8th Party Congress are expected to be published soon.



MUSTAFA BARZANI, Chairman of K.D.P.

MARTYRS' DAY : 9th JUNE

June the ninth has been designated as the Martyrs' Day in Kurdistan in commemoration of all those who have sacrificed their lives in the pursuit of the aims of the Kurdish movement. The month of June carries special memories for the people of Kurdistan: history shows that June has been the favourite month for launching attacks against the Kurdish people. The Kurdish Resistance has lost many courageous men and women fighting for freedom, democracy and social equality and against aggression in the month of June.

The following are some of these events:

June 17, 1919: British troops attack the Kurdish forces led by Shaikh Mahmud in Dervendy Bazuan—Sulaimani.

June 24, 1923: The Treaty of Lausanne (replacing the Treaty of Sevres between the Allies and Turkey —excluding the Kurdish Question and the fate of the Mosul region).

June 28, 1925: The Turkish Government executes 45 persons, among them the Kurdish leader Shaikh Said Piran.

June 19, 1947: Major Izzet Aziz, Captain Mustafa Khoshnaw, Lieutenant Mohammed Kudsi and Lieutenant Kheyrolla Karim, four former officers in the Iraqi Army serving the Kurdish cause in Mehabad, executed by the Iraqi Government.

June 9th, 1963: The Iraqi Army attacks Kurdistan. Kurdish representatives arrested in Baghdad. A savage massacre in Sulaimani. 167 civilians, mostly young, killed in Sulaimani. 70 buried alive by bulldozers. This day is known as The Great Black Day in Kurdistan.

June 20—25, 1963: The town of Koy Sanjak is attacked by the Iraqi Army. Numerous arrests of civilians subjected to torture.

This year the Pesh-Merga officially observed the occasion of the Martyrs' Day by holding a mass rally in Galala at which Dr. Mahmud Osman gave a speech on behalf of the Kurdish leadership. The pupils of Galala Primary School sang various national songs remembering the Martyrs of Kurdistan.

Al-Taakhi Reappears

The newspaper Al-Taakhi has started to appear again. Al-Taakhi has had a chequered life so far: since its first appearance in 1966, it has been suspended twice on charges of violating rules of censorship. The paper is the voice of the Kurdish movement and it has not hesitated in discussing general issues critically and in the light of professional standards of government officials. Currently, it is being edited by Ali Abdullah. We wish Al-Taakhi a longer period of uninterrupted publication this time.

Open Organisations

After the 11th March 1970 Agreement, various organisations in Kurdistan have come into the open and are readjusting themselves to the new situation. Among those are the Kurdistan Student Union; the Kurdistan Union of Democratic Youth; the Kurdistan Women's Association and others. Also a Kurdish Union of Writers has been formed headed by the famous poet Hajar to promote Kurdish literature.

BOOK REVIEWS

REPUBLICAN IRAQ, by Majid Khadduri
318 pp. (Oxford University Press
for Chatham House) 60s.

This is the second book by Professor Khadduri, about modern history of Iraq. The first "Independent Iraq: A Study in Iraqi Politics", covered the period of Iraqi Politics prior to the 14th July 1958 Revolution. This second study, deals with the period immediately preceding the 1958 Revolution to just before the overthrow of Abdul Rahman Aref ten years later.

The book discusses the causes that led to the downfall of the monarchy and gives an account of the new forces and ideologies which are engaged in reshaping the political system—including an outline of the social background of the new leaders, their ideas and aspirations and the new social forces at work. The analysis clearly disposes of the mythical existence of the notion of Iraqi "nation", and the artificial attempts at moulding such a nation. Three fundamental forces are identified which precipitated the Revolution of 1958. First, after World War II nationalism tended to become a revolutionary movement under the impact of radical ideologies. Secondly the growing disenchantment of the new generation with the public policy and the method of rule of the old representing vested interests. Thirdly, the pan-Arab movement which undermined the Old Regime and caused its final collapse.

Professor Khadduri purports to give an account of the Kurdish Question in Iraq, but, surprisingly his approach, in general, to the Kurdish movement is very sketchy and contains many inaccuracies. For example, his statement that, "The Kurdish Democratic Party (K.D.P.), organised shortly before the Revolution was affiliated with the Iraqi Communist Party." First of all he has the actual name wrong: it is "Kurdistan" Democratic Party and not "Kurdish". Second, the party was not formed "shortly before the Revolution" but dates back from 1946. Finally, the claim that K.D.P. was "affiliated" with the Iraqi Communist Party is also inaccurate. This is not to deny that there was a dialogue between the two parties, as indeed there was between the Communist Party on the one hand and the National Democratic Party, Istiglal Party, Baath etc. on the other. If one studies the history of K.D.P. in Kurdistan-Iraq the divergencies between its policies and that of the Communist Party become obvious. Included in the chapter titled "Arab Socialism Reconsidered"(!) is an account of the development of the Kurdish question after the fall of Kassim, discussing the abortive negotiations after February 1963, the Koisinjak Meeting of Kurdish representatives (18 to 22 March 1963), where proposals were prepared and a Committee elected to negotiate with the government and the subsequent resumption of the War on 10th June 1963. Next was a brief cease-fire followed by heavy

fighting until 29 June 1966, when a 12-point programme was announced by Premier Bazzaz as a basis for a settlement of the Kurdish problem.

In spite of its defects this book is a useful addition to the study of modern Iraqi politics, especially the sections discussing and analysing the social realities behind a political development, the political principles and the actors on the Iraqi political stage since 1958.

KURDISTAN and the KURDS

by Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou
304 pp. Collet's, London. 27s.6d.

Though Mr. Ghassemlou's book was published some time ago (1965) it still retains a special position amongst Kurdish studies. The book is a piece of pioneering research into Kurdish politics and society throughout all parts of divided Kurdistan. The author avoids the traditional approach to the study of Kurdish politics, i.e. looking at the Kurdish problem as a romantic endeavour on the part of some colourful type of human beings somewhere in remote mountains of West Asia. This traditional approach was prevalent even up to the late 1950's, mainly because many of the works written about Kurdistan were undertaken as travelogue exercises by individuals not well acquainted with all the facets of the Kurdish problem. The Kurdish Revolution of 11th September 1961 transformed the style of writing about Kurds and Kurdistan radically: the traditional approach was superseded by attempts at studying and presenting the Kurdish movement in its modern context, with particular emphasis on ideological and organisational elements shaping the movement. Prominent among those were Schmidt, Adamson, Kinnane and others.

Ghassemlou not only adopts a "modern" and "scientific" approach but also tackles every aspect of the Kurdish issue thoroughly.

The first part of the book deals with the geographical setting of Kurdistan, the religion, language, literature and history of the Kurdish nation. It also gives an account of the Kurdish struggle for freedom and national rights through numerous uprisings in the 19th and 20th centuries. The economic factor is underlined as constituting a major motive for the arbitrary division of Kurdistan. The origins of the vicious policies of the Turkish, Iranian, Syrian and Iraqi Governments can be traced to this factor.

The second part is an economic survey of Kurdistan, with special reference to the agricultural system prevailing in Kurdistan: the forms of land tenure and land rent, the irrigation system, and the position of the

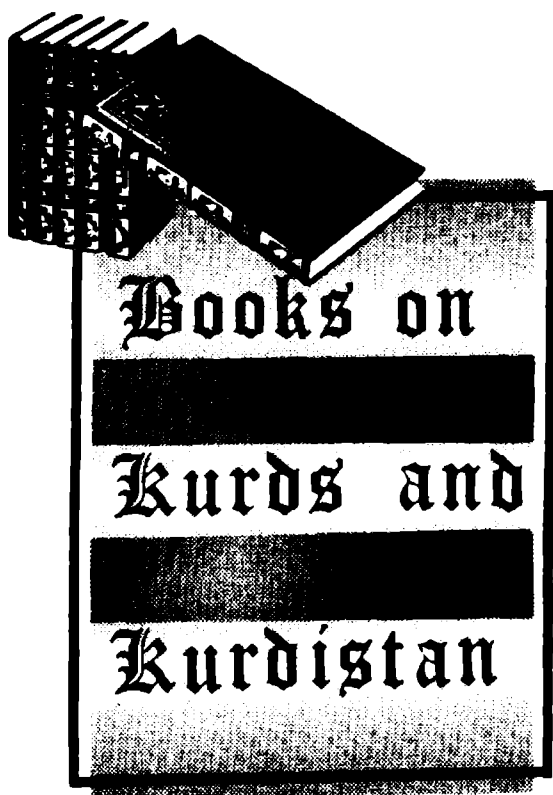
peasant and the structure of the Kurdish Society. This is followed by an economic analysis of industry and commerce. The role of the oil industry, as a significant factor in economic development is emphasised.

The third part deals with the Kurdish question in its modern environment as a struggle of a national-liberation movement. The author discusses the theoretical and practical problems connected with the materialisation of the Kurdish people's right to self-determination. Furthermore, he discusses factors affecting economic progress of economically less developed countries in general and of Kurdistan in particular.

The book was translated into Arabic in 1968, with an additional chapter titled, "The Struggle for the Right of Self-Determination in Iraqi Kurdistan", which covers the events leading to the outbreaks of the 11th September 1961 Revolution, and the perceptible development of the armed struggle, its aims and organisation up to 1966. The Kurdistan Democratic Party's Seventh Congress is briefly discussed.

It is unlikely that every reader agrees with the author's views and interpretation of issues and events, as the author does not disguise his Marxist commitment. But Mr. Ghassemlou has dealt with his subject painstakingly, and provides valuable information—hitherto not available—concerning Kurdish society, particularly the chapters on "Forms of Land-Holding", "Forms of Ground-Rent", and "The Social Structure and Living Standard of the Rural Population".

M. Bapeer



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KURDISTAN



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KURDISTAN UND KURDEN

Gesamtfläche: 500 000 qkm

Bevölkerung:

● Irakisch-Kurdistan	:	2,0	Mill.	(30% der Gesamtbevölkerung)
● Iranisch-Kurdistan	:	4,5	Mill.	(18% " ")
● Syrisch-Kurdistan	:	0,5	Mill.	(8% " ")
● Türkisch-Kurdistan	:	8,0	Mill.	(25% " ")
● Minoritäten in UdSSR	:	0,2	Mill.	
<hr/>				
		15,2	Mill.	

Organ der Vereinigung Kurdischer Studenten in Europa
Berlin 1064, Postfach 871 DDR

Kurdisches Sprichwort:

VERTRAUE DER PRANKE, LÖWE,

DIE HEILIGEN WERDEN DIR NICHT HELFEN

Allein

Allein bist du immer
bar aller Habe, allen Seins,
allein bist du immer
und seist du auch
inmitten der Menschen,
allein bist du immer
im Kreise der Deinen,
am Feuer der Hirten,
selbst in deiner Schar,
allein bist du immer
und sei es auch
der Liebsten Erfüllung -
allein bist du immer!
Selbst in dem Hort,
in dem eigenen Haus,
allein bist du immer!
Auch dort
wo du dein schönsten Leben verbringst.
Allein bist du immer,
all deine Herden,
die Güter der Erde,
die Welt der Sterne,
der Menschen Geld,
die Ehre, der Ruhm,
selbst im Heldentum -
allein bist du immer!
Und keiner ist da
dir Gleiches zu geben.
Doch siehst du dein Ziel,
das dir geboten,
die Brücke des Todes
löscht alles Begehren,
Bewußtsein, Erkenntnis,
du fühlst sie nicht mehr -
allein bist du immer,
auch in der Toten Haus.

Hilmi Abbas

VORWORT

Der nationale Befreiungskampf des kurdischen Volkes hat jahrhundertelange Geschichte. Seine Parolen, seine Ideen und seine geistige Haltung entspringen der jeweiligen Epoche seiner Geschichte. Er ist bis heute noch ein Kampf um die Freiheit, Demokratie, nationalen Rechte und Gleichheit. Das kurdische Volk hat sich in diesem Kampf von eigener historischer Erfahrung und der anderer Völker inspirieren lassen. Wie alle Völker dieser Welt führen auch die Kurden ihren nationalen Befreiungskampf politisch, militärisch und geistig. Sie haben bis heute zur Verwirklichung ihrer Ideale und Erlangung ihrer Nationalrechte keine Opfer gescheut.

Durch die jüngste Teilung Kurdistans, auf Betreiben der Interessenpolitik der kapitalistisch imperialistischen Mächte, insbesondere Großbritanniens, hat die kurdische Nationalbewegung neue Akzente und Formen angenommen. Die neuen Unterdrücker und Ausbeuter fingen zuerst damit an, das nun für sie entstandene kurdische Nationalproblem mit Gewalt, durch Ausrottung der Kurden, zu lösen. Als dies für sie gefährliche Ausmaße annahm und zu keinem Erfolg führte, beschritten sie den Weg der Existenzleugnung des kurdischen Volkes und seiner Assimilierung. Im Zuge dieser rassistischen Politik wurden die kurdische Presse, Literatur in kurdischer Sprache und jede Ausdrucksform des kurdischen Volkstums verboten. In Fachliteratur und Geschichtsbüchern tauchten plötzlich an Stelle der Kurden "Bergtürken", "Echte Perser" oder "Islamische Brüder" auf. Diese neuen "Entdeckungen" neben starker politischer, sozialer und ökonomischer Diskriminierung der kurdischen Bevölkerung hatten erneut deren starken Widerstand zur Folge. Kurdische politische Organisationen kristallisierten sich heraus. Eine politische, ideologische Schulung zur nationalen Bewußtwerdung setzte ein. Die nationalistischen diktatorischen Gewaltmaßnahmen der herrschenden Araber, Perser und Türken führten zu Aufständen, die blutig niedergeschlagen wurden. Gegenüber diesen tragischen Ereignissen in Kurdistan blieben die Großmächte taub und blind, denn sie meinten, daß sie mit ihrem "Wunderwerk", der Teilung Kurdistans, die diese tragischen Ereignisse nach sich zog, Recht getan hätten. Die Weltöffentlichkeit erfuhr entweder nichts über den Befreiungskampf des kurdischen Volkes oder sie wurde gezielt falsch informiert. Somit war das kurdische Volk in seinem Kampf gegen diese Art von Kolonialismus und für sein Recht auf Selbstbestimmung isoliert und alleine.

Erst durch Bildung kurdischer Organisationen im Ausland wurde es möglich, die wahren Gründe des Befreiungskampfes des kurdischen Volkes in der Welt bekannt zu machen. Man kam mit demokratischen Bewegungen anderer Völker in Kontakt und gewann füreinander Sympathie und Unterstützung.

Durch den vor zehn Jahren erneut aufgeflamnten bewaffneten Befreiungskampf des kurdischen Volkes in Irakisch-Kurdistan und die Aktivität der kurdischen Auslandsorganisationen hat die kurdische Frage heute die Tragweite eines internationalen Problems angenommen.

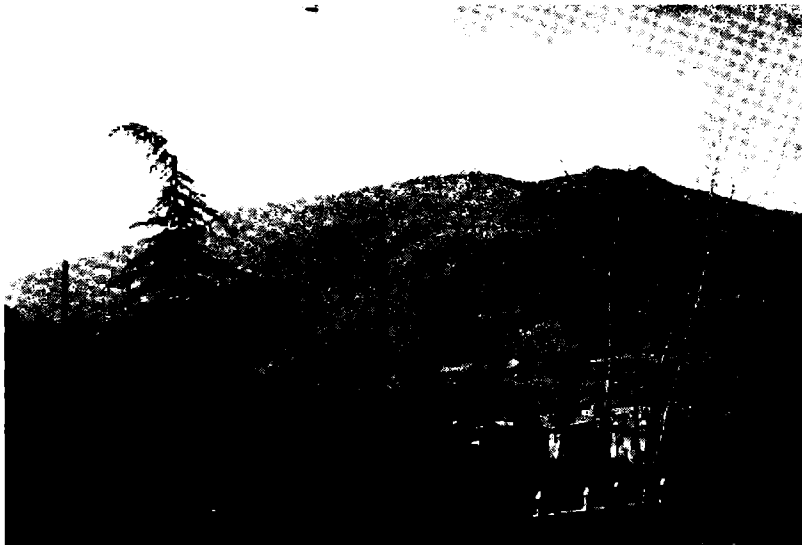
Wie bekannt, ist heute noch in den Teilen Kurdistans - Iranisch-, Syrisch- und Türkisch-Kurdistan - die Herausgabe von Zeitungen, Zeitschriften und Büchern in kurdischer Sprache verboten. Die in den letzten Jahren gemachten Versuche der Kurden zur Herausgabe kurdischer Zeitungen und Zeitschriften endeten mit Verhaftungen und Bestrafungen der Herausgeber. Die Regierungen der Türkei, des Irans und Syrien hal-

ten strikt die Politik der Entfremdung des kurdischen Volkes, seinem Volkstum und seiner Sprache ein. Sie führen also einen Kulturimperialismus. Diese und andere Mißstände führen dazu, daß die kurdischen Auslandsorganisationen ihre Tätigkeit zur Pflege ihres Volkstums außerhalb der Heimat von Tag zu Tag intensivieren. Sie haben es sich durch Herausgabe von Büchern, Zeitungen und Zeitschriften zur Aufgabe gemacht, das kurdische Problem der Welt bekannt zu machen, die kurdische Literatur, Sprache und Folklore zu beleben.

Die Zeitschrift KURDISTAN ist aus der Entwicklung dieses Ideengutes entstanden. Sie ist das Organ der "VEREINIGUNG KURDISCHER STUDENTEN IN EUROPA". KURDISTAN hat sich das Ziel gesetzt, neben politischer Aktivität auch auf dem kulturellen Gebiet tätig zu sein. Es widmet sich der kurdischen Geschichte, Sprache, Literatur, den sozialen, wirtschaftlichen und politischen Problemen in Kurdistan.

KURDISTAN ist bis jetzt, seit Gründung unserer Vereinigung 1956, vorwiegend in englischer Sprache erschienen. In deutscher Sprache sind sehr wenig Bücher über die kurdische Nationalfrage erschienen, und diese wenigen stehen unter dem Einfluß von Karl May's Jugendromanen, wie auch bei Fernsehen, Radio- und Zeitungskomentaren festgestellt wird. Folglich sind die deutschsprachigen Völker über das kurdische Problem entweder schlecht oder überhaupt nicht informiert. Dabei spielen nicht zuletzt die politischen und wirtschaftlichen Verflechtungen mit den Regierungen der Staaten, in denen Kurden leben eine Rolle. Das scheint uns ein wichtiger Grund dafür zu sein, unsere Zeitschrift dieses Mal in deutscher Sprache herauszugeben. Wenn es uns dadurch gelingt, die deutschsprachigen Völker zu informieren und ihre Solidarität mit unserem Volk zu gewinnen, so würden wir die Sache als gelungen ansehen. Wir hoffen, daß dieser kleine Schritt dazu anregt, daß auch in deutscher Sprache über das kurdische Problem und die Heimat der Kurden objektive Berichterstattung möglich wird und wissenschaftliche und ernsthafte Bücher erscheinen.

KURDISTAN weiß, daß es zur Erreichung seiner Ziele und für seine Weiterentwicklung auch die Hilfe der Freunde des kurdischen Volkes braucht und freut sich darauf. Jede Art von Hilfe für KURDISTAN ist ein Ausdruck der Solidarität mit dem kurdischen Volke in seinem Kampf um die nationale Befreiung.



EINLEITUNG

Im Laufe seiner Geschichte hat Kurdistan seine jetzige staatspolitische Teilung in zwei Etappen erfahren. Die erste Teilung hat sich 1639 unter der Besetzung Kurdistans durch die Osmanen und die Perser vollzogen, gegen den Willen und die Abmachung der Kurden mit den beiden Imperien. Das war der erste historische Wortbruch der fremden Herrscher Kurdistans mit den Kurden, den eigentlichen Bewohnern Kurdistans. In ihren häufigen Wort- und Vertragsbrüchen dem kurdischen Volke gegenüber lassen sich die Machthaber in Ankara, Bagdad, Damaskus und Teheran nicht zuletzt von dieser historischen Tatsache leiten. Kurdistan war damit zum ersten Mal das Opfer zweier imperialistischer Großmächte und in Osmanisch- und Persisch-Kurdistan aufgeteilt. Dies war der Anfang einer historischen Fehlentwicklung der Nationaleinheit des kurdischen Volkes. Nach der Zerschlagung des Osmanischen Reiches, nach dem 1. Weltkrieg, wurde Kurdistan im Jahre 1923 zum zweiten Mal zwischen den auf dem ehemaligen Herrschaftsgebiet des Osmanischen Reiches künstlich gebildeten Staaten Irak, Syrien und der Türkei geteilt.

Der Initiator und Vollzieher dieser zweiten Teilung Kurdistans war die kapitalistisch imperialistische Regierung von Großbritannien; d.h., Kurdistan war auch diesmal das Opfer der imperialistischen Intrigen. Somit war auch die heutige Teilung Kurdistans auf die Staaten Irak, Iran, Syrien und die Türkei bewerkstelligt.

Wenn auch der Befreiungskampf des kurdischen Volkes von den Machhabern in Ankara, Bagdad, Damaskus und Teheran mit der gleichen chauvinistisch nationalistischen Politik unterdrückt wurde und diese Machthaber in ihrer anti-kurdischen Politik sich einig waren und die gleichen Assimilationsmethoden anwendeten, setzten in verschiedenen Teilen Kurdistans, bedingt durch die herrschenden Regime in diesen Staaten, sozial, ökonomisch, kulturell sowie politisch unterschiedliche Entwicklungen ein. Die unterschiedlichen Kampfmethoden und die Art der Zusammenarbeit mit fortschrittlichen Kräften der Brudervölker in diesen Ländern resultiert sich aus diesen strukturellen Gegebenheiten. Trotz ihrer nationalistisch bedingten Widersprüche und der historischen Feindschaften ist es oft den regierenden Nationalbourgeoisien dieser Staaten gelungen, sich in Unterdrückung der kurdischen Nationalbewegung zu einigen. Die Militärpakte zwischen ihnen, wie der Pakt von Sadabat (1937), der Bagdad-Pakt (1955) und der Cento-Pakt (1961) entsprangen dem Gedankengut ihrer gemeinsamen anti-kurdischen Politik.

Die jüngsten, sehr intensiv betriebenen Staatsbesuche zwischen Ankara, Bagdad und Teheran sind nichts anderes als Versuche für die Herstellung dieser gemeinsamen Front gegen das kurdische Volk. Das Nichtgelingen dieser Bestrebungen ist dadurch zu erklären, daß erstens in diesen Ländern die Demokratisierung und der Bewußtwerdungsprozeß der Volksmassen so weit fortgeschritten sind, daß die fortschrittlichen Kräfte der Araber, Perser und Türken die kurdische Nationalbewegung unterstützen und zweitens durch Demaskierung des Kapitalismus und Imperialismus die Aufklärung der Weltöffentlichkeit über die nationalen Befreiungskämpfe der unterdrückten Völker möglich wurde. Das heißt, dank der Solidarität und Zusammenarbeit der kurdischen fortschrittlichen Kräfte mit denen anderer Völker innerhalb und außerhalb Kurdistans, wurde in jüngster Zeit das Zusammengehen der reaktionären Regierungen der Türkei, des Irans und des Irak in Unterdrückung der kurdischen Revolution in Irakisch-Kurdistan sowie gegen die sich formierende kurdische Nationalbewegung

in anderen Teilen Kurdistans verhindert.

Auch wenn Kurdistan geographisch, ethnologisch und historisch eine eindeutige Einheit bildet, ist es jedoch aufschlußreich und folglich sinnvoll, die Entwicklung in Kurdistan und im Kampf gegen seine Ausbeutung und für seine Befreiung auf einzelne Teile Kurdistans bezogen zu untersuchen. Diese Methodik ist auch in Sicht des Kampfes gegen Kapitalismus und Imperialismus eindeutig und folgerichtig. Denn es gilt übrigens die speziellen Bedingungen in einzelnen Staaten in Bezug auf Bekämpfung des Imperialismus und Befreiung der Völker zu analysieren und auszuwerten.

Im Lichte dieser Tatsache wurde nun eine Getrenntbehandlung der Teile Kurdistans in verschiedene Beiträge vorgenommen. Kurze Einblendungen in die Geschichte des Befreiungskampfes des kurdischen Volkes sind dabei unvermeidlich und dienen zur Information.





General Barzani, Präsident der Demokratischen Partei Kurdistan schloß mit der irakischen Regierung das Friedensabkommen vom 11.März 1970 ab

DAS ABKOMMEN VOM 11.MÄRZ 1970 UND DIE AUTONOMIERECHTE VON IRAKISCH-KURDISTAN

Am 11.März 1970 wurde zwischen dem Kurdischen Revolutionsrat, unter Führung Barzanis und der irakischen Regierung ein Abkommen folgenden Inhalts geschlossen: Das irakische Kurdistan sollte innerhalb der Republik Irak seine Autonomie verwirklichen. Dieses Abkommen beinhaltet weiterhin die Garantie für eine kulturelle, ökonomische und soziale Entwicklung von Irakisch-Kurdistan.

Dieses Abkommen war zweifelsohne der Erfolg eines 10jährigen Kampfes des kurdischen Volkes, seiner Partisanen, der Demokratischen Partei Kurdistans, unter Führung des tapferen Patrioten Mustapha Barzani und aller fortschrittlichen Kräfte des irakischen Volkes, sowie der fortschrittlichen und friedlichen Kräfte der ganzen Welt.

Dieses Abkommen ist nicht nur ein historischer Erfolg für das kurdische Volk, sondern es brachte die gesamte Befreiungsbewegung auf ein höheres Niveau. Die Anerkennung der Autonomie von Irakisch-Kurdistan ist ein großer Schlag gegen die Chauvinisten, Reaktionäre, Kriegstreiber und die Rassisten des Irak.

Am 1. Jahrestag dieses Abkommens sehen wir uns veranlaßt, Bilanz zu ziehen und zu untersuchen, ob und wie weit die Voraussetzungen für die Durchführung des Abkommens vom 11.3.1970 geschaffen wurden und inwieweit die Demokratie für den Irak verwirklicht wurde.

Voller Hoffnung und Initiative gingen alle Kräfte vereint an die Verwirklichung der Punkte des Abkommens. Seitens der Regierung wurden folgende Schritte unternommen: Auf kulturellem Gebiet durften einige Kurden öffentliche Ämter bekleiden, die kurdischen Massenorganisationen

wurden legalisiert. Das Gesetz über die Durchführung einer Bodenreform wurde verabschiedet. Es wurde ein Wissenschaftsrat für die kurdische Kultur gegründet. Geringe bauliche Veränderungen wurden vorgenommen. Die Partisanen erhielten ein monatliches Entgelt.

Dieses Abkommen gab den fortschrittlichen nationalen Kräften den Weg frei, eine nationale Front zu bilden. Sie ist notwendig als Fundament für die Verwirklichung der Autonomie Kurdistans und die Garantie der Demokratie in Kurdistan und im ganzen Irak. Diese Politik allein festigt die innere Lage und verstärkt den Kampf gegen die Reaktion, die Imperialisten und den Zionismus.

Ein weiterer Erfolg des erwähnten Abkommens ist die Einheit der nationalen Kräfte von Irakisch-Kurdistan, die die Ziele und Hoffnungen unseres Volkes verwirklichen kann. Dabei dürfen wir nicht vergessen, daß die Feinde der Kurden und Araber nichts unversucht lassen, die Verwirklichung des Abkommens zu hintertreiben. Sie werden unterstützt von den Imperialisten und einigen Leuten, die sich auf Kosten des kurdischen Volkes bereichern wollen.

Dafür ein Beispiel: In der Nacht vom 6. zum 7. Januar verübte man ein Attentat auf Idris Barzani. Ein Mitglied des Zentralkomitees der Demokratischen Partei Kurdistans wurde dabei schwer verletzt. Man hatte darauf abgezielt, mit diesem Attentat neue Kämpfe zwischen Kurden und Arabern im Irak zu entfesseln. Auch andere Störmanöver, wie Schritte zur Arabisierung einiger Gebiete Kurdistans, wie z.B. in Kirkuk, Sincar, Mandalik und Kyfrik, um nur einige zu nennen, wurden unternommen. Die soziale und ökonomische Lage des Irak, besonders in Kurdistan, ist katastrophal. Die Arbeitslosigkeit und der Lebensstandard der meisten Bewohner unseres Landes sind menschenunwürdig. Dieser Zustand muß schnellstens beseitigt werden.

Wir schlagen folgende Schritte zur schnelleren Lösung der kurz angesprochenen Probleme vor:

1. Die Autonomie Kurdistans wird in der Verfassung des Irak garantiert. Alle Gebiete, die dazu gehören werden verfassungsrechtlich garantiert.
2. Aufstellung eines neuen Fünfjahresplanes, in welchem man die Autonomie Kurdistans berücksichtigt, und den Kurden die Möglichkeit einräumt, sich wirtschaftlich und industriell zu entwickeln.
3. Schnelle Beseitigung der Arbeitslosigkeit in Kurdistan.
4. Bildung eines demokratischen Regimes in ganz Irak, sowie Legalisierung aller Parteien und fortschrittlicher Organisationen. Um die schnelle Bildung einer Nationalen Front zu ermöglichen ist es erforderlich, alle Maßnahmen zu unterlassen, die die Durchführung der genannten Punkte in Frage stellen könnten.
5. Den Verrätern des Volkes, den Handlangern der Imperialisten muß das Handwerk gelegt werden. Der Regierungsapparat muß von Vertretern, die nicht die Interessen des irakischen Volkes wahrnehmen, gesäubert werden, wodurch dann der Weg für die Kräfte freigemacht werden muß, die der neuen Situation des Landes Rechnung tragen können.

Aus diesem Anlaß beglückwünschen wir das kurdische und arabische Volk zum 1. Jahrestag des Abkommens. Wir hoffen und wünschen, daß alle Ziele des kurdischen Volkes schnell verwirklicht werden, in einem fortschrittlichen, demokratischen Kurdistan.

Exekutivkomitee

DIE NATIONALE BEWEGUNG VON MAHABAD

Auszüge aus der Zeitschrift KURDISTAN, dem Organ der Demokratischen Partei Iranisch-Kurdistan - Januar 1971, Nr.1

Vor 25 Jahren, Februar 1946, wurde die demokratische Republik Mahabad, der erste nationale kurdische Staat in der Geschichte des Nahen Osten gegründet. 25 Jahre sind eine kurze Zeitspanne in der Geschichte eines Volkes. Aber im Laufe dieser 25 Jahre haben viele Ereignisse gezeigt, daß das kurdische Volk viele und wichtige Etappen in seinen zahlreichen Kämpfen um die nationale Befreiung gehabt hat. Der Monat Februar hat in der kurdischen Geschichte eine besondere Bedeutung. Deshalb ist es angebracht während dieser Zeit der vergangenen Ereignisse zu gedenken, sie zu analysieren und auszuwerten.

Welche speziellen Charakterzüge hatte die Bewegung Mahabad? Die Bewegung Mahabad war eine Bewegung aller patriotischen Kräfte, sie hatte nationalen Charakter, weil sie auf der Grundlage der nationalen und politischen Interessen des ganzen kurdischen Volkes basierte und als Ziel die Erlangung der demokratischen Nationalrechte des kurdischen Volkes hatte. Sie war patriotisch, weil sie den Imperialismus als den eigentlichen Feind wußte und die sämtlichen patriotischen Kräfte um sich gesammelt hatte. Die demokratische Bewegung von Mahabad war ein Teil des Kampfes der iranischen Völker um Befreiung des ganzen Irans und Bildung einer demokratischen Regierung. Das kurdische Volk kämpfte mit den anderen Völkern Irans zusammen, um die Beseitigung der imperialistischen Kräfte im Lande und um die Erreichung der demokratischen Nationalrechte des kurdischen Volkes. Da diese demokratische Bewegung für den Befreiungskampf der iranischen Völker eine Grundlage bildete, wurde sie von allen demokratischen Kräften und fortschrittlichen Parteien unterstützt. Die Bildung der Zusammenarbeit zwischen den fortschrittlichen Parteien wie der Demokratischen Partei Kurdistan, der Demokratischen Partei Azerbeidjan, der Kommunistischen Partei Iran, der Partei Iran, der Sozialistischen Partei und der Dschengal Partei ist ein Beispiel einer nie dagewesenen Solidarität für die Befreiung der Völker von Iran. Es gehörte zu den wesentlichen Parolen der Mahabader Bewegung, in Solidarität mit den anderen Völkern der Welt, gegen Faschismus und Imperialismus zu kämpfen.

Der Präsident der Republik Mahabad, Qazi Mohammed, war ein Kurde und wurde auf dem demokratischen Wege gewählt. Obwohl dieser kurdische Staat nur von kurzer Dauer war, konnte er für den Fortschritt und die Demokratie einiges tun. Heute, nach 25 Jahren, denken die Kurden gerne daran zurück. Er hat heute noch starken Einfluß auf die demokratische Bewegung des kurdischen Volkes. Die fortschrittliche Führung der Mahabader Bewegung unter der Demokratischen Partei Kurdistan ist ein Beweis dafür, daß die Demokratische Partei Kurdistan eine fortschrittliche Partei war, wie sie heute noch ist. Die Mahabader Bewegung stand unter dem Zeichen der Solidarität der Kurden aus allen Teilen Kurdistans. Daß Barzani mit seinen Anhängern, nach dem Scheitern der Bewegung im Irakisch-Kurdistan in Mahabad empfangen wurde und sich dort aufhielt, ist ein Ausdruck dieser Solidarität. Leider hatte die Republik Mahabad nur eine Dauer von 11 Monaten. Nach einem barbarischen Angriff hatten die Militäreinheiten der Zentralregierung die Republik zerschlagen. Somit hatten auch die reaktionären und imperialistischen Kräfte im Iran die Oberhand gewonnen und die Völker des Iran ihrer demokratischen Freiheit und nationalen Rechte beraubt, was heute noch der Fall ist.

Die wesentlichen Ursachen der Niederschlagung der nationalen demokratischen Bewegung von Mahabad können in zwei Gruppen zusammengefaßt werden. Erstens die Beziehung zu den ausländischen Mächten. Die Regierung des US-Imperialismus fühlte sich durch die Anwendung der Atom-bombe in Japan stark und unterstützte mit allen Mitteln die reaktionäre Regierung Iran gegen die demokratische Bewegung Kurdistans. Durch die nicht sachgerechte Analyse der politischen Situation des Iran seitens der sowjetischen Führung, war die Regierung Mahabad der 'sowjetischen Unterstützung nicht sicher. Die zweite und wesentliche Ursache des Scheiterns der Bewegung von Mahabad ist die Folge der inneriranischen Situation. Die Zusammenarbeit der fortschrittlichen Kräfte hatte noch keine lange Vergangenheit und funktionierte folglich in der Praxis noch nicht so gut. Durch Umtriebe der reaktionären und imperialistischen Kräfte wurden die demokratischen Volksbewegungen Kurdistans und Azarbejdans von der übrigen Bewegung des Iran getrennt und isoliert. Die Führungen der Parteien, der Demokratischen Partei Kurdistan, der Kommunistischen Partei Iran und der Demokratischen Partei Azarbejdans, konnten nicht rechtzeitig ihre Kräfte gegen den gemeinsamen Feind, nämlich gegen die reaktionären und imperialistischen Kräfte, einsetzen weil sie im Sinne der Volksbefreiung nicht kämpferisch und revolutionär genug waren. Die Bewegung hatte in Kurdistan noch nicht tiefe Wurzeln geschlagen, besonders in sozialer Hinsicht, weil sie dafür weniger Zeit gehabt hatte. Revolutionäre Parolen waren nicht so weit, daß die Mehrheit der Bevölkerung Kurdistans, Bauern, für die Unterstützung der Republik Mahabad im revolutionären Maße interessiert werden konnte. Die nicht vorhandene einheitliche Führung der Bewegung und die fehlende staatliche und militärische Bildung in Kurdistan war ein fundamentaler Fehler an der Zerschlagung der Republik Mahabad. Ein Drittel von Kurdistan war befreit und der Rest, wie die Gegenden von Kirmanschah und Sine waren in der Hand der Zentralregierung. Das Fehlen dieser Gebiete in der Republik war ökonomisch und politisch ein Verlust für die Republik und stärkte gleichzeitig die Position der Zentralregierung gegen den befreiten Teil. Die Schwäche der Führung, mit Ausnahme von Qazi Mohammed und einigen kurdischen Intellektuellen, sowie die mangelhafte Heranbildung der Kader führten dazu, daß das Organisieren der Bewegung große Lücken aufwies und eine Fortentwicklung in Kurdistan nicht schnell genug vorankam. Die kurdische Führung, trotz früherer schlechter Erfahrung im Befreiungskampf des kurdischen Volkes, machte den großen Fehler, dem betrügerischen Versprechen der Zentralregierung Glauben zu schenken. Dies hatte zur Folge, daß die Einheiten der Zentralregierung in die Republik eingefallen sind, und die Republik zerschlagen wurde.

Die Lehren aus der Bewegung Mahabad sind folgende:

Es ist auch unser Ziel für eine fortschrittliche kurdische Bewegung zu arbeiten.

Es ist unsere Pflicht, die Erfahrungen der Republik im Auge zu behalten und daraus zu lernen, daß die Fehler sich nicht wiederholen, der Unterstützung der kurdischen Volksmassen sicher zu sein, mit allen fortschrittlichen demokratischen Kräften der Völker des Iran zusammenzuarbeiten und die Gewinnung der Unterstützung der demokratischen Kräfte der Völker der Welt zum Ziel zu haben.

SYRISCH-KURDISTAN

Wird sich die Lage der Kurden in Syrien verbessern?

Als Hafiz Al Assad an die Macht kam und die Regierung von Nureddin Atassi beseitigt hatte, freuten sich das syrische Volk und alle demokratischen Kräfte. Hafiz Al Assad machte bei seinem Regierungsantritt viele Versprechungen zur Verbesserung der politischen, ökonomischen und sozialen Lage des Landes.

Die Kurden, die seit Jahrzehnten ihrer nationalen und humanen Rechte beraubt sind, was ganz besonders bei der speziellen Volkszählung im Jahre 1962 und der Bildung des arabischen Gürtels im Jahre 1966 zum Ausdruck kam, erwarteten von dieser Regierung die Aufhebung dieser ungerechten Maßnahmen und die Anerkennung ihrer nationalen Rechte. Bis zum heutigen Tage hat die neue syrische Regierung weder die Unterdrückung und Ungerechtigkeit aufgehoben noch in irgend einer Hinsicht zum Ausdruck gebracht, daß sie bereit ist, die Lage der Kurden zu verbessern.

Die Erfahrungen zeigen, daß jede neue Regierung, die die Macht ergriff, dem syrischen Volk viele Versprechungen machte und auch den Anschein erweckte, diese Versprechungen zu realisieren. Die Versprechungen blieben aber fast alle Phrasen. Die bisherigen Ergebnisse der Politik der neuen Regierung deuten jedoch an, daß sie sich kaum von den anderen Regierungen unterscheidet, ja sogar gewillt ist, deren Politik fortzusetzen. Ein Unterschied zur Politik der anderen Regierungen besteht jedoch darin, daß die Versprechungen dieser neuen Regierung die der anderen weit übertreffen.

Das kurdische Volk in Syrien kann von dieser Regierung nicht viel erwarten. Es ist aber fest entschlossen, seinen Kampf für seine nationalen Rechte konsequent weiterzuführen.

Erleichtert wird dieser Kampf durch die Einheit aller Kurden, die erst im Jahre 1970 auf dem Nationalkongreß vollzogen wurde. Dieses Ereignis hat für die Kurden in Syrien eine historische Bedeutung für die Erreichung ihrer nationalen Rechte. Die Praxis zeigte also, daß Versprechungen der Regierungen in Syrien in keiner Weise zur Verbesserung der Lage der Kurden führen, sondern einzig und allein die Einheit, Geschlossenheit und konsequente Politik der Kurden und ihre Zusammenarbeit mit allen demokratischen Kräften.

TÜRKISCH-KURDISTAN

Türkisch-Kurdistan ist flächen- und bevölkerungsmäßig der größte Teil Kurdistans, mit 8 Millionen Kurden. Es geriet nach der zweiten Teilung Kurdistans unter die turanisch faschistische Militärdiktatur Atatürks. Die herrschende Nationalbourgeoisie unter der Führung des Diktators Atatürk konnte sich schlecht mit den Folgen der Zerschlagung des Osmanischen Reiches abfinden. Sie war naturgemäß auch nicht in der Lage, die Ursachen des Zerfalls des großen Reiches zu analysieren und daraus Konsequenzen zu ziehen. Man machte in neuen Dimensionen von der alten Unterdrückungs- und Assimilationspolitik der osmanischen Herrscher Gebrauch. Der Deckmantel der islamischen "Brüder" war verdrängt durch ein Laizismus mit einem türkisch-nationalistischen Vorzeichen. Unter der scheinheiligen widersprüchlichen Argumentierung auch islamische "Brüder" zu sein, wurde die Existenz des kurdischen Volkes rundweg abgeleugnet. Der im Jahre 1920 mit den Siegermächten vereinbarte Vertrag von Sèvres, in dem das Recht des kurdischen Volkes in der Türkei auf Autonomie und später Selbständigkeit anerkannt wurde, wurde durch einen Kuhhandel mit der kapitalistisch imperialistischen Regierung Großbritanniens 1923 durch den Vertrag von Lausanne ersetzt. Der türkische Delegationsführer İsmet İnönü stellte fest "Die Türkei ist das Land von zwei Nationen, nämlich der türkischen und der kurdischen Nation. Beide haben das Recht auf die Verwaltung", was sich später als Besänftigung und Lippenbekenntnis erwies. Atatürk, der 1919 nach Kurdistan geflüchtet war und bei den Kurden große Unterstützung in der Befreiung der Türkei von imperialistischen Mächten fand, die in die Türkei eingefallen waren, konnte nur mit Hilfe der Kurden die historischen Volkskongresse in den kurdischen Städten Erzurum und Sivas abhalten. Die Kurden bildeten die ersten Militäreinheiten, die im Kampf der Befreiung der Türkei gegen die Invasoren eingesetzt wurden. Atatürk versprach den Kurden Autonomie und gemeinsames Regieren der Türkei durch Kurden und Türken. Der Vertrag von Lausanne und die unmittelbar danach erfolgten Verhaftungen und Hinrichtungen kurdischer Führer und Parlamentsabgeordneter sowie das Verbot der kurdischen Schulen und der kurdischen Sprache verriet den rassistischen Charakter der kemalistischen Herrschaft und folglich die Nichternsthaftigkeit der gegebenen Versprechung, Autonomie für Kurdistan. Damit wurde auch klar, daß die neuen Herrscher in Ankara den alten Weg der osmanischen Herrscher einschlugen, nämlich den Weg der Unterdrückung und Assimilation der Völker nichttürkischer Abstammung. Die überall gegenwärtigen Sprüche wie "Bürger sprich Türkisch", "Wohl dem, der ein Türke ist" und der tägliche Schulbeginn mit den Phrasen "Ich bin Türke, fleißig, sauber, respektiere die Älteren meiner Abstammung und liebe die Jüngeren" signalisierten eine gefährvolle Epoche für die Völker der Türkei. Für die Kurden, die überall an der Front gegen die Feinde der Türkei gekämpft hatten und deshalb auch ziemlich angeschlagen waren, galt es nun sich schnell zu formieren, um einer Vernichtung des kemalistischen Regimes im Kampf der nationalen Befreiung zu entgehen. Das war der Anfang einer blutigen Epoche in der kurdischen Geschichte. Es war eine Epoche der kurdischen Aufstände, wie der Aufstand unter Şeyh Said Piran (1925), der Aufstand von Ararat (1927-1930) und der Aufstand von Dersim (1938), bei denen Tausende von kurdischen Frauen und Kindern von den kemalistischen Militäreinheiten niedergemetzelt wurden. Die in Geliye Zilan zusammengetriebenen Frauen und Kinder wurden durch Giftgase vernichtet. Diese Massenvernichtungsmethode durch Giftgase übernahm später das faschistische Regime von Hitler. Die während des Aufstandes von Dersim in

Berghöhlen geflüchtete Zivilbevölkerung wurde dem Hungertod überlassen, indem die Eingänge dieser Höhlen von türkischen Militäreinheiten sorgfältig vermauert wurden. Das war eindeutig Völkermord. Den Aufständen folgte eine Deportation von 1,0 Millionen Kurden in die Mittel- und Westtürkei. Atatürk glaubte durch diese Gewaltpolitik und den Völkermord das kurdische Problem endgültig lösen zu können. Als politische Ergänzung zu diesen Gewalttaten erfand er die Umbenennung der Kurden zu "Bergtürken", um die Existenz des kurdischen Volkes abzuleugnen, was ja für die nachfolgenden Regierungen der Türkei bis heute ein Dilemma ist und eine Quelle ständiger Widersprüche darstellt. Nach ihren politischen Bedürfnissen, während sie die Existenz der Kurden verleugnen, malen sie die "Kurdische Gefahr" zur angeblichen Spaltung der Türkei, Gründung eines kurdischen Staates und kommunistische "Agitationen" der Kurden aus. Dabei verfolgt die regierende türkische Nationalbourgeoisie unter dem Druck des Militärs zwei Ziele. Erstens Wachhaltung der faschistisch nationalistischen anti-kurdischen Gefühle unter der türkischen Bevölkerung. Zweitens die Erreichung einer größeren Finanzhilfe von Washington durch Hochspielen der angeblichen kommunistischen Gefahr, was sich erfahrungsgemäß bezahlt macht. Die Verleugnungspolitik wurde auf allen Ebenen, trotz größter Widersprüche, intensiv betrieben. Einige markante Beispiele:

- In einem Gespräch mit seinem Professor sagte der kurdische Student an der Universität Istanbul, daß er ein Kurde sei. Der gelehrte Herr Professor: "Wie kommt es, daß sie ein Kurde sind? Es gibt ja keine Kurden, keine kurdische Sprache und kein Kurdistan. In der Türkei gibt es nur Türken." Der Student antwortete: "Nehmen wir an, daß die Kurden in der Türkei keine Kurden, sondern Türken sind. Wer sind denn jene in Irak, Iran und Syrien, die sich Kurden nennen und seit Jahren auf unmenschlichste Weise von den Regierungen dieser Länder unterdrückt und gepeinigt werden?" Als auf die Frage keine Antwort kommt, setzte der Student fort: "Wenn die Kurden in der Türkei türkischen Ursprungs sein sollten, so müßten die Kurden in Iran, Irak und Syrien auch Türken sein. Warum versagt dann unsere Regierung den anderen Kurden jede Hilfe, während sie sich mit aller Liebe und Energie für die Interessen einer Handvoll Türken auf Zypern einsetzt? Auch wenn wir von diesem Beispiel absehen, wie ist es dann zu erklären, daß unsere Regierungen seit 50 Jahren mit den Machthabern von Bagdad, Teheran und Damaskus eine gemeinsame feindliche Politik dem kurdischen Volke gegenüber betreiben und sogar mit den genannten Regierungen anti-kurdische Pakte wie Sadabad-, Kasrisirin-, Bagdad, und Cento-Pakt schließen?"

- Die türkische Zeitung "Son Posta" schrieb am 11. April 1946 über die Kurdenfrage in der Türkei: "In unserem Lande hat es nie eine kurdische Minderheit gegeben. Sei es mit kurdischem Bewußtsein oder ohne ein solches; seien es Nomaden oder Seßhafte. In unseren Gebieten, die die Ausländer als Kurdistan oder Armenistan bezeichnen, haben in der Herrschaftszeit der Osmanen vernachlässigte Kurden gelebt. Diese haben sich durch Übernahme arabischer und persischer Wörter in ihre ursprünglich türkische Sprache, eine eigene Sprache, eine sehr komisch klingende Sprache, nämlich die sogenannte kurdische Sprache angeeignet..."

- Der kurdische Schriftsteller und Soziologe M.E. Bozaslan wurde wegen der Herausgabe eines kurdischen Alphabets im Jahre 1968 verhaftet. Im ersten Prozeß fragte ihn der Staatsanwalt, auf das Alphabet zeigend, wütend: "Was ist das?" Bozaslan: "Das Alphabet, Herr."

Daraufhin schreit der Staatsanwalt zornig durch den Gerichtssaal: "Wie kommt das? Es gibt keine kurdische Sprache und kein kurdisches Volk. Wer füllt denn Eure Köpfe mit solchen giftigen Gedanken?" Bozaslan: "Wenn es so ist, dann brauchen Sie sich keine Sorgen zu machen, Herr Staatsanwalt. Wenn es weder die Kurden noch die kurdische Sprache gibt, dann könnte es dieses Alphabet, das Sie gerade in der Hand halten, auch nicht geben. Lassen Sie mich bitte dann nach Hause zu meiner Familie gehen, denn es ist absurd, sich wegen Dinge, die es nicht gibt, zu behelligen"....

● Der türkische Staatspräsident Cemal Gürsel, der am 27. Mai 1960 durch einen Militärputsch in der Türkei die Macht ergriff, sprach während einer Reise durch Kurdistan in Diyarbakir zu den Kurden: "Es gibt in der Welt keine Nation, die sich kurdische Nation nennt. Spuk-ken Sie denen ins Gesicht, die sich Kurden nennen..."

● 1966 war das kurdische Gebiet um Varto von einem Erdbeben heimgesucht. Der Innenminister Haldun Menteseoglu machte in Varto einen Besuch, um die hinterbliebenen Bürger seines Landes materiell und moralisch zu unterstützen. In Anwesenheit einer großen Zahl von Journalisten greift er die Heimgesuchten an und vergleicht ihre Behausung, was ja richtig und die Folge der Diskriminierungspolitik türkischer Regierungen ist, mit Viehstall und sagt weiter: "...Was soll dieses Jammern, hier sind ja nur 3000 (dreitausend) Menschen umgekommen. Schauen Sie nach Vietnam, da kommen Dreißigtausende von Menschen um...". Als er feststellte, daß die Bevölkerung gegen seine unsinnigen Äußerungen auf Kurdisch protestierte, wurde er heftiger und fügte hinzu: "Aus dem Munde der menschenähnlichen Lebewesen höre ich tierische Laute (er meinte damit die kurdische Sprache)... Wenn Ihr mit diesem Staat unzufrieden seid, so sucht Euch doch einen anderen!"

● Der jetzige türkische Ministerpräsident Süleyman Demirel verriet etwas später die Politik und die Lösungsart der kurdischen Nationalfrage seiner Regierung, als er, während eines Besuches in Kurdistan, die Proteste seiner Zuhörer gegen die Diskriminierungspolitik seiner Regierung in Kurdistan vernahm, konterte er: "Unsere Grenzen sind offen, wer will kann sich zum Teufel scheren..."

Diese chavinistische türkisch-nationalistische Politik ist mit Gründung der Republik Türkei im Jahre 1923 durch Atatürk in ihrem Rahmen abgesteckt worden und wird rücksichtslos durchgeführt. Obwohl es in den letzten 50 Jahren an Wechsel der Regierungen in Ankara nicht fehlte, ist aber bis heute keine Änderung der Politik gegenüber der kurdischen Nationalfrage festzustellen. Heute leugnet man die Existenz des kurdischen Volkes, unbeachtet der Tatsache der Autonomie für Irakisch-Kurdistan nach einem zehnjährigen Krieg mit der Bagdader Regierung. Heute wird durch Polizei- und Kommandoaktionen die Bevölkerung Kurdistans genauso terrorisiert wie in der Zeit von Atatürk. Die Grundhaltung der regierenden türkischen Nationalbourgeoisie dem kurdischen Volk gegenüber ist auf dem Prinzip festgelegt, das im Jahre 1930 von dem damaligen türkischen Justizminister Mahmut Esat Bozkurt als Politik der Regierung umrissen, und in der türkischen Zeitung Milliyet vom 31. August 1930 mit dem folgenden Wortlaut veröffentlicht wurde: "Es ist nicht nötig die Realitäten des Landes zu verbergen. Die Türken sind die einzigen Besitzer und die einzigen Herren dieses Landes. Diejenigen, die nicht türkischen Ursprungs sind, haben nur das eine Recht, das Recht nämlich, der noblen türkischen Nation absolut zu dienen und ihre Sklaven zu sein...". Die faschistische türkische Intellektuellen-Junta-

koalitionen haben bis heute dafür gesorgt, daß die Kurden die Sklaven im eigenen Lande bleiben. Jeder kulturelle moralische Wert des kurdischen Volkes ist ständig und intensiv einem Abwertungsprozeß unterworfen. Der Name Kurde wird nur als Spott gebraucht.

Trotz seiner großen Reichtümer an Bodenschätzen und vorhandener Ansätze an Aufbaumöglichkeiten ist Türkisch-Kurdistan heute wirtschaftlich der rückständigste Teil der Türkei. Die Rohstoffe aus Kurdistan werden in den Fabriken der Westtürkei verarbeitet, denn die Politiker in Ankara verhindern die Industrialisierung Kurdistans. Obwohl die Ölfelder sich in Kurdistan befinden, wurde in Izmir eine Petro-Chemische Fabrik gebaut und die Ölraffinerien befinden sich in West- und Südtürkei, d.h. außerhalb von Kurdistan. 85 % der kurdischen Bevölkerung sind Bauern und leben von der Landwirtschaft und Viehzucht. Die Landwirtschaftsprodukte werden zu spottbilligen Preisen den Bauern abgekauft, weil in Kurdistan Absatzmärkte fehlen. Der kurdische Bauer bestellt seine Felder heute noch genau so wie vor 100 Jahren mit dem Holzpflug. In Regierungswirtschafts- und Aufbauplänen wird Kurdistan konsequent ausgeschlossen. Es gibt in Kurdistan keine Staatsinvestitionen im Sinne des Volkswohlstandes. Bodenreform ist in Kurdistan ein Fremdwort. Unter dem Vorwand, daß sie Großgrundbesitzer seien und das Volk ausbeuten, hatte die Regierung 1960 unter der Herrschaft der Militärjunta 56 Kurden enteignet und in die Westtürkei verbannt. Das war die einzige "Bodenreformaktion" in der ganzen Türkei, obwohl es im türkisch besiedelten Teil mehr und größere Großgrundbesitzer gibt. Später schickte man diese Leute nach Kurdistan zurück und stärkte ihren Einfluß und erhöhte den Druck auf die Bauern. Da in Türkisch-Kurdistan keine Industrie vorhanden ist, ist bis heute die Bildung einer kurdischen Arbeiterklasse ausgeblieben, und es herrscht eine große Arbeitslosigkeit.

Das Straßennetz mit Ausnahme der Natostraße ist mehr als primitiv. Obwohl Kurdistan 1/3 der Fläche der Türkei ausmacht, beträgt die Länge der Landstraßen 1/6 der Gesamttürkei. Die bestehenden Land- und Luftverkehrslinien sind zu militärischen Zwecken gebaut. Das ist die Folge der Politik, den Verkehr zwischen den kurdischen Städten und Ortschaften auf einem Minimum zu halten, damit die primitive Sozialstruktur und die mittelalterlichen Produktionsmittel unverändert bleiben.

Während für die türkischen Flüchtlinge in Kurdistan moderne Wohnsiedlungen angelegt werden, werden für die Kurden moderne Gefängnisse gebaut. Kurdistan ist übersät von Kasernen und Militäranlagen, denn es ist ein Umschlagplatz für Nato und Cento. Das alles wird natürlich mit den Steuergeldern der Kurden gemacht. Um diese Tatsache der Aufmerksamkeit der Weltöffentlichkeit entziehen zu können, wurde Kurdistan zum Notstands- und Militärgelände erklärt. Jeder Erforschung und Erschließung Kurdistans wird dadurch entgegnet; d.h. Kurdistan bleibt weiterhin in einem System der türkischen Scheindemokratie unterprivilegiert.

Zu dem Türkisierungsprogramm der Regierung gehört die Namensänderung Kurdischer Ortschaften und Städte, denn das was auf Kurdentum einen Hinweis gibt, muß verschwinden und mindestens dem Schein nach türkisch sein.

Das Schul- und Unterrichtswesen ist notdürftig. In den Schulen wird türkisch unterrichtet. Das Unterrichten in kurdischer Sprache ist verboten. Die Pflege der kurdischen Sprache und des kurdischen Volkstums ist auf das Mündliche unter der Bevölkerung beschränkt. Die für die ersten 5 Jahre bestehende Schulpflicht steht für Kurdistan nur auf dem

Papier. Die schlechte Schulbildung, verursacht durch den großen Lehrermangel und durch die Tatsache, daß in Kurdistan nach einem Sondergesetz nur jene Lehrer Dienst tun, die gerade ihre Lehrerausbildung beendet haben oder die strafversetzt sind, verringert die Aufnahmekancen der kurdischen Abiturienten in die türkischen Universitäten, denn die Aufnahmeprüfungen werden nur an dem weit höheren Unterrichtsniveau der Schulen in türkisch besiedelten Teilen der Türkei orientiert. Hinzu kommt, daß die kurdischen Schüler die Grundschule dazu brauchen, die türkische Sprache zu lernen. Kurdische Hochschulabsolventen haben eine ungewisse Zukunft, denn sie finden sehr schwer eine Einstellungsmöglichkeit, weil die türkische Polizei mit allen Mitteln die Arbeitgeber unter Druck setzt und eine Einstellung verhindert. Jene Hochschulabsolventen, die in den "Verruf" gekommen sind, sich zum Kurdentum, also zur eigenen Abstammung zu bekennen, müssen als einfache Soldaten, im Gegensatz zu ihren türkischen Kollegen, zwei Jahre Militärdienst ableisten. Während dieses "Staatsdienstes" werden sie mit unerdenklichen Methoden jeder menschenunwürdigen Behandlung ausgesetzt.

Noch zwei weitere realitätsfremde Beispiele für die faschistische Assimilationspolitik der herrschenden türkischen Offiziers- und Intellektuellenelite:

- 1961 hat die Regierung unter İnönü mit dem Bau von 42 sog. Lokal-Internatsschulen in Kurdistan angefangen. Die Baukosten beliefen sich auf 18 - 20 Millionen TL (Türkische Pfund), und für jede Schule wird jährlich ein Kostenaufwand von etwa 1 Mill. TL benötigt. In diesen Schulen werden die von klein auf ihren Familien gegen ihren Willen weggenommenen kurdischen Kinder mit türkisch chavinistisch nationalistischer Erziehung ausgebildet. Die Schulung ist darauf ausgerichtet, diesen Kindern Haß und Abscheu gegen ihre kurdische Abstammung einzuhämmern.

- In Kurdistan hat die Regierung in den letzten Jahren mit einer Hast eine große Anzahl von Radiostationen errichtet, nachdem sie festgestellt hatte, daß überall in Türkisch-Kurdistan kurdische Auslandssender gehört werden und diesbezügliche Verbote nicht halfen. Naturgemäß ließen sich die türkischen Machthaber wieder von ihren irrationellen faschistisch nationalen Emotionen verführen und machten für diese Radiosender große Investitionen. Da das Sendeprogramm nur türkisch ist und keinen informativen Charakter hat, werden sie nicht gehört. Das zeigt erneut, wie die Assimilationspolitik der türkischen faschistischen Nationalbourgeoisie jedes Maß der Vernunft übersteigt.

Es gehört zu dem faschistisch nationalistischen Charakter der türkischen Regierenden und ihrer Aufgabe, als Handlanger der Imperialisten zu fungieren, periodisch kurdische Intellektuelle zu verhaften und das kurdische Volk zu terrorisieren. Am 17.12.1959 hat die Regierung Menderes unter dem Vorwand der "Kurdischen Gefahr" und der "Kommunistischen Bewegung" 50 kurdische Intellektuelle verhaftet. Der Innenminister Namik Gedik legte, angesichts des Besuches einer US-Delegation in Ankara, den Schwerpunkt auf eine Jagd nach den Kommunisten, um von seinen Herren in Washington mehr Geld zu erbetteln. Im krassen Widerspruch zu der Verfassung der Türkei, wußten die Angehörigen der Inhaftierten 3 Monate lang nicht, wo die Inhaftierten sich befinden. Sie mußten 13 Monate, ohne ein gerichtliches Verfahren, in den bekannten "Todeszellen" des Militärgefängnisses von Harbiye verbringen, die den "Tigerkäfig" genannten US-Gefängniszellen in Südvietnam ähneln. Mißhandlungen und Folterungen waren die selbstverständliche Behandlung der Inhaftierten. Emin Batu starb nach 4 Monaten infolge dieser unmenschlichen, verbre-

cherischen Mißhandlungen. Nach 13 Monaten wurden sie freigelassen, weil die Gerichte die Anschuldigungen nicht nachweisen konnten. Das war der Anfang einer Verhaftungswelle in den fünfziger Jahren, die heute noch andauert. Die vorläufig letzte bekannte Massenverhaftung war am 16. Oktober 1970, wobei 21 kurdische Studenten, Schriftsteller und Persönlichkeiten ins Gefängnis wanderten und kurze Zeit darauf auf freien Fuß gesetzt wurden.

Diese und viele andere faschistische Terroraktionen gegen das kurdische Volk sind sinnlose Polizeimaßnahmen zur Einschüchterung unseres Volkes im Kampf für seine demokratischen Nationalrechte. Die nach der Verkündung des Friedensabkommens am 11. März 1970 zwischen der kurdischen Revolutionsführung und der irakischen Regierung, auf der Basis "Autonomie für Kurdistan und Demokratie für Irak" verschärfte Kommandoaktion in Türkisch-Kurdistan zielte auf einen erzwungenen Aufstand der kurdischen Bevölkerung, um dann erneute Massaker an ihr zu rechtfertigen und von den Ereignissen in Irakisch-Kurdistan abzulenken. In zahlreichen kurdischen Ortschaften und Städten wurden Frauen und Männer völlig entkleidet den ganzen Tag durch die Ortschaften geführt. Vergewaltigung der Frauen, in Anwesenheit ihrer Männer, waren als Demütigung und Herausforderung der Männer gedacht. Christliche Kurden wurden von Kommandos mit Gewalt beschnitten. Die Durchführung dieser Kommandoaktionen ähneln einer Invasion in ein fremdes und feindliches Land. Die siebzehnstündige Belagerung der kurdischen Stadt Silvan am 8. April 1970 durch 2000 Kommandos mit 200 Militärfahrzeugen, 6 Hubschraubern und einer großen Zahl von Jagdbombern der türkischen Luftwaffe verrät die verbrecherische, feindliche Terrorpolitik der türkischen herrschenden Zivil-Juntapolitik in Kurdistan. Die Kommandos führen sich in Kurdistan auf wie die US-Soldaten in Südvietnam. Bei ihren verfassungs- und menschenrechtswidrigen Gewaltaktionen berufen sie sich auf einen Beschluß des türkischen Ministerrates. Viele kurdische Familien haben aus Angst vor diesem Terror die Türkei verlassen. Die Regierungskreise, nach heftigen Protesten in der Presse, in der Öffentlichkeit und Diskussionen im Parlament bezeichneten diese Terrorakte als "Entwaffnung". Die offiziell bekannte Zahl der Todesopfer dieser "Entwaffnung" beträgt 15 Tote, darunter auch Frauen und Kinder. Diese Demütigungs- und Terroraktionen der Kommandos dauern heute noch an. Am 4.1.1971 wurde in der frühen Morgenstunde die Ortschaft Reşat belagert und alle Bewohner aus ihren Häusern geholt. Frauen, Kinder und Männer mußten den ganzen Tag draußen in der Kälte verbringen und wurden geschlagen und gefoltert. Ein 10 Tage altes Baby starb infolge der Kälte. Der Kommandeur dieser Belagerungseinheit gab bekannt: "Ab jetzt werden alle Frauen völlig entkleidet und müssen an den Kommandos vorbeimarschieren". Das letzte, uns bekannte Todesopfer ist der Kurde Abdülkadir Acar, der durch tagelange eigenhändige Mißhandlungen des türkischen Majors Ayhan Deniz am 19.1.1971 im Krankenhaus an Gehirnblutung starb. Auch die erwähnten Kommandoverbrechen an unserem Volk erinnern stark an zahlreiche My Lais der US-Soldaten in Südvietnam. In USA werden zwar Schauprozesse gegen Offiziere unteren Ranges geführt, aber in den türkischen regierenden Schichten ist man stolz auf diese Art Behandlung der "Bergtürken". Der von der türkischen Nationalbourgeoisie und den türkischen Pseudosozialisten kontrollierte Teil der Presse rechtfertigt naturgemäß diese Verbrechen an dem kurdischen Volk. Als einzige politische Partei hat die Arbeiterpartei der Türkei (TIP) sich gegen Kommandoaktionen gestellt und sie verurteilt.



Die speziell ausgebildeten türkischen Militärkommandos terrorisieren kurdische Zivilbevölkerung.

Hier wird eine Kurdin, mit dem Kind auf dem Rücken, von einem Kommandoangehörigen zur Mißhandlung abgeführt.

Die in ihren Grundzügen und Methoden kurz angesprochene rassistische Assimilations- und Unterdrückungspolitik der herrschenden türkischen Klassen dem kurdischen Volke gegenüber und die Ausbeutung der Volksmassen in der Türkei haben konstruktiv verändernde dynamische Kräfte hervorgerufen. Unter der Schutzgarantie der Verfassung der Türkei traten kurdische Intellektuelle, kurdische Bauern und Arbeiter Hand in Hand mit den türkischen Sozialisten an die Öffentlichkeit. Die krasse soziale, kulturelle und wirtschaftliche Vernachlässigung von Kurdistan und die dadurch entstandene Gleichgewichtsstörung zwischen Ost- und Westtürkei wurden mit ihren Ursachen angesprochen. Das Tabu der kurdischen Nationalfrage wurde gebrochen. Man spricht und schreibt ausführlich über die zwielichtige Rolle der herrschenden Klassen und stellt fest, wie sie die ethnologischen, sozialen, kulturellen und wirtschaftlichen Realitäten des Landes ignorieren und bewußt verstellen. Man weist darauf hin, daß die Regierenden nicht den Interessen der Völker der Türkei dienen, sondern als Diener ihrer kapitalistisch imperialistischen Herren fungieren, indem sie den Kampf des kurdischen Volkes für seine demokratischen Nationalrechte unterdrücken, und die Völker der Türkei in feindliche Lager spalten und ausbeuten.

Das Zusammengehen der kurdischen Intellektuellen und der türkischen Sozialisten mit den unterdrückten breiten Volksmassen hat bereits große Erfolge erzielt. Durch die öffentliche Aufklärungsarbeit und die wissenschaftlichen Analysen der sozialen, kulturellen, ökonomischen sowie politischen Fragen des Landes sind die Völker der Türkei heute weitgehend in die Lage versetzt, die Ursachen der Mißstände zu sehen und setzen sich kollektiv für die realen Lösungen ihrer Probleme ein. Die Tatsache, daß im Jahre 1967 begonnenen sogenannten "Demonstrationen von Osten" ist an sich eine Folge dieser Entwicklung. Die Demonstrationen fanden in zahlreichen Städten Kurdistans statt. Die kurdischen Intellektuellen, Bauern und Arbeiter, zum ersten Mal in der Geschichte der Republik Türkei, protestierten öffentlich gegen die rassistische Assimilations- und Diskriminierungspolitik der Machthaber in Ankara und ihre Verleumdungen dem kurdischen Volke gegenüber. Die Demonstranten führten mit sich mitunter folgende Spruchbänder:

Bürger von Osten! Kämpfe um Dein
gesetzliches Recht. Die Einheit wird
nicht in Frage gestellt, wenn man sein
Recht fordert.

Unser Ziel ist die Verwirklichung der
Brüderlichkeit, der Gleichheit und
des Wohlergehens in der Türkei.

Wir wollen keine Gendarmen, wir
wollen Lehrer.
Wir wollen keine Kasernen, wir
wollen Schulen.

Warum für den Westen (Westtürkei)
Industrie, Straßen und für den Osten
(Türkisch-Kurdistans) Militärkommandos
und Kasernen?

Erst ausbeuten und dann zum Schweigen bringen
Schluß mit der imperialistischen Gesinnung!

Alle politischen Parteien des Landes verfolgten aufmerksam diese, in der Geschichte der Türkei einmaligen Ereignisse. Die Regierungspartei hat im Gegensatz zu den anderen, die Demonstranten als Verräter an der Einheit der Türkei und Feinde des Volkes bezeichnet. Durch Polizeimaßnahmen und Gegenaktionen versuchte die sogenannte "Gerechtigkeitspartei" (AP) des Premiers Demirel die Veranstaltungen zu verhindern und zu sabotieren. Der Sprecher der Volkspartei (CHP) Kemal Satir stellte in seiner Rede in Mardin fest: "Wir wollten bei diesen Veranstaltungen feststellen, ob und wie weit die Einflüsse von Innen und von Außen in Bezug auf die Zerstörung der Einheit des Vaterlandes vorhanden sind.

Mit Freude und Stolz können wir sagen, daß die tapferen und patriotischen Kinder des Gebietes, Hüter der Einheit des Vaterlandes sind...". Die Arbeiterpartei der Türkei (TIP) beteiligte sich direkt an den Demonstrationsveranstaltungen.

Auf der politischen Bühne der Türkei verdient der 4. Kongreß der Arbeiter-Partei der Türkei (TIP) große Aufmerksamkeit. Die Beschlüsse des Kongresses vom Oktober 1970 über die kurdische Nationalfrage, kündigen den Beginn einer hoffnungsvollen, demokratischen Zukunft der Völker

der Türkei an. Diese Beschlüsse sind auch deshalb besonders erwähnenswert, weil sie richtungweisend sind und die Haltung der türkischen Sozialisten – wohlbemerkt aber nicht der Pseudosozialisten – in der Nationalfrage der Völker der Türkei klarstellen.

Der Wortlaut der Kongreßbeschlüsse:

"Der große 4. Kongreß der Arbeiter-Partei der Türkei beschließt und verkündet, daß

- im Osten der Türkei das kurdische Volk lebt, das faschistische Regime der herrschenden Klassen von Anfang an eine Terror- und Assimilationspolitik dem kurdischen Volke gegenüber betrieben hat, die von Zeit zu Zeit den Charakter einer blutigen Unterdrückung annahm,
- eine der Hauptursachen der Rückständigkeit des Wohngebietes des kurdischen Volkes, im Verhältnis zu anderen Teilen der Türkei, die ökonomische und soziale Politik der Regierungen der herrschenden Klasse ist, die zu dem Ungleichheitsgesetz des Kapitalismus hinzukommt und die aufgrund der Tatsache, daß dort das kurdische Volk lebt, betrieben wird,
- aus diesem Grunde "Die Frage von Osten" als eine lokale Entwicklungsfrage anzusehen nichts anderes ist, als die Fortsetzung der chauvinistisch nationalistischen Ansichten und Haltung der Regierungen der herrschenden Klassen,
- die Unterstützung der verfassungsmäßigen Bürgerrechte des kurdischen Volkes und die Verwirklichung seiner sämtlichen demokratischen Wünsche und Erwartungen eine natürliche und zwangsläufige revolutionäre Pflicht unserer Partei ist, die ein unweigerlicher Feind aller antidemokratischer, faschistischer und chauvinistischer Unterdrückungstendenzen ist,
- es die stetige Grundfrage des ideologischen Kampfes und der Weiterentwicklung der Partei ist, dafür zu sorgen, daß die rassistisch-nationalistische chauvinistische Bourgeois-Ideologie gegenüber dem kurdischen Volke mit Hilfe aller Parteiangehöriger, aller Arbeiter und der anderer Werktätigen vernichtet wird,
- die Partei die kurdische Frage im Zusammenhang der Notwendigkeiten des revolutionären Kampfes der Arbeiterklasse sieht.

Im Zuge der Demokratisierung der Volksbewegung und ihrer Aufklärung ist noch die Öffentlichkeitsarbeit der studentischen Organisationen wie Devrimci Doğu Kültür Ocakları (DDKO) und Dev-Genç zu erwähnen.

Die Befreiung der Türkei konnte nur durch den gemeinsamen Kampf des kurdischen und türkischen Volkes gegen den Imperialismus zum Erfolg geführt werden. Beide Völker bekundeten und dokumentierten mit ihrem Blut ein brüderliches und demokratisches Zusammenleben und Zusammenregieren der Türkei. Auf dieser Basis und durch die Vertreibung des Imperialismus legten sie den Grundstein der Republik Türkei.

Atatürk selbst bekannte sich auf dem Volkskongress in Sivas und Erzurum zum nationalen Recht des kurdischen Volkes. İnönü sprach in Lausanne von der Existenz des kurdischen Volkes und seinem gleichberechtigten Regieren der Türkei. Der Vertrag von Sevre garantierte das Recht des kurdischen Volkes auf Selbstbestimmung. Aber durch imperialistische Intrigen und ische Politik der herrschenden türkischen Zi-

vil-Juntakoalition sind diese Tatsachen längst verdrängt. Seit 50 Jahren wird die Existenz des kurdischen Volkes abgeleugnet, sein Kampf um seine demokratischen Nationalrechte blutig unterdrückt. Jede Art der Pflege des kurdischen Volkstums bleibt verboten. Eine grausame Maschinerie der rassistischen Assimilation der Kurden wurde in Bewegung gesetzt. Jeder kulturelle moralische Wert des kurdischen Volkes wurde einem Diffamierungsprozeß unterworfen. Die Erhebung des kurdischen Volkes gegen diese völker- und menschenrechtswidrige Politik wurden mit Massakern ja sogar mit Völkermord an der Zivilbevölkerung beantwortet.

Verhaftungen, Verbannungen und Terror der Regierungsorgane beherrschen heute noch das Leben in Kurdistan. Gesetze und Justiz bieten dem kurdischen Volke keinen Schutz; denn für Kurdistan gelten Willkür und faschistische Polizei- und Kommandogewaltaktionen. Die Verfassung der Türkei (Anayasa) bietet den Kurden keine Garantie auch wenn es darin heißt:

Paragraph 12

Vor dem Gesetz ist jeder gleich, ohne Rücksicht auf seine Sprache, seine ethnische Zugehörigkeit, sein Geschlecht, seine politische Überzeugung, sein religiöses Bekenntnis. Keiner Person, keiner Familie, keiner Gruppe oder keiner Klasse werden Privilegien gewährt.

Paragraph 20

Jeder hat die Freiheit des Denkens und der Meinungsbildung. Jeder hat das Recht, seine Gedanken und seine Meinung durch Wort, Schrift, Bild oder auf anderem Wege alleine oder mit anderen zu äußern und zu verbreiten.

Niemand kann zur Äußerung seiner Gedanken und seiner Meinung gezwungen werden.

Das alles taten und tun die herrschenden türkischen Klassen angeblich im Namen des türkischen Volkes und für die Einheit der Türkei. Gerade aber dadurch gefährden sie immer mehr das brüderliche Zusammenleben der Völker der Türkei, somit auch die Einheit der Republik. Sie trachten danach einerseits Privilegien für das türkische Volk zu schaffen, betreiben andererseits eine rücksichtslose nationale Unterdrückung und Assimilierung des kurdischen Volkes. Der türkische Außenminister Fatin Rüştü Zorlu, mußte unbeachtet dieser nationalen Unterdrückungspolitik seiner Regierung im April 1955 auf der Bandoung-Konferenz erklären: "Ich gebe dafür mein Ehrenwort, in Zusammenarbeit mit allen asiatischen und afrikanischen Brudervölkern, für die Befreiung der unterjochten Völker oder für die Schaffung der Ausübungsmöglichkeit ihrer menschlichen und demokratischen Nationalrechte jede Hilfe zu gewähren." Welch eine Politik der Doppelzüngigkeit und der Widersprüche! Das ist die Politik, mit der die herrschenden Klassen die Völker der Türkei betrogen und die Türkei sozial, kulturell und wirtschaftlich in einem halben Jahrhundert, seit der Gründung der Republik, keinen Schritt vorangebracht haben. Trotz reichlich vorhandener Ansätze für die Industrialisierung verwandelten sie die Türkei zum Militärlager des Nato- und Cento-Paktes und degradierten sie zu einem Land der Absatzmärkte für die Industrieländer. Sie schickten hunderttausende von ihren Bürgern als sog. Gastarbeiter, also als moderne Sklaven in die kapitalistischen Länder, um sich nicht um die Lösung ihrer Probleme kümmern zu müssen. Damit wird nicht den Arbeitern der Türkei sondern der profitorientierten Monopolindustrie dieser Länder ein Dienst erwiesen.

Es steht außer Zweifel, daß die herrschenden faschistischen türkischen Nationalbourgeoisien nicht in der Lage sind, die sozialen, kulturellen und ökonomischen Probleme der Türkei wissenschaftlich zu analysieren und zu lösen. Sie regieren nicht im Interesse der Völker der Türkei, sondern fungieren als Handlanger der kapitalistisch imperialistischen Mächte. Die fortschrittliche Entwicklung der Türkei ist nicht mit ihnen, sondern gegen sie möglich. Das ist die gemeinsame Aufgabe der fortschrittlichen Kräfte des kurdischen und des türkischen Volkes.

Es ist zu bemerken, daß das kurdische Volk heute mehr als je entschlossen und dafür ausgerüstet ist, seinen nationalen Befreiungskampf gegen faschistische Regime zu führen. Die erwähnte Terror- und Assimilationspolitik der regierenden Klassen konnte den Willen des kurdischen Volkes zur Er kämpfung seiner demokratischen Nationalrechte nicht brechen.

So wie Türkisch-Kurdistan ein Teil der Türkei ist, so ist auch sozial, kulturell, wirtschaftlich und politisch die Nationalfrage des kurdischen Volkes eine Frage der Gesamt-Türkei und muß folglich, im Rahmen der Republik Türkei, ohne Vorbehalt und demokratisch gelöst werden.

Jede Reform, jede revolutionäre Änderung der sozialen, kulturellen, wirtschaftlichen und politischen Struktur in der Türkei ist dazu verurteilt, einseitig und an der Oberfläche zu bleiben, solange der Realität der nationalen Frage des kurdischen Volkes nicht demokratisch Rechnung getragen wird. Das heißt, das kurdische Volk muß sein natürliches Recht haben, in einem Föderativsystem Kurdistan-Türkei sich selbst zu regieren. Nur dadurch kann jede reaktionäre rassistische nationale Unterdrückung vermieden werden und die Solidarität der Völker der Türkei mit anderen Völkern der Welt gegen Kolonialismus und Imperialismus erreicht werden, was ja die Grundvoraussetzung für den sozialen, ökonomischen und kulturellen Fortschritt der Völker ist und für ihre politische Unabhängigkeit unerlässlich ist.



Die älteste Darstellung von Kurden auf einem persischen (?) Siegelzylinder

BURCHARD BRENTJES

Ein Volk des Nahen Ostens steht noch in der Gegenwart im Schatten der Staatlichkeit anderer Völker. Verteilt auf vier Staaten, leben über 10 Millionen eines selbstbewußten Volkes, ohne nationale Rechte erlangt zu haben. Nur in der Sowjetunion hat eine kleine Minorität von ca. 100000 Menschen die volle Freiheit erhalten. Ansonsten ist über das Volk der Kurden in Europa wenig bekannt. Dies resultiert z. T. aus der heutigen Lage, so ist z. B. in der Türkei selbst der Name „Kurden“ verboten, z. T. aber auch daraus, daß die Kurden historisch sozusagen „zu spät“ kamen, um in der Geschichte des Alten Orients bekannt zu werden.

Sie sind keine Urbewohner in den heute von ihnen besetzten Berggebieten von Ankara bis zum Persischen Golf. Ihre Heimat sind wahrscheinlich die Steppen nordwärts des Kaukasus und des Schwarzen Meeres. Sie zogen als letzte Welle der großen indoarischen Wanderung nach Süden. Vor ihnen waren die Perser und Meder nach dem Westiran gezogen, hatten dort ihre Reiche gebildet und sind in die Geschichte eingegangen.

Die Einwanderung der Kurden im Schatten der Konsolidierung der medopersischen Macht ist zeitlich nicht direkt überliefert. Sie muß erschlossen werden. Mit einiger Sicherheit kann gesagt werden, daß sie in der Epoche der großen Achämenidenkönige (dem 6./5. Jahrhundert) bereits in ihren heutigen Wohngebieten sitzen, da ihre spätere Einwanderung sicher von persischer oder griechischer Seite berichtet worden wäre. Vor dem Ende des 8. Jahrhunderts fehlen ebenfalls Hinweise auf ihre Wanderung. Die assyrischen Berichte und die urartäischen Texte kennen in ihren derzeitigen Kernlanden die Perser, Meder und Mannäer. Um 844 beschrieben die Assyrer der „Parsua“ am Urmia-See und um 836 trafen sie die Madai im Gebiet von Hamadan.

Die 3. iranische Gruppe der assyrischen Berichte, die Zikirtu, saß im Täbrizgebiet. Im 8. Jahrhundert zogen die Perser vor der urartäischen Bedrohung nach Südosten weiter, der 715 die Mannäer zum Opfer fielen.

Auch in dieser Zeit kann es nicht zu einer nennenswerten Einwanderung kurdischer Stämme über die Kaukasusketten gekommen sein, sperrte doch Urartu die Pässe.

Erst das Ende des 8. Jahrhunderts brachte Völkerbewegungen, bei denen die Einwanderung großer Scharen nachweisbar ist. Sie sind unter dem Namen der Kimmerier-Skythenatürme bekannt geworden, wobei stets die Frage offen bleibt, wo denn die Träger dieser tief-

greifenden Unruhen geblieben sind, die im 7. Jahrhundert Urartu zerstörten, das phrygische und das lydische Reich vernichteten und bis Ägypten vorstießen. Unter der Herrschaft skythischer Großer, bekannt sind aus assyrischen Quellen Partatua und



Kurdischer Krieger mit spitzer Mütze, Holzschnitt nach G. A. OLIVIKAS Reise durch das Türkische Reich, Ägypten und Persien, während der Jahre 1793 bis 1798, Bd. III, Wien 1809, zu S. 153.

sein Sohn und Nachfolger Madyes, entstand ein skythisches Reich, das nach HERODOT für 28 Jahre selbst Medien einschloß (653—25). Die Hauptstadt des Reiches hat vermutlich bei der Ortschaft Sakkiz in Iranisch-Kurdistan gelegen, bei der vor einigen Jahren ein Schatzfund geborgen wurde, der neben assyrischen und echt skythischen Materialien auch lokale Arbeiten enthielt.

Unweit von Sakkiz, in dem schwer zugänglichen Herwaman-Massiv, wird heute noch ein iranischer Dialekt gesprochen, der von den Umwohnern nicht ohne weiteres verstanden wird. Das Hewraman, das u. a. die Wortendungen wesentlich weniger abgeschliffen hat, als das Sorani-Kurdisch, könnte die Sprache einer in diese Bergwelt geflüchteten Restbevölkerung sein.

Zerschlagen wurde dieses Imperium durch CYAXARES von Medien in einer sagenumwobenen Schlacht im Gebiet des Urmia-Sees (?).



Medopersisches Siegel, zweier Meder im Kampf gegen zwei „Skytho“-Kurden. W. GÜNTHERS, Das Schwert der Skythen in Südrussland, Berlin 1928, Taf. 9c.

Die Skythen sollen nach dieser Niederlage nach Norden abgezogen sein.

Dies mag für den herrschenden Clan zutreffen – der wie die Herodoteischen „Königskythen“ als Kollektiv über die anderen skythischen und nicht-skythischen Stämme des Reiches gestellt war. – die Masse der Bevölkerung ist sicher sitzengeblieben, denn von einem Bevölkerungsvakuum kann im 7./6. Jh. v. u. Z. im Nordirak nicht gesprochen werden.

Aus der Zeit des skythischen Reiches sind kaum Darstellungen erhalten, die eine ethnische Bestimmung der Träger des Reiches ermöglichen. Auch von medischer Seite ist wenig über die Skythen berichtet worden. Nur ein Zylindersiegel, leider unbekannter Herkunft, zeigt offenbar den siegreichen Kampf zweier Meder gegen zwei Skythen, die durch die spitzen „Skythenmützen“ charakterisiert werden können. Vermutlich soll dieser im 7. oder 6. Jh. v. u. Z. entstandene Zylinder den Sieg des CYAXARES über Madyes feiern. Ein Detail der Skythendarstellung ist meines Wissens bislang nicht beachtet worden, obwohl es über die ethnische Zusammensetzung des skythischen Reiches eine interessante Aussage gestattet. Die „Skythen“ tragen auf diesem Zylinder im Gegensatz zu den ca. 50 Darstellungen skythischer Krieger aus Südrussland und Mittelasien nicht die üblichen, unten geschlossenen Pluderhosen, sondern unten weit offene, in breiten Bahnen genähte Hosen.

Hosen dieser Art werden heute noch in einem Bezirk getragen, der damals zu den Zentralgebieten des skythischen Reiches gehörte. Es handelt sich um den

Bereich der Badinan-Kurden in der Südost-Türkei und dem Nordwestirak. Auch Mützen der dargestellten Form werden gelegentlich in Südkurdistan als Teil der Winterkleidung getragen.

Ich möchte daher annehmen, daß die auf diesem Zylinder von den Medern besiegten „Skythen“ Badinan-Kurden sein sollen, die als Soldaten des skythischen Reiches dargestellt werden. Das Skythentum dieses Reiches dürfte sich auf die Oberschicht beschränkt haben, während die Masse der Bevölkerung vermutlich kurdischen Stämmen zugehörte. Auch an



Badinan-Kurden, Nordirak, Aufnahme des Verfassers 1959.

der nach Kleinasien gerichteten kimmerischen Bewegung dürften Kurden maßgeblich beteiligt gewesen sein. Die heutige Vertreibung der Kurden entspricht weitgehend der Ausdehnung der kimmerisch-skythischen Wanderung.

Mit der Annahme, daß die Kurden im 7. Jh. unter kimmerisch-skythischer Führung in ihre heutigen Wohngebiete einwanderten, wäre die Frage nach der Zeit ihrer Wanderung beantwortet.

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KURDISTAN IN LEXIKA UND ENZYKLOPÄDIEN

Ein Brief an Club Francais du livre
8, rue de la Paix, 75 Paris 2

Wenn ich schreibe, so deshalb, um mit Ihrer Erlaubnis kurz auf die Artikel "Kurde" und "Kurdistan" einzugehen - die von Ihnen noch nicht veröffentlicht wurden -, ein Thema, das viele namhafte und ernstzunehmende Lexika in oberflächlicher und entstellender Weise behandeln.

Sie haben es gewiß schon erraten: Ich bin Kurde. Ich gehöre jenem Volk an, das Woodrow Wilson in seinem Entwurf eines "Paktes der SDN" (S.H.Hall: "Mandates, Dependencils and Tousteeships", London 1948, S.37) neben den lediglich den Armeniern und Arabern und ihnen gleichberechtigt als das Volk bezeichnete, das vom Ottomanischen Reich losgelöst und nach einer Mandatszeit unabhängig werden sollte, - ein Volk, dem der Vertrag von Sevres (1920, Abschn.III: Kurdistan, Art.62, 63 u.64) diese Unabhängigkeit versprochen und die der von Lausanne (1923) "vergessen" hat. Seitdem ist Kurdistan unter mehreren Staaten aufgeteilt wie man weiß der Türkei, dem Iran, dem Irak, Syrien und sogar zu einem ganz kleinen Teil unter den transkaukasischen Sowjetrepubliken. Natürlich haben die Kurden versucht, die Welt an ihre Existenz und ihre Rechte zu erinnern. Man kann sich denken, was ihnen dies eingebracht hat seitens derer, die sich ihr Land teilen, insbesondere derer, die im Jahre 1915 mehr als 1 Million Armenier massakriert haben: Unterdrückung, Verachtung und Diffamierung. Die Kurden waren kein Volk mehr, sondern "eine Ansammlung von nomadischen bzw. halbnomadischen Stämmen." Kurdistan, ein Name, der vor 1918 auf allen Karten zu finden war, verschwand von den politischen Karten (mit Ausnahme eines kleinen Gebietes im westlichen Iran, das nicht einmal ein Viertel der Bevölkerung des persischen Kurdistan umfaßt.)

Die kurdische Bevölkerung wurde ständig um 50% oder 75% vermindert und ist seit 50 Jahren starr festgelegt auf lächerlich geringe Zahlen, während es in Wirklichkeit das sich am stärksten vermehrende Volk dieser Region ist. Was die nationale Kurdenbewegung anbelangt, so war diese nurmehr "Banditentum", mit Vorliebe ein "von Anbeginn ererbtes", oder die "Tat des Auslandes". Freilich stammen die Verleumdungen nicht bloß aus den vergangenen 50 Jahren, denn die Bewegung ist ziemlich alt, so alt wie die der Armenier, der Serben, der Griechen oder der Bulgaren im Ottomanischen Reich.

Sicher, das alles ist nicht so schlimm, viel schlimmer ist, daß die Kurdologie und die "offizielle Geschichtsschreibung, von der sowjetischen bis zur westlichen, nicht von gewissen Irrtümern frei sind. Die Macht der Stereotypen und der allgemein anerkannten Ideen ist bekannt, ganz zu schweigen von politischen oder diplomatischen Erwägungen.

Schon! Diderot sagte in seiner Enzyklopädie (1754, B IV, S.572): "Kurden (die), mod.Geogr.Asiatische Völker, teils in der Türkei, teils in Persien. Die Kurden besitzen ein dem alten Assyrien und Chaldäa benachbartes Land; sie sind unabhängig, niemals seßhaft, sondern wechseln oft den Aufenthaltsort."

"Kurdistan (das), mod.Geogr. So heißt das Land, das von den Kurden Asiens nordöstlich von Diabekir und dem Irak bewohnt wird. Bitlis ist seine Hauptstadt."

Diderot sagt uns nicht, ob die Kurden ihre Hauptstadt "mitnahmen", wenn

sie sich "fortmachten". Sie sind "Völker", ganz gewiß, oder anders ausgedrückt: eine Ansammlung von Stämmen. Kurdistan erstreckt sich in etwa nordöstlich von Diyarbakir, einer Stadt, die heute Hauptstadt des westlichen Kurdistan ist (ethnographisch) und die mit ihren 102 653 Einwohnern im Jahre 1965 (nach der türkischen Zählung vom 24.10.1965) eine der großen, typisch kurdischen Städte der türkischen Republik ist.

Der "Petit Larousse" sagt mit Recht über Kurdistan, daß es zwischen der Türkei, dem Irak und Persien aufgeteilt sei (wobei er jedenfalls Syrien vergißt). Aber denkt man je daran, nur einen Satz auf die Kurden zu verwenden, indem man von der menschlichen Geographie dieser Staaten spricht? In allen Larousse-Wörterbüchern sind die Kurden seit 50 Jahren bei 3 Millionen Menschen stehengeblieben, während sich indessen die Einwohnerzahl des Vorderen Orient verdreifacht hat. Nebenbei möchte ich hervorheben, daß nach dem "Livre jaune", welches die Frage der Armenier behandelt und 1896 durch das französische Außenministerium veröffentlicht wurde, die Kurden zur damaligen Zeit 2821883 Köpfe zählten, und zwar in Wilajets des osmanischen Reiches (Erzeroum, Van, Bitis, Mossoul, Diyarbakir und Elaziz), also unter Ausschluß der Kurden in Persien und derer, die an anderer Stelle in besagtem Reich lebten. Anerkanntermaßen sind die Kurden, vom völkischen sowohl als vom linguistischen Standpunkt, ein indoeuropäisches Volk aus der Familie der Iraner oder Arier. Ich möchte bemerken, daß das Wort "arisch" von "Aria" oder "Iraner" kommt. Aber hat man je daran gedacht, einen Unterschied zwischen "Iraner" und "Perser" zu machen? Die Kurden sind in dem Maße "Iraner" wie die Polen Slawen, dagegen nicht ein bißchen mehr "Perser" als die Polen "Russen" sind. Es gibt keine einheitliche iranische Sprache, aber iranische Sprachen, darunter das "farsi", die der Perser, die dem Kurdischen ebenso verwandt ist wie das Französische dem Italienischen. Nun aber entdecke ich im neuen "Petit Larousse illustre" von 1970, daß das Kurdische lediglich "jene türkische Sprache ist, die von den Kurden gesprochen wird" (ibid.). Was würde man sagen, wenn ich das Baskische definierte als "das Spanische, das von den Basken gesprochen wird?"

Die Ayoubiden, Herrscher im muselmanischen Orient des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts, waren Kurden. Im Kampf des Islam gegen die Kreuzzüge, ein Kampf unter der Leitung und Organisation der Ayoubiden - beschränkte sich die Rolle des kurdischen Volkes nicht darauf, die Dynastie zu stellen. Auf allen Kriegsschauplätzen, sogar in Ägypten, im Sudan und im Jemen, bestanden die ayoubidischen Armeen fast je zur Hälfte aus kurdischen Kontingenten und aus türkisch-seldschukischen; der Rest aus Mameluken (insbesondere tscherkessischer Herkunft). Araber gab es nur sehr wenige in diesen Armeen (Zeit arabischen Niederganges). In der ersten Schlacht von Akra (Ptolemais), am 4. Oktober 1189, kamen auf 14 Generäle der mohammedanischen Armee 6 Kurden, zudem der Oberbefehlshaber Sultan Saladin: Ihre Namen sind bekannt und die Gegenden Kurdistan, aus denen sie stammten (S. "Studies in Caucasian History", Kap. "Prehistory of Saladin", S. 141, London 1953, ein Werk von Wladimir Minorsky, Professor der Geschichte an den Universitäten London und Cambridge). Wäre es unter diesen Umständen nicht angebracht, das Schweigen über die Kurden und ihre Rolle aufzuheben, wenn von den Kreuzzügen die Rede ist, und zu erwähnen, daß Saladin und die Ayoubiden Kurden waren? Der ägyptische Sultan Touran-Chah, der den französischen König Ludwig den Heiligen im Jahre 1250 gefangen nahm, war Kurde ayoubidischer Abstammung: Aus Diyarbakir (Kurdistan) an der Spitze einer kurdischen Armee kommend, schlug er ihn kurz nach seiner Ankunft in Ägypten. Hat man je gehört, daß nach der Einnahme Jerusalems durch die Mohammedaner der Großmufti in seiner aus diesem Anlaß in der Al Aksa-Moschee gehal-

tenen Rede folgendes sagte: "der Islam sei durch die kurdische Schwester gerettet worden", worauf der ritterliche Saladin entgegnete: "durch die Schwester des Islam"? Der amtliche Geschichtsschreiber des Saladin, der berühmte Ibn Al-Athir, war Kurde aus der Stadt Duazireh (Cizre). Ibn Khallikan, ein anderer berühmter Geschichtsschreiber der Ayoubiden und Biograph des Saladin (1211-1282), war ebenfalls Kurde. Wer weiß das schon? Ich habe sogar das Dorf Khalliken, Geburtsort des Geschichtsschreibers, in der Nähe von Sulaimaniyeh im irakischen Kurdistan besucht.

Gewiß, diese beiden Geschichtsschreiber haben arabisch geschrieben, Latein des damaligen islamischen Orients. Ist es dagegen bekannt, daß "die kurdischen Stämme" eine sehr alte nationale Literatur, d.h. etwas Geschriebenes und nicht nur Folklore, besitzen? Der berühmte Dichter Melaya Cezri (Mollah Dyaziri) lebte im 15. Jahrhundert in Cizre und verfaßte sein Werk in seiner Nationalsprache. Vor mir liegt das Nationalepos, das sog. Mem-û-Zin, das wir dem kurdischen Dichter Ehmede Khani verdanken, der in Bayazid, am Fuße des Ararat, im 17. Jahrhundert lebte. Das Werk wurde in der Originalfassung und in einer russischen Übersetzung von der Akademie der Wissenschaften der UdSSR herausgegeben (Moskau 1962): Indem er seine nationale Sprache gebraucht, fordert hier der Dichter seine Landleute auf, das osmanische und persische Joch abzuwerfen, um einen geeinten und unabhängigen kurdischen Staat zu errichten. Kurdistan setzte sich zur damaligen Zeit aus Fürstentümern zusammen, die hinsichtlich ihrer inneren Angelegenheiten unabhängig, indes alle beide Vasallen der zwei angrenzenden Reiche (des osmanischen und persischen) waren.

Ist bekannt, daß sich die kurdischen Nomadenstämme zu mehr als 70% aus einem seßhaften Bauerntum, zu etwa 27% aus Städtern, davon mindestens 20 000 Akademikern, zusammensetzen, wobei die halbnomadischen Stämme nur etwa 2% dieses Volkes ausmachen? Kirkouk und Kirmanschah, beides kurdische Städte (mit einer türkischen Minderheit in Kirkouk), zählen jede ungefähr 200 000 Einwohner (1970). Was die "3 Millionen Kurden" des Larousse betrifft, - nun, so glauben Sie mir, das sind heute, in einem unterdrückten und geteilten Kurdistan, an die 14 Millionen! (So das zusammengefaßte Ergebnis meiner statistischen Untersuchungen, das ich natürlich im Rahmen dieses Briefes nicht detailliert belegen kann.) Kurdistan, das Land der Kurden, von dem berühmten osmanischen Sultan Selim I als solches in einem offiziellen Akt des Jahres 1515 anerkannt, erstreckt sich über ungefähr 475 000 km². Über seine kurdische Bevölkerung hinaus zählt dieses Land mehr als 2 Millionen Einwohner verschiedener Minderheiten, von denen wiederum die Mehrheit des Türkischen mächtig ist.

Da von Selim I die Rede ist, lassen Sie mich hinzufügen, daß sein amtlicher Geschichtsschreiber und vertraulicher Berater in den Angelegenheiten Kurdistans ein Kurde aus Bitlis (Betlis) mit Namen Idris Bitlisi war. Ist bekannt, daß der deutsche Historiker v. Hammer, der größte europäische Spezialist in osmanischer Geschichte, gesagt hat, man verdanke diesem Kurden die erste umfassende historische Darstellung des osmanischen Reichs? Es handelt sich um "Hasht-Bahisht" bzw. "Selim-Namen", ein Werk, das in der ägyptischen Nationalbibliothek (im Manuskript) aufbewahrt wird.

Es wäre zweifelsohne angebracht, wenn sich auf einer Karte des Vorderen Orient der Name Kurdistan fände, nämlich überall, wo die Kurden die Mehrheit darstellen. Nun, man findet ihn in einigen Lexika, mal im Südosten der Türkei, mal im Westen des Iran, bald im Nordosten des Irak - sofern er nicht durch Abwesenheit glänzt. Haben Sie übrigens gewußt, daß die Gebiete von Van, Ararat und Erzeroum, in gewissen Werken standhaft als "Armenien" bezeichnet, größtenteils von Kurden bevölkert sind, und daß

sie Nordkurdistan bilden? Das französische "Livre jaune" von 1896, bereits oben zitiert, stellte längst fest, daß nirgendwo in diesen Gebieten die Armenier in der Mehrzahl waren. Graf Lobanoff, damaliger Außenminister Rußlands, sprach von einem "Armenien ohne Armenier". Tatsächlich bestand Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts die Bevölkerung nur zu 13% aus Armeniern. Heute hat sich dieser Anteil bis auf Null verringert. Die Armenier der Türkei leben gegenwärtig als Minderheiten in einigen großen türkischen Städten, vor allem in Istanbul und Smyrna. Das ist zwar bedauernswert, ich kann indes nicht mehr, als unbefangen die Tatsache feststellen.

In der Zeit nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg blickte Kurdistan auf eine eben-solche Kultur wie die Nachbarländer zurück. Heutzutage ist diese Feststellung insgesamt immer noch richtig, oder doch zu einem gewissen Grad. Gewiß, die Kurden besitzen keine sehr großen Städte, vergleichbar den Hauptstädten des Orient wie Ankara, Teheran, Bagdad, Damaskus, aber ihre ländlichen Gebiete fallen der gleichen Unterentwicklung anheim wie die türkischen, persischen oder arabischen. Kurdistan unserer Tage, so wie ich es kenne, unterscheidet sich hingegen beträchtlich von dem des Jahrhundertbeginns, so wie einige als aktuell geltende Werke bzw. Artikel es beschreiben.

Trotz der nationalen Unterdrückung, deren Opfer es seit über 50 Jahren ist, hat es eine gewisse Entwicklung verzeichnen können.

Ich weiß wohl, daß Sie sich bei der Verfassung ihrer Artikel an bedeutende Professoren und Spezialisten gewandt haben. Aber Sie werden mir zustimmen: Es ist nicht so leicht, sachliche und dem neuesten Stand entsprechende Informationen über dieses Volk zu geben.

Sie werden mich verstehen: Aus purer Vorsicht habe ich mir erlaubt, den Schritt nach vorn zu tun, indem ich Ihnen die vorliegenden Überlegungen unterbreite. Es wäre sowohl für die Kurden als für ihr Werk schade, wenn dieses sachlichen Irrtümern unterliegen oder wenn es veraltete oder unvollständige Informationen weitergeben würde.

Der 8. Band der "Encyclopaedia Universalis" bricht beim Wort "Interesse" ab: Darf ich Ihnen vielleicht vorschlagen, daß ich mit Ihrer geschätzten Erlaubnis die Artikel "Kurde" und "Kurdistan" lese, ebenso diejenigen, die sich auf bestimmte kurdische Städte beziehen - sofern sie überhaupt beabsichtigen davon zu sprechen-, nämlich solche wie "Kirkouk", "Kirmanschah", "Mahabad" (Sitz einer autonomen kurdischen Republik, die die Berichterstattung während der sowjet-iranischen Kriege 1946 unterhielt), "Oufra" (Ufra), "Gineh" (Sanendaj), "Sulaimaniyeh" (so nennen es die Araber, die Kurden sagen "Sulaimani") "Van" (wo mein Großvater geboren ist). Ein Gleiches gilt für die Artikel "Irak", "Syrien", "Türkei", eventuell "Transkaukasien" und "UdSSR". Ich weiß wohl, daß man solche Artikel nicht mit Informationen über die Kurden überladen sollte, aber es wäre auch nicht angebracht, über letztere einfach hinwegzugehen, wenn von der Geographie bzw. Anthro-Geographie dieser Staaten die Rede ist. Zugestanden, ich weiß nicht, was Sie unter dem Stichwort "Ayoubiden" oder "Kreuzzüge" geschrieben haben, aber ich würde ebenfalls gerne Ihren Artikel über "Saladin" lesen. Es wäre ohne Zweifel von Nutzen, einmal genau zu bestimmen, wer in den Kreuzzügen die muslimischen Gegner von Richard Löwenherz, von Phillip August, von Friedrich Barbarossa und von Ludwig IX waren. Es waren, wie man weiß, kurdische Sultane, Ayoubiden.

Ich verspreche Ihnen, die Artikel zu lesen, die Sie mir bitte zusenden wollen, Sie auf mögliche Irrtümer aufmerksam zu machen und Ihnen ge-

benenfalls Texte vorzulegen, damit Sie sie vervollständigen oder ausarbeiten, je nach Wunsch mit einer Karte von Kurdistan und bibliographischen Hinweisen, die zwangsläufig summarisch sein müssen. Ich wäre natürlich glücklich, selber die Artikel "Kurde" und "Kurdistan" nach Ihren eigenen Anweisungen bearbeiten zu können.

Lausanne, den 17.Feb.1971

gez.: Dr.Ismet Cherif Vanly

NEWROZ - DER NEUE TAG

Alljährlich in der 1. Nacht des Frühlings verabschieden sich die Kurden in einem großen Fest vom Winter, von seiner Kälte, seinem Frost und seinen dunklen Tagen und gehen einem neuen Jahr entgegen. In jener Nacht werden die Flammen eines großen Feuers von allen Spitzen der hohen kurdischen Berge zum Himmel emporleuchten und allen Kurden zeigen, daß jetzt der Winter vorbei ist. Dieses Newrozfeuer symbolisiert auch die inneren Regungen der Kurden und ihr Nationalgefühl. Ein seelisches Gefühl, das durch die Schwierigkeiten und Unterdrückungen während vieler Jahrhunderte bis jetzt nicht ausgemerzt werden konnte. Trotz all dieser Arten des Quälens und Tötens hat sich diese Seele immer mehr gekräftigt und ist auferstanden auf dem Wege der Freiheit des Kurdenvolkes und der Unabhängigkeit und Einheit Kurdistans. Dieses Fest, das bei den Kurden ein Neujahrsfest ist, soll schon viele Jahrhunderte vor Christus gefeiert worden sein. Es ist beim Scheiden des Winters und dem Einzug des Frühlings mit Wärme, Licht, Schönheit und Farbe von den iranischen Völkern als Neujahrsfest begangen worden.

Lassen Sie sich noch erzählen, was die kurdische Legende über Newroz sagt:

Vor vielen hundert Jahren, so geht die Legende, herrschte in Kurdistan der Tyrann Eydehak. Er betete zwei große Schlangen an, die er mit dem Hirn der Kinder seiner kurdischen Untertanen fütterte. In dieser Zeit lebte der Kurde Kawe, vom Beruf Schmied und Vater von 9 Kindern. Kawe hatte den Schlangen von Aydehak bereits 8 Kinder opfern müssen und bangte um das Leben seines letzten Kindes. Es war der Tag, an dem Eydehak als Fraß für seine Schlangen das neunte Kind von Kawe forderte. An dem Tag feierte Eydehak in seinem Hof mit Trinken, Tanzen und Vergnügungen das Frühlingsfest. Kawe war, aus Trauer um sein Kind, der Feier ferngeblieben. Er suchte immer wieder nach einem Weg, wie er sein Kind retten könnte und dachte bei sich, daß Aydehak und seine Hofmannschaft von der Newrozfeier betrunken sein müßten. Er sah die Gelegenheit für gekommen, um das der Tyrannei überdrüssige Volk zum Sturz der Gewaltherrschaft aufzuwiegeln und lief mit seinem Schmiedehammer in der Hand auf die Straße. Dort rief er die Leute zusammen und stürmte mit ihnen den Palast Aydehaks. Kawe zertrümmerte mit seinem Schmiedehammer dem Tyrannen den Kopf. Somit gelang es dem Schmied Kawe, mit der Unterstützung des Volkes, den Tyrannen und seine Schreckensherrschaft zu beseitigen. Darauf wählten die Kurden den Besten unter sich, der Fereydun hieß, und riefen ihn zum neuen Führer aus. Seit dieser Zeit feiern die Kurden alljährlich den Tag des

Frühlingsanfangs als Nationalfeiertag und erinnern sich an diese Befreiung. Dieser Tag heißt "Newroz" d.h. "Der Neue Tag". Auf dem Newrozfest versprechen sich die Kurden jedes Jahr erneut, unermüdlich nach der nationalen Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit des kurdischen Volkes zu streben. Darum hat dieser Tag bei den Kurden zweierlei Bedeutung: Er ist Neujahrsfest und Nationalfeiertag.

Laßt das diesjährige Feuer des Newrozfestes höher als früher emporlodern, daß die dunklen Nächte unserer Brüder in der Türkei, in Iran und Syrien von seinem Schein überstrahlt werden, daß auch sie eines Tages zusammen mit ihren persischen, türkischen und arabischen Freunden von allen Unterdrückern befreit werden. Jedes einzelne Volk möge mit seinen nationalen Rechten in Freiheit, Friede und Eintracht leben!

21.März 1971

1.Newroz 2583

- SALNAMEY KURDÎ -

Kurdischer Kalender

REHAR
"Frühling"

HAWÎN
"Sommer"

PAYÎZ
"Herbst"

ZISTAN
"Winter"

	Neuram	März - April		Gelen	April - Mai		Gelen	Mai - Juni
Y	1 8 15 22 29	8 30 27 8 10 17	Y	5 12 19 26	8 30 27 8 10 17	Y	20 2 9 16 23	8 30 27 8 10 17
D	2 9 16 23 30	M 21 28 4 11 18	D	6 13 20 27	M 22 29 5 12 19	D	21 3 10 17 24	M 22 29 5 12 19
S	3 10 17 24 31	D 22 29 5 12 19	S	7 14 21 28	D 23 30 6 13 20	S	4 11 18 25	D 24 31 7 14
Ç	4 11 18 25	M 23 30 6 13	Ç	1 8 15 22 29	M 24 31 7 14	Ç	5 12 19 26	M 25 1 8 15
P	5 12 19 26	D 24 31 7 14	P	2 9 16 23 30	D 21 28 4 11 18	P	6 13 20 27	D 26 2 9 16
H	6 13 20 27	F 25 1 8 15	H	3 10 17 24 31	F 22 29 5 12 19	H	7 14 21 28	F 27 3 10 17
Ş	7 14 21 28	6 26 2 9 16	Ş	4 11 18 25	6 13 20 27 14	Ş	1 8 15 22 29	6 21 28 4 11 18
	Febru	Juni - Juli		Keremman	Juli - August		Gelen	August - September
Y	6 13 20 27	8 30 27 8 10 17	Y	21 3 10 17 24	8 31 24 31 7 14	Y	8 15 22 29	8 22 4 11 18
D	7 14 21 28	M 21 28 4 11 18	D	22 4 11 18 25	M 23 25 1 8 15	D	7 14 21 28	M 29 6 13 20
S	8 15 22 29	D 22 29 5 12 19	S	5 12 19 26	D 26 3 8 16	S	1 8 15 22 29	D 30 20 6 13 20
Ç	9 16 23 30	M 23 30 6 13 20	Ç	6 13 20 27	M 27 3 10 17	Ç	2 9 16 23 30	M 24 31 7 14 21
P	3 10 17 24 31	D 23 30 7 14 21	P	7 14 21 28	D 28 4 11 18	P	3 10 17 24 31	D 25 1 8 15 22
H	4 11 18 25	F 24 1 8 15	H	1 8 15 22 29	F 23 29 5 12 19	H	4 11 18 25	F 26 2 9 16
Ş	5 12 19 26	6 26 2 9 16	Ş	2 9 16 23 30	6 13 20 27 14	Ş	5 12 19 26	6 27 3 10 17
	Febru	September - Oktober		Gelen	Oktober - November		Gelen	November - Dezember
Y	3 10 17 24	8 30 27 8 10 17	Y	1 8 15 22 29	8 23 26 6 13 20	Y	6 13 20 27	8 27 4 11 18
D	4 11 18 25	M 20 2 10 17	D	2 9 16 23 30	M 24 31 7 14 21	D	7 14 21 28	M 28 5 12 19
S	5 12 19 26	D 27 4 11 18	S	3 10 17 24	D 25 1 8 15	S	1 8 15 22 29	D 29 6 13 20
Ç	6 13 20 27	M 28 5 12 19	Ç	4 11 18 25	M 26 2 9 16	Ç	2 9 16 23	M 30 20 7 14
P	7 14 21 28	D 29 6 13 20	P	5 12 19 26	D 27 3 10 17	P	3 10 17 24	D 31 1 8 15
H	8 15 22 29	F 23 20 7 14 21	H	6 13 20 27	F 28 4 11 18	H	4 11 18 25	F 25 2 9 16
Ş	9 16 23 30	6 24 1 8 15 22	Ş	7 14 21 28	6 29 5 12 19	Ş	5 12 19 26	6 26 3 10 17
	Febru	Dezember - Januar 1981		Gelen	Januar - Februar		Gelen	Februar - März
Y	5 12 19 26	8 30 27 8 10 17	Y	21 3 10 17 24	8 29 32 20 6 13	Y	7 14 21 28	8 30 5 12 19
D	6 13 20 27	M 20 2 9 16	D	4 11 18 25	M 23 26 6 13	D	1 8 15 22 29	M 30 27 6 13 20
S	7 14 21 28	D 27 3 10 17	S	5 12 19 26	D 24 31 7 14	S	2 9 16 23	D 31 28 7 14
Ç	8 15 22 29	M 21 28 4 11 18	Ç	6 13 20 27	M 25 1 8 15	Ç	3 10 17 24	M 29 1 8 15
P	9 16 23 30	D 22 29 5 12 19	P	7 14 21 28	D 26 2 9 16	P	4 11 18 25	D 30 2 9 16
H	3 10 17 24	F 23 20 6 13	H	1 8 15 22 29	F 27 3 10 17	H	5 12 19 26	F 24 3 10 17
Ş	4 11 18 25	6 24 31 7 14	Ş	2 9 16 23 30	6 21 28 4 11 18	Ş	6 13 20 27	6 25 4 11 18

BESCHLÜSSE DES XIV. JAHRESKONGRESSES DER VEREINIGUNG KURDISCHER
STUDENTEN IN EUROPA vom 1. - 5. August 1970 in Stockholm

I. Bezüglich des Friedensabkommens vom 11. März 1970 (Irakisch-Kurdistan):

Das Abkommen, das zwischen der Führung der Kurdischen Revolution und der irakischen Regierung am 11. März 1970 abgeschlossen wurde, und die Autonomie des kurdischen Volkes im Irak anerkannte, ist unserer Meinung nach ein großer Sieg im Kampf des kurdischen Volkes und seiner siegreichen Revolution unter der Führung des Kämpfers M. Barzani.

Gleichzeitig ist es ein Sieg aller nationalen demokratischen Kräfte sowie der Weltöffentlichkeit, die den Kampf unseres Volkes unterstützte und seine gerechten nationalen Bestrebungen verwirklichen halfen. Dieses Friedensabkommen ist ein erster wichtiger Schritt zur friedlich-demokratischen Lösung der nationalen Kurdenfrage im Irak.

Die korrekte Durchführung dieses Abkommens führt zur Beendigung des jahrelangen Bruderkrieges, der dem Irak große Opfer abverlangte.

Die schnelle Verwirklichung der Beschlüsse schiebt den Machenschaften der Imperialisten und reaktionären Kräfte, die sich gegen die Interessen des Irak und seiner zukünftigen Entwicklung richten, einen Riegel vor. Mit der Verwirklichung dieses Abkommens werden die Beziehungen zwischen den arabischen und kurdischen Völkern im Irak normalisiert. Hierdurch erhält die Brüderschaft und Einheit der beiden Völker eine feste Basis. Dies entspricht den Interessen Iraks, also der Araber, Kurden und nationaler Minderheiten.

Unter einem anderen Aspekt gesehen wird die Durchführung des Abkommens einen fühlbaren positiven Einfluß auf den Kampf unseres Volkes gegen die nationale Unterdrückung in allen Teilen Kurdistans nehmen und zur Erlangung seiner gerechten nationalen Ansprüche führen.

Der 14. Kongreß der Vereinigung Kurdischer Studenten in Europa schätzt dieses Friedensabkommen hoch ein und erkennt die Notwendigkeit der Schaffung einer breiten, fortschrittlichen nationalen Front, in der alle Parteien und nationalen Kräfte, ohne Rücksicht auf politische Richtungen und nationale Angehörigkeit, vertreten sind.

Damit werden die Freiheit und demokratischen Rechte für die Masse des irakischen Volkes und seiner nationalen Kräfte ermöglicht, die die Vorstufe für die Errichtung einer stabilen, demokratischen revolutionären Ordnung darstellen, die vom Volk selbst errichtet wird und sein Vertrauen und Gehorsamkeit besitzt.

Der Kongreß fordert die irakische Regierung auf, das Recht des kurdischen Volkes auf Autonomie, laut Abkommen vom 11. März 1970, in der Übergangsverfassung zu verankern.

II. Über die politische Lage im Irak

Die irakische Regierung hat in letzter Zeit eine Anzahl von konstruktiven Schritten unternommen. Dies betrifft sowohl das Gesellschaftliche und Wirtschaftliche als auch das Gebiet der Außenpolitik.

Der beachtenswerteste dieser Schritte war der Abschluß des Abkommens mit der Führung der Kurdischen Revolution zur friedlichen Lösung des kurdischen Problems im Irak, auf der Basis der Anerkennung der Rechte des kurdischen Volkes, bezüglich Autonomie im Rahmen der Republik Irak.

Diese Schritte und Errungenschaften wurden vom ganzen irakischen Volk, von Arabern und Kurden und allen nationalen und fortschrittlichen Kräften unterstützt. Sie fanden auch bei den Freunden des irakischen Volkes und Anhängern der Freiheit und des Fortschritts in der ganzen Welt Anerkennung und Unterstützung.

Trotzdem gibt es einige Probleme bezüglich der politischen Lage im Irak, die leider noch nicht in Angriff genommen wurden.

Ausgehend von unserer Sorge um die Interessen des irakischen Volkes, der Araber und Kurden, seine zukünftige Entwicklung und die Festigung der inneren Front des Iraks gegen die imperialistischen Intrigen und Erpressungsversuche, und um sichere Garantien für die friedlich-demokratische Lösung der Kurdenfrage, gemäß dem Abkommen vom 11. März 1970, zu schaffen, fordern wir die irakische Regierung auf, dem irakischen Volk und seinen nationalen Kräften die demokratische Freiheit zu gewährleisten, und die Schaffung notwendiger Garantien und Maßnahmen einzuleiten, damit die Parteien und nationalen Kräfte ihre politische Tätigkeit ausüben können. Das betrachten wir als Vorstufe für die Beseitigung der negativen Erscheinungen im politischen Leben im Irak und für die Schaffung einer breiten fortschrittlichen nationalen Front zwischen allen Parteien und nationalen Kräften zur Errichtung einer nationalen demokratischen Koalitionsregierung, die imstande ist, alle Kräfte des Volkes zu vereinen, den Aufbau des Landes und die Durchsetzung des gesellschaftlichen Fortschritts zu sichern.

III. Über die Feili-Kurden

Der Kongreß fordert die irakische Regierung auf, den Feili-Kurden die irakische Staatsangehörigkeit zu geben und fordert:

1. sie nicht aus dem Irak auszuweisen, da einerseits ein großer Teil von ihnen das Recht zur Annahme der irakischen Staatsangehörigkeit hat, andererseits die Ausweisung der Verlust ihrer Existenzmöglichkeiten und die gewaltsame Trennung von ihren Familien bedeuten würde;
2. die Einstellung der unmenschlichen Maßnahmen der irakischen Regierung gegen die Feili-Kurden, die Rückkehr der Ausgewiesenen aus Iran, was zur weiteren Festigung der arabischen kurdischen Bruderschaft führen kann.

IV. Über die Lage im iranischen Kurdistan

Der 14. Kongreß der Vereinigung Kurdischer Studenten in Europa schickt seine herzlichen Grüße an das kurdische Volk in Iranisch-Kurdistan, das sich in einer schwierigen Situation, dem Kampf um seine nationalen Rechte und um die Errichtung eines demokratischen Systems im Iran, befindet. Das kurdische Volk in Iranisch-Kurdistan steht unter dem Druck des reaktionären Systems der iranischen Regierung, es lebt ohne seine primitivsten nationalen Rechte, zum Teil sogar ohne manche Bürgerrechte. Die besten Söhne des kurdi-

schen Volkes füllen die Gefängnisse, darunter befinden sich auch noch die beiden bekannten Kämpfer Gheni Bilourian und Aziz Yousfi. Nach dem Abkommen vom 11. März 1970, das einen Sieg des kurdischen Volkes in allen Teilen seiner Heimat Kurdistan darstellt, hat die Regierung, aus Angst vor der kurdischen Freiheitsbewegung, das Iranische Kurdistan in ein militärisches Terrorgebiet umgewandelt.

Der Kongreß fordert von der iranischen Regierung:

1. die offizielle Anerkennung der Existenz des kurdischen Volkes und seiner gerechten nationalen Ansprüche;
2. Aufhebung der militärischen Terrorherrschaft im Iranischen Kurdistan;
3. Beendigung der Verfolgung, Festnahme, Folterung und Attentate gegen die Söhne des kurdischen Volkes im Iran;
4. Freilassung der politischen Gefangenen.

V. Über die Lage im Türkischen Kurdistan

Der 14. Kongreß der Vereinigung Kurdischer Studenten in Europa schickt seine herzlichen Grüße an das kurdische Volk im Türkischen Kurdistan und fordert von der Regierung:

1. Anerkennung der Existenz des kurdischen Volkes und seiner nationalen Rechte;
2. Endgültige Einstellung der Unterdrückung und der Repressalien gegen das kurdische Volk durch die türkischen Kommandos, Beendigung der Massenverhaftungen, der Vertreibung und der Ermordung unschuldiger Menschen;
3. Zulassung der Herausgabe von Zeitungen und Zeitschriften in kurdischer Sprache, Eröffnung eines kurdischen Programms im Rundfunk;
4. Verfassungsmäßige Garantie für die Gründung von politischen und sozialen kurdischen Organisationen.

VI. Resolution über Syrien

Der Kongreß grüßt den Kampf des kurdischen Volkes und seine entschlossene tapfere Haltung gegen die chauvinistischen Maßnahmen der syrischen Baath-Regierung, die sich gegen die Existenz des kurdischen Volkes richten. Diese Maßnahmen bestehen im Projekt des arabischen Gürtels und einer irregulären Volkszählung, durch die ungefähr hunderttausend syrische Bürger kurdischer Nationalität ihre Bürgerschaft verloren.

Der Kongreß ruft alle fortschrittlichen und nationalen Kräfte auf, die Politik der Ignorierung der rassistischen Pläne und der nationalen Unterdrückung zu verlassen und den Kampf unseres Volkes zu unterstützen.

Der Kongreß fordert die syrische Regierung auf, diese Maßnahmen einzustellen und dem kurdischen Volk die Möglichkeit zu geben, damit es seine politischen, sozialen und kulturellen Interessen verwirklichen kann. Der Kongreß verabscheut die Verhaftungen, die in letzter Zeit stattgefunden haben sowie die Verurteilungen, die von den Gerichten der Staatssicherheit in Abwesenheit der Angeklagten kurdischen Patrioten und einiger kurdischer Studenten sowie fort-

schrittlicher syrischer Kräfte gefällt wurden. Der Kongreß fordert die Freilassung aller politischen Gefangenen und die Schaffung einer echten Demokratie im Lande.

VII. Über die Unterstützung des Kampfes der arabischen Völker

Wir Mitglieder des 14. Kongresses der Vereinigung Kurdischer Studenten in Europa erklären uns solidarisch mit dem Kampf der arabischen Völker und ihrer revolutionären Freiheitsbewegung, gegen Imperialismus, Zionismus und Reaktionäre und fordern die Wiederherstellung der Rechte des palästinensischen Volkes und die Gewährung seines Rechtes auf Selbstbestimmung.

VIII. Über die Solidarität mit dem Befreiungskampf in der Welt

Der Kongreß solidarisiert sich mit den Befreiungskämpfen, die die Völker Asiens, Afrikas und Lateinamerikas gegen den Imperialismus und für ihre Freiheit und Selbstbestimmung führen und unterstützt den heldenhaften Kampf des vietnamesischen und kambodschanischen Volkes.

Der Kongreß fordert die Großmächte zu einer vollständigen Abrüstung sowie zur Einstellung der Produktion von atomaren, bakteriologischen und chemischen Waffen auf, sowie zum Verbot der Lagerung derselben. Die anstehenden Probleme sollten auf dem Wege von Verhandlungen geklärt und friedlich gelöst werden.

IX. Der Kongreß dankt allen Gästen, die der Einladung gefolgt sind, sowie den schwedischen Organisationen und Persönlichkeiten, die zum erfolgreichen Ablauf unseres Kongresses beigetragen haben.

DER 10.KONGRESS DES WELTSTUDENTEN-BUNDES (IUS)

Der 10.Kongreß des Weltstudenten-Bundes fand vom 3.2.-10.2.1971 in Bratislawa/CSSR statt. Unsere Vereinigung war, als Mitglied von IUS, zu dem Kongreß eingeladen und durch einige Mitglieder des Verwaltungskomitees dort vertreten.

Die Delegation unserer Vereinigung beteiligte sich an Diskussionen und Beschlüssen des Kongresses, sowie an den Solidaritätskundgebungen für Indo-China, für die arabischen und für die lateinamerikanischen Völker. Sie nahm mit den Vertretern verschiedener Organisationen Kontakt auf und besprach sich mit ihnen über die aktuellen Weltprobleme. Unsere Vereinigung wurde erneut zum Mitglied des Finanzausschusses von IUS gewählt.

Der Kongreß stand im Zeichen der Solidarität mit den Studenten und den progressiven Kräften der Völker Afrikas, Asiens, Lateinamerikas und insbesondere der Völker Indo-Chinas. In diesem Zusammenhang trug die Delegation der Vereinigung einen Bericht über die historische und politische Entwicklung sowie über die jetzige Situation in allen Teilen Kurdistans vor.

Der Kongreß bekundete seine Solidarität mit dem Kampf des kurdischen Volkes, um seine demokratischen Nationalrechte, um seinen sozialen Fortschritt und gegen seine nationale Unterdrückung und seine Ausbeutung. Am Schluß des Kongresses wurden die folgenden Beschlüsse über das kurdische Nationalproblem gefaßt:

BESCHLÜSSE ÜBER DAS KURDISCHE PROBLEM

Der 10.Kongreß von IUS in Bratislawa/Tschechoslowakei vom 3.2.-10.2.1971

1. unterstützt den Kampf der kurdischen Studenten und des kurdischen Volkes und verkündet seine Unterstützung für das Abkommen, das am 11.3.1970 von den Führern des kurdischen Volkes und von der irakischen Regierung unterzeichnet wurde. Dieses Abkommen erkennt die nationalen Rechte der Kurden und ihre Autonomie in Kurdistan innerhalb der irakischen Republik an;
2. verlangt gleichzeitig die schnelle Verwirklichung aller Punkte dieses Abkommens, einschließlich des Punktes über die Autonomie Kurdistans innerhalb eines demokratischen Iraks, wo sich alle nationalen und progressiven Mächte der Handlungsfreiheit erfreuen können. Um dieses Abkommen schnell in Kraft zu setzen, ist ein starker Widerstand gegen Imperialismus, Zionismus und alle reaktionären Kräfte nötig;
3. verkündet seine Unterstützung für den Kampf des kurdischen Volkes in Türkisch-Kurdistan und verurteilt die blutigen Gemetzel gegen die Studenten und das Volk, die von den türkischen Kommandos verübt wurden;
4. verlangt die Freilassung der Kurden in der Türkei und ihre Anerkennung als Volk mit vollen nationalen Rechten;
5. bringt gleichzeitig seine Unterstützung für den Kampf des kurdischen Volkes in Iran zum Ausdruck und verurteilt die reaktionären Mittel, die die iranische Regierung gegen die Kurden im Lande anwendet;
6. bittet um Abschaffung dieser illegalen Mittel und um Außerkraftsetzung der ungerechten Urteile, die gegen Kurden ausgesprochen worden sind und um Anerkennung ihrer nationalen und demokratischen Rechte;
7. betrachtet die Anerkennung der nationalen Rechte der Kurden in Syrien als wichtigen Faktor in der Konsolidierung der inneren Front gegen imperialistisch-zionistische Agressionskräfte.

DIE MENSCHEN- UND VÖLKERRECHTSWIDRIGE POLITIK DER SCHAH-REGIERUNG IN IRANISCH-KURDISTAN

Nach der blutigen Niederschlagung der jüngsten kurdischen Erhebung in Iranisch-Kurdistan von 1967 - 1969 ist die Regierung in Teheran zu ihrer alten vor der Weltöffentlichkeit versteckten Assimilationspolitik gegenüber dem kurdischen Volke zurückgekehrt. Sie verfolgt diese Politik mit folgenden Methoden:

- Hunderte von kurdischen Patrioten sind festgenommen und nach dem Südosten des Iran deportiert worden. Sie werden dort in Militärgefängnissen gefoltert und ausschließlich von faschistischen Militärgerichten verurteilt.
- Kurdische Familien werden aus Kurdistan vertrieben, und in ihren Siedlungsgebieten werden persische Familien angesiedelt.
- Kurdische Lehrer werden in nichtkurdische Gebiete Irans versetzt, die dann durch eine unvergleichbar kleinere Zahl persischer Lehrer ersetzt werden. Hierdurch ist dann der schon mangelhafte Unterrichtsbetrieb in Iranisch-Kurdistan lahmgelegt. Man muß hinzufügen, daß in Kurdistan keine kurdischen Schulen existieren und das Unterrichten in kurdischer Sprache strafbar ist.
- Die großangekündigte "Bodenreform" ist in Kurdistan in einem auffällig geringen Maße und nur zugunsten der Feudalherren durchgeführt worden. Der Anteil der Feudalherren an der Gesamtbevölkerung in Kurdistan beträgt nicht einmal 5%. Kurdistan spürt nichts von Wirtschafts- und Aufbauplänen der Regierung in Teheran. Die sozialen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Verhältnisse dort sind heute genauso wie vor 50 Jahren mittelalterlich.
- Die reichen Bodenschätze in Kurdistan werden großzügig ausgebeutet, ohne aber der kurdischen Bevölkerung eine kleine Besserung ihres Lebensstandarts zu bringen. Sie bringen Gewinne für die Kasse der Teheraner Regierung und dienen somit ausschließlich persönlichen Profiten der Regierungsmitglieder und der Unterdrückung des kurdischen Volkes sowie anderer Völker im Iran.

Wir stellen fest, daß die Schah-Regierung

- unserem Volke gegenüber ihre rassistisch faschistische Diskriminierungs- und Assimilationspolitik fortsetzt,
- unserem Volke gegenüber einen Kulturimperialismus betreibt; unser Volk und seine Heimat völkerrechtswidrig ausbeutet. Das heißt, sie verfolgt in Kurdistan die billige Politik einer Kolonialmacht
- dem Willen und dem demokratischen Nationalrecht unseres Volkes, sich selbst zu regieren, mit der rohen Gewalt entgegenet.
- Wir verurteilen diese faschistische Politik der Schah-Regierung unserem Volke gegenüber und protestieren schärfstens dagegen.
- Wir fordern die Regierung in Teheran auf, alle politischen Gefangenen freizulassen, ihrer rassistischen völkerfeindlichen Politik ein Ende zu setzen.

● Wir fordern sie dazu auf, dem kurdischen Volke sowie den anderen Völkern in Iran ihre demokratischen Nationalrechte im Rahmen einer demokratischen Republik Iran anzuerkennen und deren Ausübung zu ermöglichen, damit sie in gegenseitiger Solidarität und Zusammenarbeit ihrer Ausbeutung ein Ende setzen und ihren Beitrag zur Bekämpfung des Kolonialismus und des Imperialismus leisten können.

Wir appellieren an alle demokratischen Kräfte sowie an Fernsehen, Rundfunk und Presse, uns mit ihren Mitteln und Möglichkeiten dabei zu helfen, diese menschenrechtswidrige und völkerfeindliche chauvinistische Politik des Schah-Regimes zu demaskieren und den Völkern in Iran dazu zu verhelfen, sich selbst demokratisch und endlich menschenwürdig zu regieren.

Der Hauptausschuß
Vereinigung Kurdischer Studenten
in Europa

Telegramm vom 4.12.70

KONFÖDERATION IRANISCHER STUDENTEN

65 Mainz, Evang.Studentenheim
Am Gonsenheimer Spieß 1

Wie wir in Erfahrung bringen, machen einige Ihrer Mitglieder zur Zeit einen Hungerstreik gegen neue Verhaftungen und Mißhandlungen seitens Terrororgane der Schah-Regierung. Wir erklären uns solidarisch mit Ihrem Kampf gegen das undemokratische Regime im Iran, das die Völker im Iran unterdrückt und sie den Interessen des Imperialismus schamlos opfert.

Es lebe die Solidarität der Völker im Kampf gegen Imperialismus, für Freiheit und für Demokratie.

Der Hauptausschuß
Vereinigung Kurdischer Studenten
in Europa

SCHLAF, MEIN KIND, SCHLAF !

Mein Sohn, Licht meiner Augen, Halt meines Innern,
 Kraft meiner Seele,
 Schlaf, schlaf gut, es ist schon spät!
 Schlaf, schlaf mein Kind, eh' die Stille der Nacht zerreißt!
 Schlaf, schlaf, mein Kind, schlaf,
 Sonst ist es für mich eine Nacht voller Sorgen.

Hör auf, mein Kind, zu schreien,
 Ich weiß, du schreist, weil es schmerzt, in der Wiege zu liegen.
 Du fragst dich, warum du eingewickelt und gefesselt bist,
 Du meinst, dein Körper erträgt diese Fesseln nicht mehr,
 Du willst wissen, warum nur die Kurden so gefesselt sind.
 Vertrau auf meine Erfahrung, mein Sohn:
 Ich sage dir, es ist besser für dich, wenn du jetzt schon dich
 an Fesseln gewöhnst!
 Schlaf, schlaf mein Kind, schlaf.

Hör, mein Sohn, was ich dir sage,
 Wahr ist es, du bist der Sohn eines Volkes, das liebt die Freiheit,
 Ein Sohn des kurdischen Volkes.
 Die Kurden haben heute keine Freunde mehr,
 Ihr Schicksal ist, gefesselt und in Gefängnissen zu leben.
 Ich wickle dich fest ein, damit du dich schon heute an Fesseln
 gewöhnst.

Oh, möchte ich deinen Tod nicht erleben!
 Denke ich an dein schwarzes Schicksal, wird meine Kraft schwach.
 Schlaf, schlaf mein Kind, schlaf.

Lerne aus meinem Leben für deine Zukunft,
 Oder möchtest du ein Leben im Gefängnis verbringen?
 Ich rate dir, geh den Weg zur Freiheit.
 Nimm deine Bücher, geh in die Schule, lerne,
 Dann kämpfe mit dem Bruder um unsere geraubten Rechte,
 Hand in Hand mit ihm, in Rat und Tat,
 Geht zusammen den Weg zur Freiheit,
 Der eine mit der Schreibfeder in der Hand, der andre mit der Waffe.
 Schlaf, schlaf mein Kind, schlaf.

Im Kampf um die Freiheit braucht man die Waffe genau so wie die
 Feder,
 Mit der Feder verkünde der Welt das Unrecht, das deinem Volk
 geschieht,
 Mit der Waffe kämpfe dagegen.
 Vergeblich ist das Zappeln, mit dem du dich von den Fesseln
 deiner Wiege befreien willst,
 Heute schon mußt du dich darauf vorbereitet haben,
 Daß dein Feind kein Mitleid mit dir hat.
 Schlaf, schlaf mein Kind, schlaf.

Lerne eifrig, mein Kind, ungebildet heißt machtlos.
 Kennst du den Satz voll Weisheit:
 "Lebe nicht, um zu sterben,
 Sterbe um das Leben!"
 Schlaf, schlaf mein Kind, schlaf.

Das Vaterland betet für dich,
 Mein Sohn, das Vaterland wartet auf dich!
 Du bist die Hoffnung unserer Heimat.
 Weißt du, mein Kind, wozu der Kopf da ist?
 Er muß Brücken zur Freiheit schlagen.
 Schlaf, schlaf mein Kind, schlaf.
 Das Urteil ist verhängt über ein Volk ohne Freiheit:
 Es kann nicht weiterkommen.

Hêjar

GULFIROŞ

Ez ji xew rabûm, gulfiroşek dî,
 Pir gelek şa bûm, gul bi dîl didî.
 Gul bi dîl didî.
 Hebû me yek dil, tev jan û kul bû,
 Ne bûme bawer, gul bi dîl didî.
 Gul bi dil didî.
 Bazar me kir go, ser bi ser na dim,
 Ê gulperest bî, can û dil didî,
 Can û gul didî.
 Min go ki didî, can û dil bi gul,
 Go ev bazar e, dil bi kul didî.
 Dil bi kul didî.
 Min can û dil dan, dil kiriye qêrîn,
 Go ho Cegerxwîn, dil bi gul didî.
 Dil bi gul didî.

Cegerxwîn

DI BIRANINA QADI MIHEMED

Xakî Kurdistan bi qurban pir ciwan û paqij ^
 Xwîn rijandin pir kurên te, wa li her al^
 Miletê Kurd ta ku saxe ew ji vê rê nage
 Aferî, aferî
 Qadî Mihemed aferî!

Ev ne şerm e têne kuştin em di rêça pêşketin
 Da Truman zanibî em xweş nijad û millet in
 Dê bikin em tim bi wî re dijminahî, berberî

Aferî, aferî
 Qadî Mihemed aferî!

Qembera zerra atomî zerreyek nabi ji dil,
 Serxwe najî milletê Kurd ta ku ev zencîr li mil.
 Kes bi lavlav û bi dilek vî berî nabi serî

Aferî, aferî
 Qadî Mihemed aferî!

Ey Truman kuştina Qadî Mihemed ka çi ye?
 Qey edalet tim wisa ye, hikmê demoqrati ye?
 Lê bi kuştin û bi zindan milletê Kurd namirî.

Aferî, aferî
 Qadî Mihemed aferî!

Cegerxwîn

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KOMELEY XWÊNDIKARANÎ KURD LE EWRUPA

KURDISTAN



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KURDISTAN AND KURDS**Area:****500.000 km²****Population:**

* Iraqi Kurdistan:	2,0 mill. (30 % of the total population)		
* Iranian Kurdistan:	4,5 mill. (18 %	")
* Syrian Kurdistan:	0,5 mill. (8 %	")
* Turkish Kurdistan:	8,0 mill. (25 %	")
* Minority in the USSR:	<u>0,2 mill.</u>		
	15,2 mill.		

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Kurdish Proverb:

Trust in your clows, o lion,
The saints will not aid you

INTRODUCTION

In the course of its history, Kurdistan experienced its present national-political division in two stages. The first occurred in 1639, when Kurdistan was occupied by and divided between the Persian and Ottoman empires, against the will of its people and despite agreements to the contrary which had been concluded with both empires. This was the first historically recorded breaking of a promise made to the Kurds, the true and original inhabitants of Kurdistan, by a foreign master. Indeed, the rulers in Ankara, Baghdad, Damascus and Tehran have since sometimes justified the breaking of promises made to the Kurds by reference to this historical precedent. Kurdistan thus fell victim for the first time to two great colonial powers and was divided into Ottoman- and Persian Kurdistan. This was the beginning of the historic misdevelopment of the national entity of the kurdish people. After the destruction of the Ottoman Empire at the conclusion of the First World War, Kurdistan was divided a second time, in 1923, among the states which had been artificially formed from the area formerly ruled by the Ottoman Empire: Iraq, Syria and Turkey.

The initiator and perpetrator of this second division of Kurdistan was the imperialist-capitalist government of Great Britain, which is to say that Kurdistan had once again fallen victim to imperialist intrigues. Thus the present division of Kurdistan among the states of Iraq, Iran, Syria and Turkey was accomplished.

Although the liberation struggle of the kurdish people was repressed by means of the same chauvinist-nationalist policies put into effect by those in power in Ankara, Baghdad, Damascus and Tehran and although these rulers were united in their anti-kurdish policies and imposed the same methods of forcible assimilation, yet the different parts of Kurdistan developed differently, socially, economically, culturally and politically, due to the ruling regimes in these different states. The varying methods of fighting and the type of cooperation with the progressives forces of brother peoples in these countries resulted from the structural conditions present in each individual state. Despite nationalist contradictions and historical enmity, the ruling nationalbourgeoisie of these countries succeeded nonetheless in reaching agreement on the matter of repressing the kurdish national movement. The military treaties made among them, such as the Sabadat Treaty (1937), the Baghdad Pact (1955) and the CENTO Pact (1961), resulted from their common anti-kurdish policy.

The latest intensive series of state visits exchanged among Ankara, Baghdad and Tehran are nothing more than attempts to form a common front against the kurdish people. The fact that these efforts did not succeed can be explained by two facts. Firstly, the democratic consciousness of the masses of people has so far developed that the progressive forces of Arab, Persian and Turk now support the kurdish national movement. Secondly, the demasking of capitalism has made it possible to explain the national struggles for freedom of oppressed peoples to the world public. Thus, thanks to the solidarity and cooperation of progressive kurdish forces with those of other peoples both inside and outside Kurdistan, the beginnings of cooperation among the reactionary governments of Turkey, Iran and Iraq in preventing the kurdish revolution in Iraqi Kurdistan and the still formative kurdish national movements in other parts of Kurdistan has been severely hindered.

Although Kurdistan represents a geographical, ethnological and historical entity, it is nonetheless instructive and thus significant to study its development and that of the struggles against its exploitation in each part of Kurdistan individually. This method is also correct in view of the struggle against capitalism and imperialism. It is necessary to analyze and evaluate the special conditions in the individual countries in connection with the struggle against imperialism and for liberty.

In the light of these facts, each part of Kurdistan has been treated with individually in various contributions to this publication. Short flashbacks into the history of the struggle for liberation of the kurdish people are unavoidable and serve merely to inform.



15TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE KURDISH STUDENTS' SOCIETY IN EUROPE

From August 10th to August 16th, 1956, a group of kurdish students met in Wiesbaden, German Federal Republic. They debated the necessity of founding a "Society of Kurdish Students in Europe" to represent the interests and rights of all Kurds studying in Europe. An important point was the mobilization of all Kurds in the struggle against imperialism in order to render support to the national independence struggle of the kurdish people. The meeting decided to name the newly-founded association "cultural Society of Kurdish Students in Europe".

On August 4, 1958, the 3rd Congress was held. The delegates adopted a resolution changing the organisations name to "Society of Kurdish Students in Europe". This congress described the revolution in Iraq of July 14, 1958, as the driving force in the struggle against the oppression of the kurdish people.

From the first day of the foundation of the society the kurdish students in Europe have devoted all their strength to the realisation of the society's goals. Today we can state with pride that the "Society of Kurdish Students" actively participates in the struggle of the World Youth Federation and through active struggle has won international prestige and a good name for itself.

In December 1964, our organisation was accepted as a member of the International Union of Students.

We can report today with pride that at the 9th and 10th IUS Congresses we were unanimously elected as members of the International Finance Committee. At the 10th congress our organisation received an award in recognition of its merits.

Since the foundation of our society, our membership has grown enormously. Today our society has active branches in the following countries:

1: France; 2: England; 3: FRG; 4: GDR; 5: USSR; 6: CSSR; 7: Hungary;
8: Yugoslavia; 9: Bulgaria; 10: Poland; 11: Sweden; 12: Italy; 13: Rumania;
14: West Berlin; 15: Spain; 16: Austria, and 17: Denmark.

Our organisation possesses two independent publications:

- a) "Kurdistan" of which 16 have been issued since our foundation; 13 in English, 2 in German and one in Arabic.
- b) the periodical "Persching", three issues of which have been published in Arabic.

The programme of our Society is:

1. To help the students attain their goal in study;
2. Realisation of cooperation among kurdish students in Europe;
3. Promoting kurdish national culture;
4. Struggle to attain independence for the kurdish people and realisation of their national rights;
5. Inform other peoples about the national problems of the kurdish people;
6. Cement cooperation between the kurdish students and all other progressive organisations in Europe;
7. To support other oppressed peoples in the struggle for independence, freedom and progress.

The most important task of our organisation since its foundation has been the support of our people and other peoples fighting for their independence. In so doing we have consistently come out for the demands of the kurdish revolution, autonomy for Kurdistan and democracy in Iraq. A great achievement was the strengthening of our organisation and solving the problems of everyone so that our organisation grew stronger and more powerful year by year.

We do not forget, however, to extend our fraternal thanks to all organisations and friends who support our cause and help us fulfill our tasks.

We extend militant greetings to all members and kurdish students.

Secretariat of the Kurdish Students Society

IRAQI KURDISTAN



General Barzani, President of the Kurdish Democratic Party, concluded the peace agreement of March 11, 1970, with the Iraqi government

The agreement of March 11, 1970

Since the Kurdish people in Iraq were forced to resort to armed struggle for their national and human rights, the organization has always stressed the slogan of the Kurdish Revolution, namely autonomy for Kurdistan within a democratic Iraqi state.

On March 11, 1970, the long struggle of our people culminated in a victory with the help of progressive forces in Iraq and abroad. On that day, the agreement upon the peaceful solution of the Kurdish problem was signed by the Iraqi government and the leaders of the Kurdish Revolution. This agreement recognized the legitimate national rights of the Kurds, including autonomy within the Iraqi republic. It was a victory also for the Iraqi people as a whole, especially for the progressive forces in the country. This was reflected in the joyful demonstrations of the masses who welcomed the agreement in the hope that it would pave the way to democracy and cooperation among all parties.

Several articles of the March agreement have been put into practice. This applies firstly to cultural rights and the appointment of Kurds to the cabinet and to administrative functions in Kurdistan as well as the granting of freedom of activity to the Kurdish Democratic Party and the reemployment of dismissed Kurdish civil servants. Recently, however, the fulfillment of the agreement has faced several obstacles in connection with the development of the present situation in the country.

Autonomy has a deep, democratic meaning and cannot be achieved unless democratic liberties are granted to all progressive parties and forces and favorable conditions for the cooperation of these parties in a genuine national front are created. Such a

national front must be the basis for a coalition government. This is a definite prerequisite for the solution of the national, political and social problems facing this underdeveloped country. Only in this way can the masses be mobilized by patriotic forces to carry out any progressive measures and defend these against imperialism, zionism and reaction.

The urgent need for democracy in Iraq was time and again voiced by progressive forces and stressed by Taakhi, the organ of the Kurdish Democratic Party, which stated on December 8, 1970:

"Every country really desiring progress and the elimination of backwardness must consolidate peace and order, save the majority from the dictatorship of the minority, secure justice and legality, enable the people to express opinion and elect their representatives, fight crime and murderers, replace the policy of repression, violence and terror with democratic institutions which guarantee real order and security on a solid basis. These facts have led the Kurdish Democratic Party and the kurdish people to oppose anti-democratic methods and to resist any measure which weakens the unity of the people and disturbs peace in the country. Our democratic revolutionary principles guide our efforts to create a real national unity, to put an end to acts of violence and terror, to enable the people and their patriotic forces to enjoy their freedom and rights in an atmosphere free of terror and to prevent the minority from arbitrary dictatorial rule and from exploiting its freedom of action to persecute citizens, rob them of their property and encroach upon their constitutional rights."

The kurdish students in Europe fully support these democratic demands, because only under democratic conditions for the whole country can the peaceful settlement of the kurdish problem be achieved in accordance with the March agreement. These demands have become most urgent due to the recent appearance of negative tendencies in the political situation of the country as a whole, accompanied by obstacles facing the realization of the March agreement. There have been some steps which are contrary to the right of the kurdish people to autonomy. For example, new contacts have been made with the reactionary tribal chieftains and other enemies of the kurdish people. There are also attempts to deprive some districts of their kurdish identity. This is why the population census has been delayed. In addition, instead of carrying out land reform and industrialization in Kurdistan, which has experienced many years of destruction, the government attempts to settle Arab peasants in kurdish districts and force the original residents to migrate. This policy has led to bloodshed between arabic and kurdish peasants; to mounting economic difficulties and unemployment in Kurdistan.

The situation has been still further complicated by certain public statements made by leading officials as well as the speech made by the President of the republic, who threatens to resort to force again, and the campaign of the Baathist newspaper, Al-Jumhuriya, against the democratic demands voiced by Taakhi, organ of the Kurdish Democratic Party.

We are certain that the vigilance and unity of our people and the cooperation among the progressive parties and forces in the country as a whole will pave the way for the realization of the March agreement in the interests of autonomy for Kurdistan within a democratic iraqi republic.

TURKEY ON THE ROAD TO AN OPEN MILITARY DICTATORSHIP. FACIST ALLIANCE BETWEEN PAPADOPOULOS AND THE TURKISH GENERALS?

The proclamation of martial law on April 27, 1971, in 11 provinces of Turkey, in which a large proportion of the population lives, met with little surprise in informed circles. For the preceeding events and the accumulation of a series of unsolved problems of social, economic, cultural and political nature pointed clearly in this direction. It was known that the turkish nationalbourgeoise awaited a signal from its foreign masters to strike; that is, to destroy all that had been accomplished in the past few years through the efforts of progressive forces to benefit the exploited masses and to lay a new basis for their continuing exploitation. This new blow, planned by the imperialist powers of the USA and to be carried out by their tool, the reactionary turkish right wing, was supposed to rescue the faltering authority of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie and the foreign capitalist monopolies from ruin. In order to elucidate this process of development, a short chronology with a description of background conditions:

In 1960, the so-called Democratic Party (DP) under Menderes was overthrown by the military. Menderes' ten-year tenure of government had brought Turkey no social or economic progress, because the DP represented the interests of the large landowners and capitalist monopolies and thus brought Turkey into extreme dependance on the USA and other industrially developed countries which wished to continue to use Turkey as a profitable turnover market. Uneasiness and unrest grew in the country. Menderes tried by forming a special commission to pass laws which would not only control the unrest but also control the parliament. This was in order to continue to serve the interests of the capitalist countries and the turkish bourgeoisie at the cost of the turkish masses. The later flirt with the government of the USSR led to the overthrow of Menderes and his party by a military junta, which prevented the Premier's planned visit to Moscow at the last moment, in order to anticipate a possible shift to the left in Turkey. Under the impression caused by the mass trials of DP parliament members and the accusations of inability to solve Turkey's problems, of corruption and of undemocratic government which were made against them, it was important for the purpose of deceiving the eye to enforce democratic parliamentary rule. For how can one speak of democracy and justice in a Turkey where 1 % of the population receives 25 % of the national income and the government must govern in the shadow of the military?

Under the pressure of as yet unsolved problems, the new constitution of Turkey was approved in 1961. It showed liberal tendencies, yet contained, in paragraphs 141 and 142, strong anti-socialist elements taken from the facist constitution of Mussolini's dictatorship. These elements were continually used to promote the exploitation and oppression of the peoples of Turkey by the turkish capitalist bourgeoisie.

After the election victory of the so-called Justice Party (AD) under Süleyman Demirel, no progressive changes came about in Turkey. Demirel's party, heir to the DP and new collecting bin of the turkish bourgeoisie, was unable to alter the existing socio-economic structure and was not interested in moving Turkey away from economic, military and therefore political dependance on industrially developed nations, despite her many natural resources and industrial potential. Demirel's pre-election promises to bring the people of Turkey democracy, justice and prosperity were later shown to be mere election tactics. The military retained the final deciding word for itself in that yet another general, Cevdet Sunay, became President, and all key positions in the so-called turkish Senate were filled by former turkish nationalist officers. Thus, the social, economic and political landscape of Turkey was held fast in the conception of the inveterately kemalist military leadership.

Demirel's government raised its commitment to NATO and CENTO. The USA built new military bases and laid atomic mines along the common border with the USSR. American enclaves arose on Turkish territory, enclaves which even Turkish politicians were not permitted to enter. Thus, American citizens could no longer be made to answer for the breaking of even those Turkish laws for the breaking of which a Turkish citizen would receive long years of imprisonment. Turkey became almost an American colony and was more firmly fixed than ever in Washington's tow. Foreign relations were dictated by the USA and oriented to its military, economic and political interests. Relations with neighboring countries grew no better. Turkey was dependant on the mercy of US imperialism and isolated from the progressive world. As far as international politics were concerned, Demirel, true to the character of the bourgeoisie, pursued a policy of economic nepotism. Come to power as the son of a western Anatolian peasant, he and his brothers, after his election to Prime Minister, soon numbered among the few millionaires in Turkey. Corruption gained the upper hand in the government apparatus. Every attempt to expose the corrupt practices of the Demirel government, which were inimical to the people's interests, was hindered by the bourgeoisie, which felt itself to be endangered. The lot of the peasants, who represent 75 % of the population, became worse from day to day. The large landowners oppressed and exploited them in collaboration with the ruling classes, just as had been done under the regimes of Atatürk, İnönü and Menderes. Connections between the provincial areas of Turkey and the large cities, as well as production methods necessary to alter the existing social structures, were deliberately kept primitive. The peasants of Anatolia were thus isolated from all technical, social and cultural progress of this century. Since Turkey was supposed to continue to serve the capitalist nations as a profitable turnover market, and the existing light industries were enough to satisfy the exploitive desires of the native industrial bourgeoisie, the Demirel government did not find it necessary to encourage the industrialization of the country. A large proportion of workers remained unemployed and was forced to struggle ever harder to survive. This fundamental evil, probably planned in advance, was used by the Demirel regime as an excuse to practice a form of modern slavery, namely to place Turkish workers as so-called visiting workers in the service of capitalist monopolies. Up to this day, the Turkish government refuses to concern itself with solving the social and cultural problems of these "visiting workers". Indeed, the government encourages their exploitation at every turn and adds its own forms of exploitation in the bargain.

The briefly described policies of the ruling Turkish classes for all of Turkey have, in Kurdistan, been additionally influenced by chauvinist, Turkish-nationalist factors. The policy of denial and assimilation of the Kurdish people which Atatürk had initiated was consistently followed by Demirel and his successors. Persecution of the Kurds and trials of Kurdish intellectuals, as well as repression of all forms of Kurdish culture, continued. The social, cultural and economic problems of Kurdistan remained unsolved, and Kurdistan was all but ignored in the government's economic plans. The avowed goal of educational policies has remained the assimilation and integration of the Kurdish people; that is, the destruction of its language and its independence. This is clearly seen in the establishment of 42 so-called boarding schools and many radio stations in Kurdistan. In these "boarding schools", Kurdish children are overwhelmed with chauvinist-nationalist propaganda as originally set forth by Mustafa Kemal. The radio stations broadcast exclusively in Turkish; that is, they serve only to advance the Turkish language and Turkish culture. Thus, cultural imperialism is carried on in Kurdistan. The rich natural resources of Kurdistan, such as iron ore, chromium, lead, copper and petroleum, serve as raw materials for industries in western Turkey. The industrialization of Kurdistan, although it would be both rational and practical, has not been considered up to this day. The Kurdish iron ore found in Divriği must be transported more than 1000 kilometers to refineries in western Turkey. The petroleum of Batman and Kurtalan is transported by means of a huge pipeline to Iskenderun (populated almost exclusively by Turks) and there refined. The great dam at Keban

(in Kurdistan) will, as of 1972, provide only turkish-populated cities with electricity, and for this kurdish peasants are forced to give up their fields. Kurds are also discriminated against in the judiciary. They are governed by special laws and police methods, in sharp contradiction to the turkish constitution. The terror practiced by the gendarmes and specially trained military commandos in Kurdistan only increased under Demirel. In short, the ruling turkish classes of the various regimes from Atatürk through Demirel carried on nationalist-chauvinist policies against the Kurds and treated Kurdistan as a colony, thus bringing about a social, cultural and economic imbalance between eastern and western Turkey. The collaboration of large landowners among the Kurds with the turkish capitalist bourgeoisie created an additional exploitation of kurdish peasants and workers.

These grievances, plus the alliance between the kurdish and turkish reactionaries, led the progressive forces of both brother peoples closer together in a struggle against the oppression and exploitation of the masses. Kurdish intellectuals and peasants worked hand in hand with progressive turkish forces against the national oppression of the kurdish people and the exploitation of all the peoples of Turkey under the Demirel regime. This cooperation made it possible to clarify what had up until then been propagandized by the ruling turkish nationalbourgeoise as separatist, namely the national question of the kurdish people throughout Turkey. The 1967 "Demonstrations in the East" partly served this purpose. The Kurds made it unmistakably clear that they were against separatism, against exploitation and oppression and for their rights within the Republic of Turkey. For the first time in the history of the republic, a political party, the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP), acknowledged the existence of the kurdish people. This acknowledgement appeared openly in the resolutions of the 4th congress of the TIP, which resolutions also called for the united struggle of the kurdish and turkish peoples to free themselves from reactionary and imperialist forces. The liberal and progressive press organs wrote exhaustively as never before on the subject of the kurdish national question, on the dubious role of the turkish ruling classes and the exploitation of the peoples of Turkey by the imperialist powers of the USA. In other words, the process of education of the exploited masses of people was set in motion by the activity and cooperation of these progressive forces. Massive demonstrations against the US military bases and the visits of the US fleet took place. Frightened by this evidence of unpopularity, the hated US government persuaded the Federal Republic of Germany to set itself up as the champion of America's continued rights of exploitation. This was done in order to trade on the popularity of Germany in Turkey. The Demirel regime and the kemalist officers, in agreement with their masters in Washington, saw in this alliance of progressive forces in Turkey the definite danger of collapse of their policies and the end of all exploitation. Reactionary right-wing organizations were formed and financed, among them Ülkü Ocakları, and the civil commandos of Türkes, which were set against progressive organizations and which even shot down members of the latter, quite openly, on the street. Specially trained military commandos were brought into Kurdistan in order to emphasize the kurdish "peril" and thus drive a wedge between the two peoples. These commandos raped women, misused men and children. They executed defenseless civilians at will. All this was given the protective coloration of "disarming the Kurds" and was in direct contradiction to the turkish constitution. The reactionary imperialist game of the turkish capitalist bourgeoisie and its foreign masters, as played against the interests of the peoples of Turkey, was clear. The kidnapping of 4 US soldiers by the turkish "Liberation Army" was used by the government as the excuse for the first blow against the progressive forces. The commanders of the three armed forces presented an ultimatum on March 12, 1971, and forced the resignation of the Demirel government. The military did not immediately and openly take power, because it feared the opposition of liberal officers. The previously planned "cleansing" process took place. A few generals and higher officers were forced into early retirement.



Vur, vur! Böyle yaşamaktansa ölmek daha iyi!

Despite the opposition of the liberal wing of the citizens' parties and of the TİP, the new turkish president and the reactionary military leadership established the Erim regime, which represented the interests of the turkish capitalist bourgeoisie and the imperialist powers of the USA. In the days preceeding the foreign ministers' conference of the CENTO-Pact states in Ankara under Rogers' leadership, the new regime declared a state of martial law. For the time being, all expression of opinion on the part of the oppressed and exploited masses in the form of demonstrations against Rogers' presence was prevented. Under Rogers' direction and in accordance with instructions from Washington, the puppet regime of the turkish civil junta-élite laid effective plans to secure the continued exploitation of the peoples of Turkey. A directive clue came from Athens. The leadership of the fascist greek junta-regime congratulated the Erim regime and offered its cooperation to "secure" the south-eastern flank of NATO. When one considers that the long artificially heated and built-up Cyprus question as well as the historically and nationally conditioned contradictions between Ankara and Athens were suddenly abandoned, then it becomes clear that the capitalist imperialist powers of the USA were striving for the creation of an alliance between greek and turkish fascists. Erim has even now taken the necessary steps in this direction in the area of internal politics.

- All progressive student and non-student organizations have been dissolved and their publications forbidden.
- All leftist newspapers and magazines have been forbidden. Censoring of mails and of the press has been introduced.
- The right to strike and the right to public gatherings, both of which are contained in the constitution, have been declared void.

- Military courts pass judgement on all matters in the nation in a manner both partisan and unconstitutional. The generals and their extended arm Erim, wish to extend the duties of these military courts beyond the eventual lifting of the present state of martial law.
- Without the use of judicial warrants, military officials have ordered searches of buildings and arrests of civilians who had not immediately expressed their loyalty to the terrorist Erim regime.
- According to reliable sources, at least 10.000 persons have been arrested up until now and are, in military prisons and collective barracks, subjected to methods of treatment and tortures straight out of the middle ages. According to rumor, a number of political prisoners have been executed by the military. It is even said that there exists a plan of the puppet fascist regime to murder 700 kurdish intellectuals.
- In Kurdistan, which has always been ruled under martial law with special regulations and police terror, kurdish books and records and all forms of mail in the kurdish language have been forbidden.
- All books and publications on the subject of socialism have been removed from bookshops and libraries, banned and their authors arrested.
- The military carries on a constant hunt of all opposition forces and all democratic-progressive persons. Professorships and official positions in the universities, left vacant by the recent wave of arrests, have been occupied by unqualified favorites of the government and of the fascist generals.
- The turkish civil junta-elite elected to form a committee to alter the constitution, which Erim had denounced as "too liberal" and thus, for Turkey, an "unnecessary luxury".

This so-called "reform government" of the ruling turkish bourgeoisie struck a fatal blow at civil parliamentary democracy by means of these and many other methods and itself exposed its exploitive, nationalist-chauvinist character. The population lives in unrest and uncertainty. The fact that the regime justifies the present state of martial law declared by Minister of Justice Arar with, among other reasons, the growing "peril" of kurdish "separatism" reveals the demagogic strains of the kemalist, anti-kurdish policies in practice. The turkish nationalbourgeoise plans thus, in accordance with its tradition, to divide the forces of both peoples in their struggle against imperialism and set them against each other, thus forming a basis upon which to erect a dictatorship. But this is the point upon which Erim and his helpers' helpers will fail. For the masses of Turkey know from bitter experience that the ruling classes and those whom they protect, the capitalist monopolies, are their actual common enemies. They are determined to continue the common struggle against chauvinist, reactionary imperialist powers, both native and foreign, in order to bring about democracy, brotherhood and progress in Turkey.

June 1971

CEGERXWIN, NATIONAL POET OF KURDISTAN

Of all the Kurdish poets in the Kurmanji dialect, the most famous today is undeniably Cegerxwin.

Sheikhmus, the son of Hasan, of the tribe of Gurdilan, was born in 1903 of a peasant family in Hisar, a village in the Turkish province of Mardin. Orphaned at an early age, he worked as a shepherd and in the fields. But as the boy yearned to become educated, he travelled through Kurdistan, spending time with renowned sheikhs, and became a mullah. Soon however, the experiences of life impressed upon him the misery of the poor and the selfishness, harshness and unfairness of the chiefs, beys, aghas and sheikhs. Thus, sickened by everything and everyone, the mullah gave up his beard, full robe and turban, and, around 1927, became fearlessly committed to the national and patriotic struggle. His principal weapon was to be poetry which, under the name of Cegerxwin, he would recite everywhere in the villages, and which would soon make him famous in all Kurdistan. He has published two collections of his poems: Diwana Cegerxwin, in 1945 (viii, 164 pp.) and Sewra Azadî, 1954 (iv, 211 pp.).

In both of these volumes love of the Motherland shines forth: this Motherland, which all young Kurds should cherish as dearly as their loved ones. Are they not exiles in a foreign land? In his works, the poet evokes one by one each of the regions of Kurdistan through which he has travelled during his youth, its former great men, its tribes, its cities and villages, its rich orchards and herds. He longs for its limpid springs and its delicious fruits. Nothing can replace this truly sensuous love of the Motherland and he repeats it in many a stanza:

O my Motherland, you are the beloved of the world.
 Rich in heavenly gardens, meadows and springs,
 Bright, charming and vital, gentle and fair,
 Full of sweetness, goodness, and youth.
 We understand the poet perfectly, then, when he cries:
 Not one drop of water from the springs of my Motherland
 Would I give for the water of Zemzem, of Kausar, or the water of life,
 Not one splinter of rock from our mountain peaks or from our valley
 floors
 Would I give for diamonds, rubies, or pearls.
 Not a maiden, not a bride, not one Kurdish woman, young or old
 Would I give for all the houris and angels of Paradise.

This fair land has a history of which one recalls the high points: Saladin, who showed what the Kurds were capable of doing; and so many heroes who have given their lives for the Motherland, those of ancient times of course, but also those of yesterday, such as Sheikh Said of Piran and his martyred companions, down to Qazi Mohammed, hanged in Iran. But others of the past have shown us a different path. They have glorified our cultural patrimony and many are the Kurdish savants and poets whose names young people should know and whose works they should study.

Unfortunately, we are far from our land, occupied by foreigners who exploit it for their own profit, leaving us in our poverty, wandering and hunted, like wild wolves.

Brother wolves, you are brave like us.
 But you are giants, the companions of tigers and lions!
 You are our companions in misery.
 We cry by day and you howl by night.
 Kurds and wolves, we are one, like brothers.
 We too, like you, flee through the mountains.
 We, like you, suffer heat, cold, fog and dust,
 And he who among us is killed dies, like you, without a trial.

Does not the Kurd also resemble the broken-winged crane, who has fallen from his battered nest, the pitiless hunter has driven him? And as a crowning misfortune, to these torments imposed by foreign enemies is added the rapacity of the aghas who exploit our misery, and the malignity of the sheikhs who abuse the credulity of people. Many are the poems that criticize such unworthy behaviour. What confidence can one have in these men, who should have worked for the unity of the people, and who have only intensified the tribal and social rivalries and thus have enslaved us all? Money has corrupted everything, even religion. Thus the former mullah no longer believes in anything, except in his Motherland, Kurdistan. He no longer has any other god, no longer any other worship, no longer any other love.

But, in spite of everything, it is quite clear that he is not a poet of despair. Does the foreigner oppress us? Do the chiefs betray us? There always remain the young. The future is with the young. For if the chiefs fail in their obligations, it is the common people, the humble, who will rise up to reclaim their rights. They will not imitate the stupid donkey who refuses the rose in favor of the thistle. As if they would not choose liberty over their miserable lives! Let them work to unite themselves. In unity there is strength. But in order for the struggle to be efficient, there is one indispensable condition: to leave ignorance behind, thus to go to school and to study assiduously. Education is necessary for progress. Cegerxwin insists on this with all his might and he composes songs and marches, designed for school children, to train them to follow in his footsteps. And young girls will not be left behind. They should be in the forefront, for it is they who will form the men of tomorrow.

A long war has given way to a time of peace, a vernal renewal for a wounded people. New problems arise, social reforms are called for. And the thought of the poet itself has evolved, as well as his poetry. Let us compare the description of the "Black Tent" and of the "House of the Laborers" in the first volume, and the evocation of the "Condition of the Villagers" in the second. In the first, it is the joyousness of a healthy life in spite of poverty:

In joy and happiness they remain carefree and unmounful
Happy together, like Siti and Tacdin.

In the second, one notices only the misery:

On the outskirts of the village, squalor and dirt,
Piled up by the door carcasses and garbage,
Sickness falls upon them, and
They are defeated by fever and disease.
They work day and night and yet are in want.

The two contrasting visions are natural and authentic, but the perspective from which one views them transforms them completely. Our poet thus becomes more and more involved in the struggle, seeking to train in his footsteps laborers, workers and peasants who must not allow themselves to be exploited by capitalists of all stripes.

I will not dwell on the love poems, though they are numerous in both collections. Cegerxwin moves freely in the expression of the most delicate sentiments. The Beloved, whether she is Leyla or Belkis, Zine or Shirine, always has the eyes of a gazelle, a form as slender and as straight as a pine tree, casting her enchanting looks from beneath her crescent-shaped brows. There is nothing here that is really original, unless we discern that, by his kisses, caresses, his flowers and songs, his sighs and smiles, the poet, through his imagery of the dark-eyed blond, is really speaking to his only true love, his Motherland, Kurdistan.

Cegerxwin published two narratives in prose: Cim u Gulperi (Damascus, 1946, 46 pp.) and the Adventures of Resho of Dari (1958, 83 pp.), as well as a Kurdish Grammar and a Dictionary, published in Baghdad in 1961 and 1962. But these secondary works are not so valuable and are of practically no interest for us. What counts for us, above all, is his poetry. In this domain, he is a true master. For when he speaks, he grips his audience. It is a prophet who is speaking to them, it is an apostle who is preaching to them; in a word, it is a man, one of their own, who gives voice, far better than they, to the sentiments of deliverance, liberation and progress that they feel in the depths of their hearts. This vital creator restores to them, when necessary, an unfailing courage for the struggles of life. Poet of the youth, Cegerxwin is the poet of the future of the Kurdish people.

Thomas Bois

Paris, February 11th, 1971



AN INTERVIEW WITH AN IRANIAN STUDENT WHOM THE ERIM REGIME EXPELLED FROM TURKEY IN EARLY JUNE, 1971

The Iranian student requested that he not be named because of possible punitive action against his parents on the part of the Shah-regime. He is here referred to as Mr. A.

Question: In what part of Turkey did you study, Mr. A., and were other students expelled from Turkey besides yourself?

Answer: I studied in Istanbul and was expelled by Turkish military officials along with 14 other Iranian students. We are members of the Iranian students' organization in Turkey. Our organization was founded on the basis of Turkish law, operated legally and carried on no propaganda against the Turkish government. After all democratic-progressive organizations had been forbidden in Turkey, ours was forbidden also. After the declaration of martial law, we were even mistreated by Turkish police.

Question: Mr. A., how do you explain the ban on your students' organization if you were not carrying on propaganda against the Turkish regime? You speak of mistreatment of your members on the part of the Turkish police. Could you please explain this in more detail?

Answer: Our organization is a democratic-progressive organization. We are particularly interested, which is to say, we feel it our duty, in exposing the social, economic and political evils in Iran under the Shah-regime. And so SAVAK (the Iranian secret police) did not remain inactive. A list of our names was given to the Turkish secret police (MIT). As is well known, both police organizations work hand in hand. Naturally the Erim regime saw in our expression of the situation in Iran a challenge to itself. In addition, we had great sympathy for the open revolutionary efforts of the progressive organizations of Turkey. This caused Turkish military officials to forbid our organization and to mistreat our members. We were forced to appear three times before the "First Division of Security Police" for hearings. Each time we were offended, insulted and beaten with rubber clubs and whips.

Question: The Erim regime claims that political prisoners are not mistreated. According to this claim, such mistreatment must have been confined to Iranian students. Is that correct?

Answer: That is a lie. We were to some extent in so-called detention for investigation along with Turkish prisoners and so were able to see that they were inhumanely treated and even badly mistreated. For example, prisoners were not permitted to use the toilet for the first three or four days, so that their cells or barracks were full of urine and feces approximately to the height of the ankle. The female student Nuray Alptekin, who was arrested after the murder of the Israeli General Consul, became paralysed as a result of beatings and torture. The Turkish police showed her to us in order to frighten us. It is an open secret that the Turkish police and gendarmes subjected prisoners to mistreatment and medieval methods of torture. As a further example, I can mention the treatment of İlhan Selçuk,

member of the editorial board of the newspaper CUMHURİYET. He was so badly beaten during detention for investigation that he vomited blood for a week afterward. Thus when I state that all other political prisoners were subjected to at least comparable mistreatment, it is in no way an exaggeration, since I was an eyewitness to innumerable carefully chosen tortures. That the Erim regime can speak of normal treatment; that is, no mistreatment, of prisoners in the face of this fact is most revealing of its inhumane and fascist character.

Question: We have heard that the national oppression of the kurdish people, in addition to terror as practiced by military commandos, is further heightened by the banning of all forms of mails in the kurdish language and of kurdish books and records. Can you give us any further details on the position of the presently ruling turkish regime on the kurdish national question?

Answer: As I was able to learn from my turkish friends, more than 4000 Kurds have been arrested in the kurdish cities of Diyarbakir and Silvan alone since the declaration of martial law at the beginning of June. The fascist acts of commando terror in turkish Kurdistan of which you spoke have since unbearably increased. The Erim regime attempts at every opportunity to make the freely invented kurdish "separatism" responsible for the collapse of the fascist policies practiced by its predecessors. The ruling turkish military and civilian elite carries on the same policy of total annihilation against the Kurds as Hitler once carried on against the Jews. That this policy has not yet been successfully concluded is due to the fear of worldwide publicity. The fact that the turkish bourgeoisie collaborates with kurdish reactionaries in exploiting the masses of the kurdish people makes the situation worse.

Question: The Erim regime was set up by leading generals and calls itself a "reform government". In your opinion, Mr. A., in what areas has it showed its willingness for reform and which of Turkey's problems has it solved?

Answer: It is an indisputable fact that the Erim regime is opposed to reform. Its only goal is the destruction of all revolutionary and progressive forces in Turkey, in order to oppress and exploit the peoples of Turkey more brutally than ever before. It is clear that there can be no place for reform in such a policy. In addition, the Erim regime is the typical representative of the feudal lords, the turkish bourgeoisie and the extended arm of the military. Thus, it is opposed to all progressive forces and organizations which would be in a position to free the peoples of Turkey from oppression and exploitation. It would be wrong to assume that the regime acts in the interests of the masses. The fact that the Erim regime is concerned with strengthening the influence of the capitalist monopolies and their turkish comrades is sufficiently informative about the direction of its goal.

Question: Can the Erim regime assert itself indefinitely in Turkey in your opinion?

Answer:

No. One can compare the life expectancy of the Erim regime with that of a rabid dog. For through the imprisonment and mistreatment of the true representatives of the interests of the people, the Erim regime is entangling itself in contradictions and digging its own grave. It can be stated with certainty that a regime so hostile to the people as that of Erim and his helpers' helpers will eventually be conquered by the will of the people. The regime demands obedience to its laws at the same time as it ignores human rights, human dignity and the constitution. The decisive contribution to the overthrow of Erim's fascist regime will most assuredly be the continued deliberate cooperative efforts of the progressive forces of the kurdish and turkish peoples.



Despite this, the Erim regime still speaks of humane treatment of political opposition

RESOLUTIONS OF THE 14th ANNUAL CONGRESS OF THE KURDISH STUDENTS' SOCIETY IN EUROPE (Stockholm, August 1 - 5, 1970)

I. In relation to the peace settlement concluded March 11, 1970, in iraqi Kurdistan:

The settlement which was concluded between the leaders of the Kurdish Democratic Party and the iraqi government on March 11, 1970, and which recognized the autonomy of the kurdish people is, in our opinion, a great victory in the struggle of the kurdish people and its victorious revolution under the leadership of M. Barzani.

At the same time, it is a victory of all national democratic forces and of the force of public opinion, which supported the struggle of our people and helped to realize our just national movement. This peace settlement is an important first step toward a peaceful, democratic solution of the kurdish national question in Iraq.

The proper execution of this settlement will bring the end of the lengthy civil war which has already claimed so many victims in Iraq.

The speedy realization of the resolutions will mean an end to the manipulations of the imperialist and reactionary forces which direct themselves against the interests of Iraq and its future development. With the realization of the settlement, relations between the two peoples, arabic and kurdish, will become normalized. Thus, brotherhood and unity among both peoples will have a solid basis. This is in the best interests of Iraq, of the Arabs, the Kurds and the national minorities.

Viewed from another aspect, the execution of the settlement will have a tangibly positive influence on our people's struggle against national oppression in all parts of Kurdistan and will lead to the granting of our just national rights.

The 14th congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe acclaims this peace settlement and recognizes the necessity to create a broad, progressive national front in which all parties and all national forces may participate without regard to political leanings or nationality. Thus, freedom and democratic rights will be possible for the masses of iraqi peoples. This freedom is the all-important first stage for the creation of a stable, democratic, revolutionary order which will be erected by the people and will possess their trust and obedience.

II. On the political situation in Iraq:

The iraqi government has recently undertaken a number of constructive steps. These concern the areas of society and the economy, as well as the area of international politics.

The most noteworthy of these steps was the conclusion of the settlement with the leaders of the kurdish revolution in order to bring about a peaceful solution to the kurdish problem in Iraq on the basis of recognition of the rights of the kurdish people concerning autonomy within the framework of the iraqi republic.

These steps and accomplishments have the support of the entire iraqi population, of the Arabs, the Kurds and all national and progressive forces. They have also found the acclaim and support of all friends of the iraqi peoples and of the supporters of freedom and progress throughout the world.

Despite these facts, there are still a number of problems connected with the political situation in Iraq which have not yet been attacked.

Proceeding from our concern about the interests of the iraqi people, of the Arabs and Kurds, about the future development and the consolidation of Iraq's internal front against imperialist intrigues and blackmail attempts and in order to create positive guarantees for a peaceful democratic solution of the kurdish problem as set out in the settlement of March 11, 1970, we urge the iraqi government to guarantee democratic rights to the iraqi people and its national forces and to begin with the creation of necessary guarantees and measures so that all parties and national forces may be politically active. We view this as the preliminary stage for the removal of negative appearances in Iraq's political life and for the creation of a broad, progressive national front among all parties and national forces for the erection of a national democratic coalition government which would be in a position to unite all the forces of the people and to secure the development of the country and the execution of social progress.

III. On the matter of the Feili-Kurds:

The congress urges the iraqi government to grant the Feili-Kurds iraqi citizenship and demands:

1. that they not be expelled from Iraq, since on the one hand a large proportion of them have the right to iraqi citizenship and on the other hand their expulsion would mean the loss of their means of livelihood and the forced separation from their families.
2. an end to the inhumane measures practiced by the iraqi government against the Feili-Kurds and the return from Iran of those already expelled, which would serve to further strengthen Arab-Kurdish brotherhood.

IV. On the situation in iranian Kurdistan:

The 14th congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe sends its warmest greetings to the kurdish people in iranian Kurdistan, for this people finds itself presently in a difficult situation due to the struggle for its national rights and the endeavor to build a democratic system in Iran. The kurdish people in iranian Kurdistan is under pressure from the reactionary system of the iranian government; it lives deprived of the most primitive of national rights, in part deprived even of some citizen's rights. The prisons are filled with the finest sons of the kurdish people, among them the two wellknown fighters Ghani Bilourian and Aziz Yousfi. Since the settlement of March 11, 1970, which represented such a victory for the kurdish people in all parts of Kurdistan, the government, fearing a kurdish freedom movement, has made iranian Kurdistan into a region of military terror.

The congress demands from the iranian government:

1. official recognition of the existence of the kurdish people and of its just national rights.
2. the lifting of the military reign of terror in iranian Kurdistan.
3. an end to the persecution, arrests, tortures and assassinations perpetrated against the sons of the kurdish people in Iran.
4. the release of all political prisoners.

V. On the situation in turkish Kurdistan:

The 14th congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe sends its warmest greetings to the kurdish people in turkish Kurdistan and demands of the government:

1. recognition of the existence of the kurdish people and its national rights.
2. final cessation of the acts of oppression and repression performed against the kurdish people by turkish commando troops, an end to the mass arrests, to expulsions and to the murder of innocent people.
3. permission to publish newspapers and magazines in the kurdish language, the initiation of a kurdish radio program.
4. a constitutional guarantee for the founding of political and social kurdish organizations.

VI. Resolution on Syria:

The congress acclaims the struggle of the kurdish people and its brave, determined stand against the chauvinist measures of the syrian Baathist government directed against the existence of the kurdish people. These measures consist in the Arab belt project and in an irregular census, through which approximately one hundred thousand syrian citizens of kurdish nationality lost their citizenship.

The congress urges all progressive and national forces to abandon this policy of ignoring racist plans and national oppression and to support the efforts of our people.

The congress urges the syrian government to cease carrying out these measures and to grant the kurdish people the possibility to realize its political, social and cultural interests. The congress condemns the arrests which have recently taken place, as well as the judgements which have been passed upon kurdish patriots, a number of kurdish students and other progressive syrian forces in the state security courts in the absence of the accused. The congress demands the release of all political prisoners and the creation of a genuine democracy in Syria.

VII. On the support of the Arab people's struggle:

We members of the 14th congress of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe declare our solidarity with the struggle of the arabic peoples and their revolutionary freedom movement against imperialism, zionism and reaction and demand the recreation of the rights of the palestinian people and the granting of its right to self-determination.

VIII. On solidarity with the world struggle for freedom:

The congress declares its solidarity with the struggles for freedom being carried on by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and for freedom and self-determination and supports the heroic struggles of the vietnamese and cambodian peoples.

The congress urges world powers to complete disarmament, as well as the cessation of production of atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons, and also to the banning of the storage of these. The world's problems should be solved peacefully and by means of negotiation.

IX. The congress thanks all the guests who accepted its invitation, as well as the swedish organizations and personalities who contributed to the successful progression of our congress.

THE 10th CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS (IUS)

The 10th congress of the International Union of Students took place in Bratislava, CSSR, February 3 - 10, 1971. Our society, as a member of the IUS, was invited to the congress and was represented there by several members of our administrative committee.

Our society's delegation took part in the discussions and resolutions of the congress, as well as in the demonstrations of solidarity with Indo-China and with the arabic and latin american peoples. The delegation formed contacts with the representatives of various organizations and discussed with them the problems of today's world. Our society was once again named to membership on the finance committee of the IUS.

The congress took place under the sign of solidarity with the students and the progressive forces of the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and especially Indo-China. Appropriately, our delegation presented a report on the historical and political development as well as the present situation in all parts of Kurdistan.

The congress announced its support of the struggle of the kurdish people for its national rights, for social progress and against national oppression and exploitation. At the conclusion of the congress, the following resolutions on the kurdish national problem were passed:

RESOLUTION ON THE KURDISH PROBLEM

The 10th Congress of the IUS meeting in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia from February 3 - 10, 1971,

1. extends its support to the struggle of the Kurdish students and people and announces its support of the agreement signed on the 11th of March 1970 between the leaders of the Kurdish people and the Iraqi Government, which agreement recognises the national rights of the Kurdish people and their autonomy in Kurdistan, within the Iraqi Republic;
2. demands at the same time the rapid application of all the points of the agreement including the point on the autonomy of Kurdistan within a democratic Iraq where all national and progressive forces can enjoy freedom of action, a rapid implementation of which agreement will necessitate a stronger stand against imperialism, Zionism and reaction;
3. announces its support of the struggle of the Kurdish people in Turkish Kurdistan and condemns the bloody massacres against students and people, carried out by the Turkish commando paratroopers;
4. demands the release of the Kurdish nationals in Turkey and their recognition as a people with full national rights;
5. expresses, at the same time, its support of the struggle of the Kurdish people in Iran and condemns the reactionary measures taken by the Iranian Government against the Kurdish people there;
6. asks for the abolition of the illegal measures and the unjust sentences passed against the Kurdish nationals and for the recognition of their national and democratic rights;
7. considers the satisfaction of the national rights of the Kurds in Syria is an important factor in the consolidation of the internal front against imperialist-zionist aggression.

ATTENTAT MANQUE CONTRE LE GENERAL BARZANI RERPETRE LE 29. SEPTEMBRE 1971.

1. Quinze jous avant l'attentat manqué, quatre des personnes qui ont participé à l'attentat, tous arabes musulmans, ont déjà rendu visite au Général Barzani, se présentant comme une délégation religieuse. Ces mêmes personnes lui avaient auparavant rendu d'autres visites.

2. Ils sont revenus en voiture le 29.9.71, accompagnés de 5 autres personnes et de deux chauffeurs.

Leurs noms sont:

- Cheikh ABD EL HUSSEIN EL DAHITI
- Cheikh ABD EL WAHAB EL ADAMI
- Cheikh ABD EL GABER EL ADAMI
- Cheikh IBRAHIM GATEM EL HUSAI
- Cheikh AHMED EL HITHI
- Cheikh BAKER EL MOUZAFAR
- Cheikh NOURI YASSINE EL HUSSEINI
- Cheikh GHIAZI EL DELIMI
- Cheikh ABD EL JALIL EL MOUSSAWI
- MOHAMED KAMEL ISMAIL.
- ANAME AHMED KASSEM.

3. une des voitures était une TOYOTA et l'autre une CHEVRALET. Ils ont garé les voitures à UN METRE de DISTANCE du MUR du BUREAU de RECEPTION du Général Barzani.

4. La réunion avec le Général Barzani, qu'accompagnait le Docteur MAHMOUD, débuta à 17 heures 10. A 17 heures 20, il y eut une explosion qui foudroya un des membres de la "délégation" qui avait sur lui des explosifs et portait un engin à retardement (cachés dans sa ceinture attachée autour de sa taille). Par la force de l'explosion, lui et un autre membre de la délégation, furent tués sur le champs. Tous les autres membres de la délégation s'enfuirent de la Place. Le Général Barzani et les siens ne furent pas touchés atteints. Le Général Barzani s'empresse vers la porte et donna l'ordre à ses gardes de ne pas tirer sur les fugitifs.

Au même moment, ceux-ci lancèrent des grenades à main sur le Général. Un des gardes du Général succomba et plusieurs autres furent blessés, mais le Général Barzani sortit indemne. Par la suite, les gardes ouvrirent le feu sur les attaquants, et dans la fusillade qui s'en suivit, tous les membres de la "délégation" furent tués. Du côté des gardes du Général Barzani, il y eut au total, DEUX MORT et 14 BLESSES.

5. Une demi-heure après ces événements, l'une des voitures garée, explosa causant des incendies et endommageant plusieurs maisons. On estime qu'il y avait plus de 100 KILOG. d'EXPLOSIFS dans la voiture.

Par la suite, en fouillant la deuxième voiture on y trouva ENCORE 100 KILOGRAMMES d'explosifs et 2 FUSEES dirigées vers l'arrière.

6. La qualité des engins employés et la manière dont furent placés les explosifs, témoignent un travail hautement professionnel nécessitant des laboratoires à LA PORTEE UNIQUEMENT D'AGENTS GOUVERNEMENTAUX et non de groupuscules terroristes.

La "délégation" étant venue de Bagdad, elle a dû passer à travers des points de contrôle établis par les autorités irakiennes tous les 20 km. le long de la route où toutes les voitures subissent un contrôle très strict. Il est donc plus que probable que ces deux voitures suspectes aient passé une dizaine de ces postes de contrôle sans avoir été inquiétées.

7. Bien que le gouvernement irakien ait exprimé ses regrets et envoyé un télégramme de bons vœux au Général Barzani, il est certain qu'au sein du gouvernement baathiste subsistent des traîtres ne reculant devant aucun acte criminel contre leurs concitoyens et leur propre peuple et des éléments hostiles aux Kurdes qui ont encore le contrôle de certaines agences gouvernementales. Il semble certain que l'attentat perpétré contre le Général Barzani ait été perpétré sous l'égide de ces mêmes éléments.



Pamphlet of January 10, 1972

DOES THE BAATHIST GOVERNMENT PLAN A NEW WAR IN KURDISTAN?

The political situation in iraqi Kurdistan has recently made headlines once again. Unrest is reported among the kurdish population concerning the attitude of the baathist government toward the kurdish question. Arrests and expulsions of Kurds by government officials and isolated battles do nothing to allay the fears that the baathist government would like to force matters to a new trial of strength, from which only imperialist and reactionary factions could profit.

The latest war in iraqi Kurdistan was begun, as is commonly known, by General Kassem in September of 1961. This war was waged in all severity against the kurdish population and caused the downfall of several governments as well as the present economic misery in Iraq. Each new government initially announced the "recognition" of democratic rights and carried out "peace negotiations" with the leaders of the kurdish revolution. And each time the resulting agreements were disregarded by the government in Baghdad, and war continued. The most barbarous portion of the war was waged against the kurdish civilian population by the baathist government, which referred to its martial handiwork as a "national picnic". Following the various defeats of the army at the hands of the Peshmerga (volunteers), following the ever strengthening solidarity of the democratic-progressive factions of the arab population with the kurdish people's struggle for autonomy and democracy, the present baathist leadership was forced to seek a political solution to the conflict.

On March 11, 1970, the latest peace settlement between the Kurds and the iraqi baathist government was signed to this purpose. In order to ensure the realization of self-government for the kurdish population, a census was agreed upon, by means of which the boundaries of an autonomous Kurdistan were to be determined. This census has especial meaning for oil-rich centers such as Kirkuk, Sincar and Khanaqin. Economic reconstruction and land reform for Kurdistan were agreed upon.

A year and a half have passed since the signing of the peace settlement, but the core of this settlement has yet to be fulfilled. The baathist government has postponed the census several times, and is meanwhile intensively occupied with the "arabization" - the settling-in of Arabs - of Kirkuk and other economic centers, whose beneficiaries - with the sanction of the government in Baghdad - are english oil companies.

Even while the baathist leadership admits Arabs from other arab countries, grants them iraqi citizenship and supplies them with financial support, it daily banishes 200 to 500 Feyli-Kurds from Iraq. The Feyli-Kurds, today numbering 100.000 people, settled in Iraq even before the founding of the present state of Iraq, at the time of the ottoman dominion. They are exposed to the caprice of the organs of the central government. Since October of 1971, they are nightly routed from their homes and from the streets by the police and forced to leave Iraq on shortest possible notice. Their possessions are confiscated. They are expelled either into Iran (Persia) or into Turkey, where they are housed in tent barracks under the worst possible conditions. This situation is a striking breach of the peace settlement of March 11, 1970, and a proof of dangerous racist policy.

The minimal number of kurdish students admitted to study in various faculties this year is a further proof of this policy. The medical faculty admitted 8% kurdish students, the dental faculty 2%, the military academy less than 2%, although the kurdish population makes up over 30% of the total population. Ta'achi (brotherhood), a Baghdad-based newspaper published by Kurds, also noted this cultural discrimination.

In the present situation, while to the north a fascist junta with the help of US-imperialism and its native tools, the turkish ruling classes, represses the democratic struggle of the kurdish and turkish peoples, while the reactionary Shah-regime in Iran continues its policies in the service of imperialism and crushes all opposition, and while the Arab-Israeli conflict grows ever sharper, we find it necessary to demand that the iraqi baathist leadership abandon its adventurous policy in Kurdistan. For a new war in Kurdistan would only injure the unity of the kurdish and arabic peoples and their common battle against imperialism and for progress and democracy.

We demand of the baathist government:

An end to all military action against the population of Kurdistan. Readmission of and compensation to all expelled Kurds and recognition of their citizenship.

Realization of the peace settlement of March 11, 1970, with all its conditions.

The building of a national front of the progressive-democratic factions of the kurdish and arab peoples.

Munich, January 10, 1972

Kurdish Students' Society
in Europe
Munich Branch

Telegram

15.12.1971

Cevdet Sunay

Turkish President of State Ankara.

We protest most strongly against the death sentences of 18 young revolutionaries, against the arrest and mistreatment of progressive people, democrats and revolutionaries. We demand the release of all political prisoners. We declare our solidarity with the democratic struggle of the kurdish and turkish people against imperialism and its native agents.

Central Committee
United Kurdish Students
in Europe

THE MAIN ACTIVITIES OF THE UK-BRANCH

The main activities since the last Annual General Meeting, which was held in London last June, included:

- Participation in the Overseas Students Organisation Conference. A report on the situation in Kurdistan was accepted unanimously and also our resolutions (one of which was a protest against the attempt on the life of Barzani). Our Society became, for the second time, a member of the co-ordinating committee.
- The Society applied for membership and was accepted by the 'Liberation' organisation - previously 'Movement for Colonial Freedom' (M.C.F.)
- A general meeting in London on the 2nd October was held to discuss the situation in Kurdistan-Iraq and the attempt on the life of Barzani. A resolution was passed to send a telegram to the President of Iraq protesting and condemning this cowardly act. The telegram was duly sent. A social gathering, to welcome new members, was held in the evening.
- Assistance to many of our compatriots who came to London for hospitalization and medical treatment.

Branches:

The Cardiff University College Kurdish Society

held an International Evening and Mid-Eastern Night on the 11th December.
(Details on other pages)

The London Branch

Elected its 3-man Committee.

Held three General Meetings to discuss the situation in Kurdistan and ways and means of improving and increasing their activities.

Held a Social Evening for its members where Kurdish food and music helped to relax members after a hectic term.

The Liverpool Branch

"K.I.S.S.", the Kurdish and International Students Society in Liverpool University held two social evenings and disco dances.

PEMBIWÊ ME YE, LÊ EM TAZÎ NE

Te av didin ey pembû, bi hêstirên çavên xwe.
 Te xweş dikin, geş dikin, bi van dest û gavên xwe.
 Xebat hemî li ser me, di dest me da tevî û bêr,
 Bi zor em te pêk tinin, paşê dighêy xwedî zêr.
 Tu pembiwê erdê me, lê em rût û tazî ne...
 Yek ji sedî dighê me, hê jî em pê razî ne.
 Hevqas giranbiha yîqedrê te em ni zanin.
 Bê xwendin û gundî ne, lewra em jî xizandin.
 Ev kaniyên hemî zêr ji rex gundên me tên der,
 Zend û bendên me pir xurt em tev cotar û karker.
 Dixebitin şev û roj şerm e hê jî birçî ne,
 Welat li ser navê me, lê em tê da bê cî ne...
 Dewlemendên polperest tim tim dixwin malê me
 Bê îman û bê wijdan ew guh na din halê me.
 Ew qirêja destê me dixwin, li me napirsin,
 Em tev tazî û birçî ew ji xwedê natirsin.
 Erdên me avên me, lê bê fedî dixwin ew,
 Paşdaman, belengaz tev bêxwedî dixwin ew.
 Xebata me kara wan, em rancberê dîza ne,
 Berên rezan dixwin ew, em pêwanê reza ne.
 Ev xweydana milên me tu ji wan re dikî zêr,
 Heta hişyar nebin em, ew li jêr û em li jêr.
 Şiyar dibin hin bi hin em bi zorê dibin yek,
 Hindik maye bişkênin serê axe serê beg.
 Ji bo wera bimênin evqas gund û dexl û av,
 Kes ni karî xilas bî, bi gotin û lavelav.
 Divê hinik diwarî di vê rê da bibênin,
 Yanî em çî biçênin, ewî wî zû hilênin.
 Hevalên me li her der, ji xwe gelek dan kuştin,
 Heta ax û av û mal demî ji boxwe hiştin.
 Di vê rê da em rabin weke şêr û weke mêr,
 Ev pembû u ev genim ji bo wera dibin zêr.
 Gundên me jî xweş dibin, dibin gesr û ronaht,
 Xwendegeh û sinema, hemî av û şinahî...
 Ev hasin û terektoz tev da dibin malê me,
 Idî nabin gêj û kor, pir xwes dibî halê me.
 Bi serbestî, dilxweştî bikin kar û barê xwe,
 Mêr û jîn û keç û kur rûgeş herin karê xwe?
 Ne hêstir û ne gîrî, ne kuştin û ne talan,
 Weke xwişk û bira bin, dewlemend û xwendevan.
 Di nav me da nemînin ne axa û ne jî beg,
 Deste xwe em bidin hev di her tiştî bibin yek.
 Bi çepik û ltandin, bi devken û xwedîttî;
 Hemî bêjin bi hevra, Bijî! Bijî Yekîttî!

Cegerxwin

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طريق التآخي

عود على موضوع تفسير الاكراد الفيليين

لقد جرى بحث موضوع الاكراد الفيليين والاضطهاد الذي يلاقونه خلال الحصار الذي سبق اتفاقية آذر باتجاه وقف الاضطهادات التي لاقوها خلال العقود المختلفة ودراسة وضعهم لاعطاء الجنسية العراقية لهم ، فلم يلمس اي اعتراض على ذلك الا ان الاخوان فضلوا عدم درجه في البيان باعتباره مسألة يمكن حلها بصورة سريعة ومن قبل اجهزة وزارة الداخلية . لقد كانت الثقة التي بنيت عن جو ايام آذر وما قبلها اعظم من ان ندعنا نعتبر ذلك الموضوع امراً غير ممكن الافراد .. وممرت الايام ..

وبعد تسعة اشهر من البيان بدأت حملة تفسير شملت بعض اخواننا الفيليين ، فاعيد بحث المسألة من جديد في الاجتماعات العزيمية الدورية المشتركة وفي لجنة السلام . وعرضنا نحن وجهة نظرنا في اجماع ضم عددا كبيرا من قادة حزبنا وحزب البعث العربي الاشتراكي وشرحنا اهمية الموضوع بالنسبة لمبادنا ووجودنا القومي ، وجرى الاتفاق على النقاط التالية :

١ - عدم تفسير الاكراد الذين يحملون دفاتر نفوس (٣٤) او (٤٧) او (٥٧) .

٢ - عدم تفسير المولودين في العراق .

٣ - عدم تفسير المتزوجين من عراقيات .

٤ - عدم تفسير من خدموا العلم .

٥ - عدم تفسير الذين دخلوا العراق قبل عام ١٩٥٨ واقاموا فيها بصورة مستمرة ومنظمة .

وقد وضعت سنة ١٩٥٨ بمثابة سنة فاصلة بعد تأكيد الاخوان المسؤولين على ان سللا ايرانيا منظما قد بدأ في ذلك العام على اثر قيام ثورة الرابع عشر من تموز ، حيث كان العراق وايران عضوين متساويين في حلف بغداد قبل الثورة .

وقد وعد المسؤولون في الحزب والحكومة بوضع حد نهائي لهذه المسكلة واقرحوا علينا تقديم ما لدينا من مقترحات بهذا الخصوص . وقدمنا نحن بعض المقترحات حول تنظيم العلاقات لاولئك الاكراد ووفق الاسس المنفق عليها ، الى وزارة الداخلية لندمجها بدورها الى مجلس قيادة الثورة .

الثورة . وحقت عمليات التفسير بالنسبة للاكراد ، الا انها لم توقف ، وبدأت من جديد وبشكل اجماعي منذ ٣٠ ايلول ١٩٧١ فجرى اتصال مع الاخوان المسؤولين بجهة تنسيق التعاون لصفيصة الجو السليبي الذي كان قد ثما آنشد ولمعنا اعطاء الفرصة لاعدا الشعب واعدا اتفاقية آذر لاستغلال ما حدث لصالحهم . وخلال ذلك جرى الاتفاق مجددا على الشروط والضوابط التي كان قد تم الاتفاق عليها سابقا بشأن الاكراد الفيليين ، وصدرت بركات بذلك .

Für Ankara besteht die Minderheit in Ostanatolien aus Bürgern zweiter Klasse

Mit Strafexpeditionen will die Türkei ihre „rebellischen“ Kurden assimilieren

Von PAUL SCHULMEISTER

Am Mittwoch endet in elf der 67 türkischen Provinzen der vor einem Monat verhängte Ausnahmezustand. Nach der Ermordung des israelischen Generalkonsuls in Istanbul besteht kein

Zweifel mehr daran, daß er verlängert werden wird — voraussichtlich um zwei Monate. Dies heißt: Jenseits Sanktionen gegen die „aufständigen“ osttürkischen Kurden, von denen niemand spricht,

werden fortgesetzt. Das jüngste schwere Erdbeben in der Osttürkei kommt der Armee dabei zugute. Ihr Einsatz gegen die Kurden geht bis auf die Zeiten des Staatsgründers Kemal Atatürk zurück.

„Menschen, die sich Kurden nennen, sind in Wirklichkeit türkischer Rasse. Die Idee eines Kurdenstaates in der Türkei ist das Werk des internationalen Kommunismus.“ Was der türkische Generalstaatsanwalt im letzten großen Kurdenprozeß vor genau zehn Jahren sagte — von 49 Angeklagten wurden 23 wegen separatistischer Umtriebe zum Tode verurteilt —, ist auch heute noch die Ansicht der kemalistischen Militärs. Sie die schon im Abdruck eines Gedichts in kurdischer Sprache „Separatismus“ warnen, fanden neben dem „von links und von rechts einen assisierten türkischen Grund für die Verhängung des Ausnahmezustands: das angebliche Bestreben der drei bis fünf Millionen Kurden (von insgesamt 35 Millionen türkischen Bürgern) einen eigenen Staat zu gründen.

Es ist das einzige Minderheitenproblem, dem sich die Türkei nach der mehr als rigorosen Lösung der Griechisch- und Armenierfrage vor vierzig Jahren gegenübersteht. Dem „Volk ohne Staat“ Autonomie oder Selbstbestimmung zu gewähren, wurde mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit den türkischen Staat in seiner jetzigen Form bedrohen. So haben die Behörden unter dem Schutz des Ausnahmezustands und des Fehlens jeglicher Berichterstattung aus dem unzugänglichen Bergland um den Van-See — es ist zudem weitgehend militarisches Sperrgebiet — mit Massenerpatrien unter den Kurden begonnen. Nach Syrien und Irak geflüchtete Kurden berichteten in der Beirut-Zeitschrift „Arabische Welt“ auch von zahlreichen terroristischen Übergriffen der Armee-Einheiten.

Gibt es eine „gefährliche Bewegung“ der Kurden, wie Justizminister İsmail Arar vor dem Parlament in Ankara sagte? Oder ist die Vermutung, daß sich die Kurden aufgelehnt haben, aus der Luft gegriffen? Wie Ministerpräsident Nihat Erim — offensichtlich hat irgend jemand den Justizminister falsch verstanden — seine Kabinettskollegen regelmäßig dementierte: Arars Bemerkungen wirkten in Ankara in der Tat sensationell. Zum erstenmal durchbrach ein Minister eines der ältesten politischen Tabus dieses Landes: Das Problem der Kurden — die seit einem Dekret des Staatsgründers Mustafa Kemal Atatürk von 1928 nur „Berg-Türken“ genannt

werden dürfen und wegen des gemeinsamen islamischen Glaubens nicht als Minderheit anerkannt wurden — überhaupt zu erwähnen.

Ging es Arar mit seinen Enthüllungen wohl darum, vor den osttürkischen Abgeordneten die Strafmaßnahmen gegen die Kurden zu rechtfertigen, so war es die Absicht Erims, mit seinem (nur vor westlichen Journalisten ausgesprochenen) Dementi das Interesse der Weltöffentlichkeit von der Kurdenfrage und ihren jüngsten „Lösungsversuchen“ durch die Militärs abzulenken. Im übrigen rückte Erim damit auch tatsächlich die Dimensionen zurecht, da heute von einem blutigen Kurdenaufstand wie denen von 1920, 1923, 1930, 1934 und 1939 keine Rede sein kann. Für eine zweite Sensation sorgte Nihat Erim selbst. Vor dem kleinen Kreis der Journalisten stellte der 50jährige Staats- und Völkerrechtler den Kurden als erster türkischer Politiker seit dem letzten Sultan eine „teilweise Autonomie“ in Aussicht — „wenn wir die Ordnung wiederhergestellt haben“.

Diese Ankündigung erscheint ebenso vernünftig wie leider vorerst kaum

glaubhaft. Sie widerspricht der gesamten bisherigen, von Atatürk formulierten und den kemalistischen Offizieren gebührend Kurdenpolitik Ankaras. Da Massenverhaftungen unter der kurdischen Intelligenz (vor allem unter den Stammesführern) und Deportationen Tausender Dorfbewohner in andere Landestellen schon immer bewährte Mittel Ankaras waren, um die traditionellen Clanstrukturen der andersrassigen Minderheit zu zerschlagen und das Aufkommen eines Separatismus in jenen strategisch so überaus bedeutenden Sattelgebiet zur Sowjetunion, zum Iran, Irak und Syrien zu verhindern, spricht viel für die Richtigkeit der Flüchtlingsberichte. Das Vorgehen gegen die Kurden wurde Anfang Mai, wenige Tage nach der Verhängung des zunächst nur bis zum 20. Mai befristeten Kriegsrechts in elf der 67 Provinzen, zwischen dem eigentlichen „starken Mann“ der Türkei, Generalstabschef Memduh Tagnac, den Befehlshabern der drei Waffengattungen und den örtlichen Militärkommandanten in den osttürkischen Städten Diyarbakir, Adana und Erzurum besprochen.

Furcht vor Separatismus

Seitdem der Vertrag von Sevres 1920 den Kurden die Autonomie in einem „Kurdistan“ in Aussicht stellte — obgleich die osmanische Friedensdelegation schon damals auf dem „türkischen“ Volkcharakter der Bergbewohner beharrte —, herrscht in Ankara die Furcht vor einem kurdischen Separatismus. Diese Furcht verstärkte sich, als die irakischen Kurden unter dem legenden-umwobenen 68jährigen Mullah Mustafa Barsani am 11. März 1970 ein bisher noch nicht wieder gebrochenes Autonomieabkommen mit Bagdad schlossen und damit ein mögliches Beispiel für die türkischen (sowie die 2,5 bis 3,5 Millionen iranischen und die 250 000 syrischen Stammesbrüder) gaben.

Hinzu kam, daß die sozialistische „Türkische Arbeiterpartei“ und die illegalen Kommunisten das Kurdenproblem als idealen Nährboden für ihre Agitation entdeckten und in den letzten Jahren kleinere Erfolge erzielen konnten. Diese Extremisten erhalten Geld

und Waffen aus Syrien und von den irakischen Kurden. Im Parlament gab Justizminister Arar die Aufdeckung einer „von Barsani ideell und materiell unterstützten“ geheimen „Kurdischen Unabhängigkeitspartei“ und die Beschlagnahme von zwanzig Klaren modernster tschechoslowakischer Maschinenwaffen, die in zwei Kurdenorten versteckt gewesen seien, bekannt. Bei den vielen Razzien seither wurden weitere Waffen gefunden. Ein Teil von ihnen ging im übrigen, wie festgestellt wurde, in Ankara, Istanbul und Izmir an linksradikale Studentengruppen (unter denen sich nicht wenige Kurden befinden).

Im Gegensatz zu den Briten, die nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg in ihrem Mandatsland Irak unter der dortigen Kurdenbevölkerung — laut Barsani heute 30 Prozent der 8,7 Millionen Iraker — bewußt den Prozeß vom Stammes- zum Nationalbewußtsein förderten, versuchten die Türken ständig, die Kurden mit-

tels Verkehrserschließung ihrer Gebiete und straffen Militärdienst zu „türkisieren“. Noch heute gibt es für die Minderheit, wenn überhaupt, nur türkische Schulen, türkische Radiosendungen, türkische Publikationen — von Selbstbestimmungsrecht keine Spur.

Daß diese Politik kaum klug und vor-aussehend ist, liegt auf der Hand. Denn nicht nur die Agitation der Linken, auch das Auslandsstudium einer wachsenden Zahl regimefeindlicher Kurden (sie haben etwa in West-Berlin eine recht aktive Vertretung) und die (langsame) Verbreitung von Transistorradios trägt unaufhaltsam zum Prozeß der Bewußtseinsbildung der Kurden bei. Finden sich künftig Führer, und kommt es in der Osttürkei zum Aufstand, dann zeigt das Beispiel der Kurden unter Barsani, wie schwer und auf die Dauer aussichtslos der Kampf gegen die ge-rühmten kurdischen Guerilleros ist.

Schließlich — und dies ist ein entscheidender Gesichtspunkt: Das Kurdenproblem kann den Sowjets, unter deren Protektion am 13. Dezember 1945 der bislang einzige Kurdenstaat, die Neun-Monate-„Republik von Mahabad“ südlich des westpersischen Urmia-Sees entstanden war, jederzeit als Sprengstoff im Mittleren Osten dienen. Es steht im Belieben Moskaus, die türkischen Kurden wie im Falle Barsani künftig offen und direkt zu unterstützen — und damit die CENTO-Pakt-Brücke Ankara-Teheran-Islamabad außerordentlich zu gefährden. Noch begünstigt sich Mullah Mustafa Barsani — der Mann, der elf Jahre im sowjetischen Exil lebte, die Militärakademien von Prag und Moskau besuchte, entgegen manchen Berichten jedoch keineswegs ein Marxist ist — mit der Autonomie im Iran und lehnt ein „Kurdistan“ ab. Werden die 6 bis 10 Millionen Kurden dies auch morgen noch tun?

„Mein Herr? Ein freier Kurde hat nie einen Herrn. Er ist mein Bey“, antwortet bei Karl May ein kurdischer Abgesandter auf die Frage eines türkischen Offiziers: „er ist mein Anführer im Kampf, nicht aber mein Gebieter. Dieses Wort kennen nur die Türken und Perser.“ Spätestens seit den Ergüssen des albanischen Schreibstisch-Abenteurers ist der Freiheitsdrang des „Volks ohne Staat“ auch in unseren Breiten bekannt.

To read:

LE KURDISTAN IRAKIEN ENTITE NATIONALE
ETUDE DE LA REVOLUTION DE 1961

By: Dr. Ismet Chériff Vanly

Dissertation at the University of Lausanne,
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STUDENTS UNION OF THE UNIVERSITY DACCA BANGLA DESH

Dear friends,

we congratulate the eastbengali people on the success of its heroic struggle for liberty.

We hereby express our solidarity with your revolutionary struggle for freedom democracy and progress against imperialism and its native tools.

Kurdish students Society in Europe
German Federal Republic - Munich branch

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KOMELEY XWÊNDIKARANÎ KURD LE EWRUPA

KURDISTAN



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Opinions expressed by individuals do not necessarily reflect those of the Society/Editor.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Our Kurdish people in Kurdistan-Iraq are today facing another barbaric military attack by the Baathist dictators of Baghdad, ravaging our towns and villages and murdering thousands of innocent civilians. The Kurdish people in other parts of Kurdistan remain denied their basic national rights, even their human rights are violated in some parts. At this crucial time in the history of our people, we, Kurdish students abroad must greatly increase our efforts in our Universities and colleges and in public meetings to break this wall of silence by the world media and governments about the gross violations of human rights and the genocidal war waged against our people.

KSSE, which was formed in 1956 by a number of Kurdish students, today has hundreds of members in 17 branches all over Europe. It has played an important role in conveying to world students and public opinion the plight of the Kurdish people in its divided country Kurdistan and the discrimination Kurdish students suffer. It has also succeeded in rallying behind it all the Kurdish students studying in Europe and has truly become an Ambassador of our people abroad. Through this long and difficult struggle KSSE has gained the admiration of our people and the respect of our friends. We must live up to this expectation and responsibility.

I take this opportunity to pay tribute, in the name of all our members, to our heroic Pesh Merga and our great leader Barzani.

I call upon the world student movement and all humanitarian and progressive organisations and individuals, in the name of all the Kurdish students abroad, to come to the aid of the Kurdish people and raise their voice against the crimes committed against humanity in Kurdistan-Iraq.

T. Akraw

Editorial

THE LONG MARCH

Iraqi Kurdistan is once again under the ravages of brutal war, waged by the Baathist regime of Iraq, with all the attendant suffering from the daily bombardment, and the Iraqi Army's terrorism and intensified racist measures against the Kurdish people. So ends a four-year truce between the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and Iraq's Baathist Government, making the 11th March 1970 agreement the latest in the series of promissory notes, issued by various Iraqi governments, which turn out to be duds.

PERFIDIOUS BAAATH

Some argued from the outset that to hope for a fundamental change of heart by the Baathist was expecting the leopard to change his spots. Nevertheless, the general expectation, in the wake of the agreement, was that the Baath would, if for no other reason than of self-preservation, change their aggressive stance. Alas, this turned out to be a chimera. For few can doubt that the events since March 1970 have conclusively proved the perfidious nature of the Baathist's approach to the Kurdish problem: the olive branch was a mere cover for their ultimate policy of destroying the Kurdish liberation movement.

During the four years specified, the substantive terms of the agreement remained unimplemented, namely the recognition of the Kurdish people as a free and equal partner with the Arab people in Iraq. The Baathist regime failed to implement the most fundamental principle of the accord, i.e. the carrying out within one year of an official census delineating the boundaries of one united autonomous region for Kurdistan. The regime failed to institutionalise the bi-national character of the country, treating the representatives of the Kurdish people such as the five ministers in the central government, as mere cyphers at the beck and call of the Baathist ruling clique, the so-called Revolution Command Council (RCC), a body which is self-appointed, consisting mostly of members of the Tikriti tribe, and accountable to no-one, with absolute executive, legislative and judicial powers over the whole country.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Furthermore the Baathist resorted to large scale and illegal measures to change the composition of some areas of Kurdistan; thus practising racial discrimination by uprooting large numbers of Kurdish families from their homelands, and by forcefully settling non-Kurdish families in their homes, especially in the

Kurdistan areas of Khanaqin, Sinjar and the oil-rich province of Kirkuk. On all social, educational and economic levels, discriminatory policies continued to be practised against the Kurdish citizens: barring Kurdish applicants for enrolment at military and police colleges; discriminating against Kurds in matters of public posts and the allocation of scholarships, and a severe shortage of medical and social services in the region. The regime even turned down in September 1970 a United Nations offer of \$100 million programme to build projects in Kurdistan.

It was during this period of 'peace' that the Iraqi army began to stockpile considerable quantities of poison gas and gas masks, with the avowed purpose of waging a genocidal war against the people of Kurdistan.

The Baathist strategy was to stall the implementation of the crucial terms of agreement, and at the same time planning to undermine the strength of the Kurdish liberation movement through tactics such as the carefully planned assassination plots against Barzani and prominent Pesh Merga and KDP leaders, which were posthumously blamed by President Bakir on their dreaded chief of the security, Nazim Kizzar. Their colonialist policies of divide and rule were aimed at fostering an appeasement faction within the Kurdish movement, which the Baathists hoped, would serve as their Trojan Horse in order to disintegrate its cohesiveness.

NEW PLAN

These treacherous policies culminated in the unilateral announcement on 11th March 1974 by the Baath of a Law of Autonomy, in complete breach of the original March agreement, which recognised the KDP as the essential party to any settlement of the Kurdish issue. The Baathist's plan is a fraudulent scheme to bamboozle the Kurdish people and world opinion. This plan fails to meet the genuine aspirations of the Kurdish people on many levels. No provision is made to take serious steps in order to ascertain the boundaries of the Kurdistan region, and also to put a stop to the process of Arabization. The plan does not permit any financial planning and budgeting powers for the regional administration. Furthermore, the regime rejected the idea of a permanent constitution restoring civil liberties and full democratic rights to all Iraq within one year, as proposed by the KDP. They are adamant at maintaining the absolute and monopoly powers of the RCC, and not allowing the representatives of the second nationality within the country to partake in the decision-making process of the state.

In effect the bodies to be created according to the Baathist plan for the autonomous region are just talking shops without any real powers of a genuine system of self-government. It was obvious, during the 'dialogue' between the two sides, that the Baathist plan was simply an empty gesture when the Tikriti hawks within the Baath, especially Saddam Tikriti, had already opted for the military campaign once again against the Kurdish people.

MORALS AND RE-APPRAISAL

There are certain hard facts which need stating concerning the new phase in the history of Kurdo-Iraqi relations. The first is that, to all intents and purposes, the March Agreement of 1970 is a dead letter by

now. Therefore there is an overriding priority for a complete re-appraisal of the position and policies of the Kurdish liberation movement in Iraq, vis-a-vis the status of the central government of Iraq. Time is ripe for drawing clear-cut conclusions from the practical lessons of the movement since the early 1960's.

A major lesson is that Iraq as a state is totally unfit and incapable to solve the Kurdish question in a just and peaceful manner. The Kurdish movement has experienced numerous Iraqi regimes, of various political shades and colours, ranging from monarchical to the self-styled nationalist-socialist like the Baath. But the final outcome of the attempts to negotiate a satisfactory settlement with them have been almost identical – deadlock. This is due mainly to the unrepresentative nature of all the regimes so far, which have been mostly brutal and corrupt tyrannies, consisting of a handful of militarist rulers and their jailers, spies, torturers and gunmen. How can the Kurdish people put their destiny and security in the hands of such dictatorial regimes?

In fact Iraq as a state does not possess any legitimacy from the point of view of the inalienable right of the Kurdish people for national self-determination. Iraq is an artificial edifice, created by the victorious powers after the first World War. The reasons for its arbitrary creation were simply, economic exploitation and the carving-up of the Ottoman Empire into spheres of influence by the imperialist powers. The Kurdish people were thus the major victims in this charade, as Southern Kurdistan was annexed to the new state of Iraq finally in 1926. And although specific international provisions were declared, through the League of Nations, regarding the safeguarding of the Kurdish national rights, these pledges have never been honoured in practice. On the contrary the Iraqi state has always been an oppressive instrument against the Kurdish people in Iraq, denying Kurdish citizens ethnic, cultural, economic and political rights continuously.

During this new phase, the KDP is expected to set out fundamental guidelines for the future. In this context, two issues stand out: the first is the need to uphold the principle of national self-determination for the Kurdish people, and the outlining of plans, procedures and formats for translating this principle into reality, in a manner compatible with the interests of the people of Kurdistan, and reflecting the legitimate aspirations of the public after so many years of sacrifices and struggle. Impetus should be given to the social, economic and administrative aspects of development in the de facto autonomous administration simultaneously with the prime task of defending the liberated areas from Iraqi aggression.

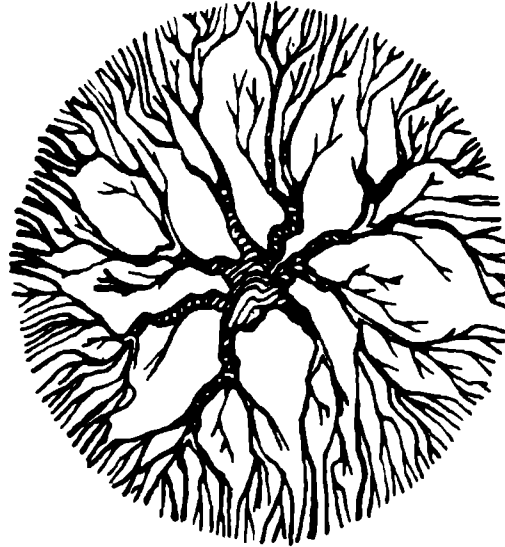
Secondly it is important to lay down general principles and procedures for conducting any future negotiations with the central government, taking into consideration the lessons of the previous rounds of attempts at arriving at a settlement. It is vital that specific minimum conditions are presented and accepted by the central government before embarking on another round. The style of the previous negotiations resulted in vague and extremely elastic terms being declared, which were later a great help to the central government in its attempts to wriggle out of its obligations. Any formula for political settlement must ensure the mutual recognition and equality of the two nations in Iraq.

As to the environment under which future negotiations are to be conducted, it is advisable to hold them outside Iraq, with the full participation of international organisations, such as the U.N. This will

assist the correct atmosphere for a detailed discussion of the question, as well as preventing any possible dangers to the members of the Kurdish negotiating team – as it occurred in 1963, when the Baathis regime rounded up members of the delegation in Baghdad.

The Kurdish movement must also be wary of the role of certain elements who act as instant appeasers at any cost, at the first sign of a cue from the Iraqi side. Their role is totally exposed now. Some even argue naively that a regime, like that of Baath, can be placated with a certain amount of concessions. But like all appeasers-at-any-costs, they fail to heed the cardinal lesson of history that the more one appeases a brutal dictatorship, the more that regime becomes avaricious.

The overwhelming support given to the KDP by the Kurdish people is symbolic of the confidence of the Kurdistan public in the policies of the Kurdish leadership and its courageous upholding of the national rights of the Kurdish people and the struggle for democracy in Iraq. We are confident that the Kurdish national liberation movement will march forward, fulfilling those aims.



*When the oak is felled, the whole forest echoes with its fall,
but a hundred acorns are sown by an unnoticed breeze.*

THOMAS CARLYLE

KSSE News**16th CONGRESS OF KSSE****West Berlin 16-19th August 1973**

The 16th Annual congress of the Kurdish Students Society in Europe was held in West Berlin from 16th-19th August, and was attended by more than 300 members representing all branches of the Society in Europe.

The Congress was attended by representatives of General Mustafa Barzani, president of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, besides representatives of the following organisations: Kurdistan Students Union, Kurdistan Democratic Youth Union, Kurdistan Union of Women, Kurdistan Union of Teachers, World Federation of Democratic Youth, Yugoslav Union of Students and others. Letters and telegrams of wishes of success and support were received from: Kurdish Democratic Party in Syria, Amir Kamran Bederkhan, Dr Ismet S. Vanly, Mr H.D. Zaza, National Union of Students (U.K.), Student Council (USSR), Students Associations of Romania, Socialist Union of Polish Students, IUS Secretariat, and VDS (West Germany).

The first session of the Congress was opened by an address by the representative of KDP, who outlined the grave situation in Kurdistan-Iraq and the Ba'athists' intrigues and preparation to launch another campaign against the Kurdish people. After this speech most of the guests took the floor and addressed the Congress. At the end of the session the president of the Society read the political report of the Executive.

During the second session, the organisational and financial reports of the G.E.C. were read, and a steering committee was elected. The work of the Congress was then divided between five committees; the Political Committee, Report of the Branches Committee, Constitutional Committee, Organisational Committee and the Financial Committee.

These committees held many meetings during which the various related matters were discussed and many important resolutions and recommendations were presented to the Congress for approval. The sessions of the political committee turned into a very interesting and useful debate, mainly due to the presence of political representatives from Kurdistan and the rest of Iraq.

The Congress adopted many resolutions in support of the Kurdish people's struggle in its country Kurdistan, and expressed its solidarity with the oppressed nations of the world in their struggle against colonialism, local reactionaries, and fascist-dictatorial juntas. The Congress declared its support for the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people, and congratulated the Kurdish people on the 27th anniversary of the foundation of the Kurdistan Democratic Party.

The Congress further welcomed peace in Vietnam and efforts to ease world tension.

The discussion and plans of actions adopted at this Congress made it a turning point in the history of the Society.

The last session of the Congress elected the new executive committee and the Congress was closed with the Kurdish national anthem, Ay Raqeeb. In the evening of that day a social evening was organised for the members and their guests in which Kurdish dances and songs were presented.

SOME OF THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONGRESS

1. The Congress salutes the leader of our Kurdish people's national liberation movement, General Mustafa Barzani, and the heroic Pesh Merga.
 2. The Congress stands by the struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for the completion of their sovereignty and national independence; calls for the routing of the remnants of imperialism, and supports liberation movements throughout the world.
 3. The Congress calls upon all multi-national states to respect the rights of the smaller nations and national minorities, and not to differentiate and discriminate between them and the dominant larger nation; further denounces all forms of discrimination whether racial, national or religious.
 4. The Congress calls upon the governments which rule over the different parts of Kurdistan to put an end to their policies of oppressing the Kurdish people and to treat them equally with the peoples they co-exist with, and demands the recognition of the Kurdish peoples national, cultural and administrative rights and their realisation in practice.
 5. The Congress expresses its deep regret and surprise at the refusal to allow our Society to take part in the Tenth Festival of World Youth and considers it a diversion from the principles of solidarity and mutual respect, since our Society is a progressive student organisation with an honorable role in the history of the world student movement. Further instructs the G.E.C. to send a letter to the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students to express our Society's regret and question the true motives behind these moves.
 6. The presence of representatives of KSSE at international meetings has had good and improving effects on KSSE's external relations. Despite the fact that the struggle of the Kurdish people and KSSE enjoys support from many organisations in Europe, the previous Executive Committees had failed to avail themselves of the opportunities this support presented. Therefore, and in fulfilling the aims of KSSE, the Executive Committee, during last year, endeavoured to bridge this gap in its activities and have scored some success in this respect. We hope that the new Executive Committee will continue on this direction and will study the possibility of developing KSSE's external ties and consider attending international gatherings and seminars, taking into account the assistance which the branches can offer in this respect and electing a member of the Executive Committee to be responsible for KSSE's external relations. We also recommend that visits paid to European organisations be increased as much as resources permit.
- We would like to specially thank our friends the Yugoslav Students Union for their honest and wholehearted support of the Kurdish people and KSSE.

KSSE News

The following appeal was sent to many humanitarian organisations and heads of state:

The Kurdish people in Kurdistan-Iraq are being subjected to a ferocious fascist military campaign waged by the Iraqi government in an attempt to force them to give up their demands for their national rights. The victims of the air and land attacks are innocent children, women and the aged. The indiscriminate and concentrated bombing with napalm of peaceful Kurdish towns and villages is turning them and their inhabitants into ashes.

Bombing with napalm of the Kurdish town of Gala Disa on April 24th, destroying a school and killing 131 and wounding 120 innocent people, most of them school children, the destruction of over 100 houses and burying alive of their occupants in an air raid on Balabja on April 27th, and the bombing with napalm of Balak, killing 40 and wounding 60 innocent people, are only a few examples of the terror bombing of the Kurdish civilian population by the armed forces of the Iraqi government. The imposition of total economic blockade on the Kurdish area is another aspect of the Iraqi government's policy of terrorising the Kurdish population.

In the name of humanity, we appeal to you to use your good-will and influence to urge the Iraqi government to put an end to its terror bombing of the Kurdish civilian population and to abandon its racist policies against our peace and freedom loving Kurdish people.

*With our cordial greetings and best regards,
Secretariat of the Kurdish Students Society in Europe,
7th May 1974.*

KURDISH STUDENTS IN AMERICA

The Kurdish Students in the United States of America and Canada held their conference in New York from 10th-16th April 1974 to discuss ways of stepping up the campaign to stop the war of genocide against the Kurdish people in Iraq. The conference issued the following statement, which was sent to most of the news agencies and members of the U.S. Congress:

"We the representatives of the Kurds in the United States of America and Canada, gathered in convention in New York City on April 10th to 16th 1974, declare our full support to the Kurdish National Revolutionary Forces (Pesh Merga) led by General Barzani in Iraq.

"The Iraqi Baath regime is about to launch a genocidal war against our Kurdish people in Iraq. The Kurds are committed to democracy in Iraq and autonomy for Kurdistan within Iraq.

"We have reliable information that the Baath regime intends to resort to the use of poison gas in its merciless war against the Kurds, a peaceful people, but committed to democracy and preservation of the Kurdish national identity. We appeal, in the name of the humane values treasured by all right-thinking people, that all those who believe in freedom and democracy use their good offices and influences to prevail upon the Iraqi government not to afflict Iraqis and Kurds with another bloody and unjust war."

Representatives from the conference met with several envoys to the United Nations to discuss the current Kurdish situation in Iraq. In the last day of the conference a small symbolic demonstration to protest against the latest Baath attempt to destroy the Kurdish entity in Iraq was held in front of the United Nations building.

Kurdish students address in USA and Canada:

Kurdistan
P.O.Box 925
Redlands
California 92373.

NEWROZ 74

Newroz (Kurdish New Year) celebrations are usually the biggest of occasions in the branches. However this year it coincided with the resumption of a new military campaign against our Kurdish people in Kurdistan-Iraq, and the usual jubilant spirit of the new year turned into a feeling of anger and anxiety. Nevertheless, social evenings and cultural shows were organised at which many of our people's friends present to share with the Kurdish students their national day.



Newroz in Vienna

Baathists Execute 5 Kurdish Students

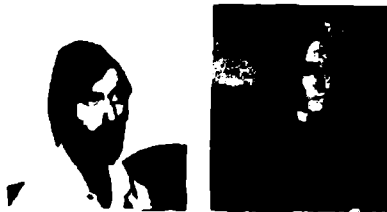
The latest military campaign by the fascist rulers of Baghdad against the Kurdish people has been accompanied by a wave of summary executions, which has been a glaring feature of their second Reign of Terror.

Leila Kassem (23) and her comrades:
Nareman Mesti (22)
Azad Guliean (25)
Hassan Nana Rashid (23), and
Javad Hamevendi (31)

were students at Baghdad University (except Javad who was a part-time student at the University of Almustansiria in Baghdad). They were detained on a false charge of sabotage and were brutally tortured and then summarily executed. On that day their families were told to come and see them for the last time; instead they were given their mutilated bodies.

The Baathist junta had two aims by this murderous deed: first to spread a feeling of fear and terror among Kurds and second to arouse Iraqi Arab public opinion against the Kurdish people. It failed, the tumultuous support the Kurdish Revolution's rejection of the Baathist's 'autonomy plan' shocked the Baathists.

The Baathist wave of terror did not stop at that, in the town of Arbil 11 Kurds were already executed in mid-April, on 12th May five Kurds were tortured to death and their bodies were thrown outside police headquarters in Kifri and Javala. Many Kurdish families in Baghdad and other large towns are packed in lorries and thrown out at the fire line.



Photos of the five Kurdish students,
Published in the Baathist organ ALTHAMRA (May 1st)



Another example of Baathist terror.
Majid Ahmed Hamid, A Kurdish sergeant
in the Iraqi Army, tortured to death
in the notorious Qasir Alnahaia prison
in 1972

"Iraq has received a great deal of equipment from the Soviet Union (and additionally a Soviet squadron of Tu-12 medium range bombers has been stationed in Iraq, the first time that this supersonic aircraft has been deployed outside the Soviet Union or in the Warsaw pact area)." according to the International Institute for Strategic Studies, Strategic Survey 1973 (p.44). A report in The Times (June 19th) said that "Soviet pilots were flying on combat missions with the Iraqi Air Force."

It is also known that the Soviet Union has supplied Iraq with large quantities of poison gas (see press cutting elsewhere).

The other main contributors to the Iraqi arsenal are France and Britain.



DEMONSTRATIONS

The genocidal war against the Kurdish people in Kurdistan-Iraq sparked a wave of demonstrations in many of the Society's branches. The United Kingdom branch organised a public meeting after which members of the branch and their friends marched to the Iraqi Embassy. The West German and Sweden branches organised similar demonstrations.



Kurdish students demonstrating at the Iraqi Embassy in London



Demonstration in Bonn

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS OF KSSE

kurdish news

July 1974
No 10



BULLETIN OF THE KURDISH STUDENTS SOCIETY IN EUROPE

This bulletin is published by the General Executive Committee of the Kurdish Students' Society in Europe in co-operation with the United Kingdom Branch.

DENGÊ

KOMELÊ

جمعیت طلبہ آذربائیجان اور اروپا

ARABISATION IN KURDISTAN-IRAQ

One of the major issues which led to the breakdown of relations between the Kurdistan leadership and the Baathist government was the latter's persistent pursuit of a racial and inhumane policy of Arabisation in some areas of Kurdistan in a South African style, exceeding it in savagery and ruthlessness. For the execution of this policy they have concentrated their efforts on the areas of Kirkuk, Khanaqeen, Sinjar and various districts within the provinces of Nineveh and Dihok, areas of Kurdistan which contain minorities like Turkumans, Assyrians and Arabs.

According to the 11th March 1970 Peace Agreement a census was to be carried out within a year to delineate the areas to be included in the autonomous region. The Baathist government, however, spread a wave of terror and intimidation, postponed the census and carried on its policy of Arabisation aiming at detaching these areas from the future autonomous Kurdistan.

One has only to follow the progress of this racial policy to see in use such measures as the bringing of Arab tribes from outside to settle them in Kurdistan, the deliberate creation of antagonism between the Kurds and the ethnic and religious minorities living in Kurdistan, the resort to terror and the arming and financing of mercenaries, the mass deportation of Kurdish families, and the pursuit of a definite policy of discrimination against the Kurds of these areas by refusing them government jobs and by arbitrarily transferring Kurdish civilian and military officials to the southern parts of Iraq. All this is done to make life miserable for the indigenous Kurdish population: of these parts and consequently to force them out. Furthermore, and among dries of implementing the Agrarian Reform Act, the authorities finance Arab landlords to purchase land and property from Kurdish landlords with the intention of forcing the migration of Kurdish farmers from these areas and replacing them with Arabs.

Below are villages which were subjected to Arabisation Policy, for the past four years:

A. NINEVEH PROVINCE - Sinjar District

These villages were subjected to intimidation by the military and were hit by artillery, with the intention of forcing out its Kurdish inhabitants:

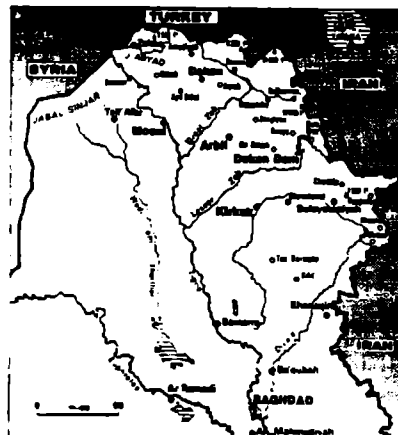
- | | | |
|----------------|-------------------|--------------|
| 1. Gireeshk | 9. Zor Ava | 17. Yourk |
| 2. Bisharko | 10. Shorkan | 18. Qarai |
| 3. Qiheel | 11. Youlaifa | 19. Gourmaq |
| 4. Chimi Jevra | 12. Torik | 20. Jevroq |
| 5. Rashid | 13. Sharaf Eldeen | 21. Zoyani |
| 6. Qini | 14. Orva | 22. Jolan |
| 7. Qizel Qand | 15. Khizanok | 23. Qai Ebdî |
| 8. Hayali | 16. Hirke | |

Other villages which were partially destroyed by artillery shelling from the Iraqi Army:

- | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|----------------|
| 1. Herdan | 9. Bakhilif | 17. Tapa |
| 2. Zaqrada | 10. Eitwani | 18. Taheze |
| 3. Eldani | 11. Nissiri | 19. Qavasi |
| 4. Gari Zerga | 12. Du Holi | 20. Hassan |
| 5. Maheas | 13. Qecha Kaji | 21. Sinoni |
| 6. Geri Mar | 14. Tel Qarach | 22. Bara |
| 7. Tanga | 15. Sideri | 23. Tel Khasab |
| 8. Ain Pati | 16. Qani Mengar | 24. Ain Gazal |

The number of people whose land has been expropriated in the area of Singar, has reached 366 who live in 30 villages and the area of this land that has been taken over by the Iraqi authorities reached 36955 dunums, and part of it has been marked for the building of a camp for the 29th Brigade. The rest of the land has been distributed among the landlords and other pro-government elements in the area. The villages are:

- | | | |
|----------------|---------------|---------------------|
| 1. Northern | 11. Yousifan | 21. Eastern Gohball |
| 2. Qivaisi | 12. Shirehqa | 22. Southern Qini |
| 3. Qani Ebdî | 13. Western | 23. Herdan |
| 4. Chimi | 14. Gireeshk | 24. Bouriq |
| 5. Ger Zeriq | 15. Bernana | 25. Qeney |
| 6. Oshga | 16. Zervan | 26. Sharaf Eldeen |
| 7. Gohball | 17. Southern | 27. Bishargo |
| 8. Chimi Jevra | 18. Qivaisi | 28. Khizani |
| 9. Northern | 19. Sana'n | 29. Qocha Chimi |
| 10. Qini | 20. Zo Mani | 30. Sin Och |
| 11. Zor Ava | 12. Qezelganî | |
| 12. Rashid | 13. Hîreeqo | |



* Shaikan District

The village of Qani Qome was shelled by the Iraqi Army on 5th February 1973.

* Zamar District

On the 25th March 1973, the Iraqi Army surrounded the village of Chifri; however, the population sensed the coming danger and tried to evacuate the village. The Iraqi soldiers began by looting the properties of the peasants and finally shelling the village. Many people were killed and others were wounded in the attack.

* Mosul Centre

In March 1973 and at a time when Kurds were preparing to celebrate Newroz (Kurdish National Day) certain elements of the police and security men began to surround the headquarters of the Kurdistan Youth and Students organisations and fired on them.

Recently the government served notice to 30,000 members of the Goyan and Omeryan Kurdish tribes to leave their homes and go to Turkey.

B. KIRKUK PROVINCE

1. In 1967, the Iraq Petroleum Company dismissed 2500 workers from the oil fields of Kirkuk. After the nationalisation of this company in 1972, many of these workers were reinstated, except the Kurdish workers. In their place the government appointed Arab workers brought from other parts of Iraq, leaving hundreds of the provinces Kurdish workers unemployed.

2. Six new quarters have been built in Kirkuk, namely:

- | | | |
|-----------|-----------|------------|
| El Karana | El Huriya | El Faramar |
| El Wahda | Yarmouk | El Andalus |

These were all settled by Arabs brought from outside the province.

3. Many Kurdish quarters were bulldozed since 1963 in this town.

4. Falsification of birth certificates, registering new comers in the 1957 census.

5. Before the government declared their so-called autonomy plan in March of this year, hundreds of Kurdish workers were expelled from the oil fields.

* Dibis District

The following villages were evacuated by the army of its inhabitants, and although there was an agreement that the original population should be returned to them, the authorities refuse to allow them to go back to their villages. These are:

- | | | |
|---------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Amsha | 9. Sheraw | 17. Gir Qachal |
| 2. Qara Erbat | 10. Ismail Ava | 18. Sai Qaniyan |

- | | | |
|---------------|------------------|------------------|
| 3. Mari | 11. Malhi | 19. Sona Golai |
| 4. Qotani | 12. Gara | 20. Qargato |
| 5. Binjeerah | 13. Qara Dara | 21. Bajwah |
| 6. Choupliche | 14. Qoush Qaya | 22. Elyawa |
| 7. Gormail | 15. Qotani Gawri | 23. Pencha Ali |
| 8. Yaroli | 16. Khaneqa | 24. Idris Babouj |

* Kifri, Tuz and El Davida Districts

1. The Kurdish populations of the following villages were evacuated under the policy of Arabisation:

- | | | |
|------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Greater Dolia | 5. Elbou Sirach | 10. Kerimiya |
| 2. Hashisha | 6. Eli Baili | 11. Said Wali Said |
| 3. Gompos | 7. Tapa Bassal | 12. Elbou Mohammed Eli |
| 4. Sai Qanyan | 8. Smaller Dolia | 13. Zanqar |
| | 9. Tel Raba | |

2. The land in these areas is taken away from their owners either by temptation or intimidation and such land is then given to members of Arabs tribes brought to settle there.

3. The Agrarian Reform Office refuses to give the Kurdish farmers the right to cultivate their lands in order to force them to leave the area.

4. The hiring of mercenaries in the area of Tuz in order to assault the Kurdish farmers in this area and the neighbouring villages in order to force to leave.

5. In the area of Sigizli, on the cross roads to Kirkuk and Koi, the government has taken over big stretches of land under the pretext of the requirement to build a new military camp.

6. The destruction of two town quarters in Kifri days before the government declaration of its so-called autonomy plan.

C. KHANAQEH AND MENDELI AREAS

1. The Agrarian Reform Office refuses to hand over land ownership certificates to Kurdish farmers while generously distributing them among Arab farmers who are strangers to the area.

2. The population of these areas have been deported in thousands to Iran, others have been terrorised and forced to flee to the liberated areas.

Facts of history and geography prove that these areas have always been, and will certainly continue to be part of Kurdistan, besides, the 1957 census categorically showed that the Kurds constitute the majority of the population in these areas.

The above mentioned facts and examples clearly show the extent of this racial policy which has resulted in thousands of Kurdish families being made homeless refugees, and others thrown out to neighbouring states (70,000 faili Kurds to Iran in 1972).

No doubt the recent developments in Kurdistan-Iraq and the resumption of a new military campaign against the Kurdish people will certainly intensify this hateful policy of Arabisation.



Young Pesh Mergas - 'a gun and a pencil'. Photo J.R.Wilton/SIPA Press

A Study of the Economic Conditions in Kurdistan-Turkey by M.J.

The present article (based on a research report written for the University of Helsinki, Finland) treats the economic and social conditions prevailing in Kurdistan-Turkey. However, the study covers only the major part of, but not the entire, area of Kurdistan-Turkey, namely the provinces of Adiyaman, Agri, Bingöl, Bitlis, Diyarbakir, Elazığ, Erzurum, Hakkari, Mardin, Mus, Siirt, Tunceli, Urfa and Van. Kurdistan-Turkey covers a larger area than the area of these provinces. But because of the fact that the rest of Kurdistan-Turkey constitutes parts of contiguous provinces, and because data in Turkish publications are given for whole provinces, this study concentrates on the aforementioned provinces only.

The total area of these provinces (henceforth called the region) is 157,137 sq.km., i.e. 20.3% of the area of Turkey.

An attempt is made here to show that there exists a gap between the region's resources, both exploited and potential, and its 'share' in the economic and social development generating activities, and that this gap is very wide and it tends to widen rather than bridge or narrow. Many explanations have been put forward to account for this disparity or inequality. However, the one plausible explanation seems to lie in the fact that the region is inhabited by a people who are ethnically, culturally and linguistically (i.e. nationally) different from the dominant population - Kurds v. Turks.

The situation of national, or ethnic, differences giving rise to 'anomaly' locations and industries has also been observed by geographers and economists (cf. R.J.Chorley and P.Hagget, p. 368).

THE REGION'S RESOURCES

1. **AGRICULTURE.** 83% of the region's active population was engaged in agriculture in 1965 (compared with 72% in the rest of the country). Among other things, this difference of 11 percentage points reflects the fact that the economy of the region is more underdeveloped than that of the rest of the country since the more developed a region or country, the smaller the percentage of its population engaged in agriculture. Besides, four-fifths of the total active population in this sector are redundant during the lowest activity month of January and over one-tenth in the highest activity month of July (First Development Plan).

The region's share in the agricultural production of a number of products is shown in Table 1. This share is substantial, to say the least. It meets part of the domestic needs of the country and, in addition, some of it is exported, thus constituting a source of foreign currency for Turkey.

TABLE 1. Agricultural Production of the Region as % of total production in Turkey in 1966 and 1969*

	1966		1969	
	Production as % of total in country		Production as % of total in country	
	Quantity	%	Quantity	%
Wheat	1,358,900	14.2	1,078,900	10.3
Barley	502,400	13.2	503,000	13.4
Millet	39,500	65.8	37,100	66.3
Lentils	52,300	52.3	53,700	50.1
Grapes	541,000	14.5	655,000	18.0
Nuts†	17,153	15.5	19,331	17.7

* Compiled from *Agricultural Structure and Production 1966 and 1969*

† Includes pistachios, almonds and walnuts.

2. **LIVESTOCK.** The region is quite rich in livestock as well as dairy products, despite the fact that techniques and technology used in production and processing are very out-dated. The region's richness with livestock is shown in Table 2. The central organisation responsible for economic, social and

cultural development planning in Turkey (namely, the State Planning Organisation) has of late shown some interest in introducing modern creameries, albeit on a small scale, into the region in order to increase dairy production in the region for the main purpose of meeting increasing demands for an acute shortage of these products in the central and western parts of Turkey.

TABLE 2. Livestock in the region, 1969*

Livestock	Number	% total in Turkey
Sheep	8,066,570	22.2
Goats	4,678,855	23.1
Cattle	2,817,907	19.6

* Compiled from *Agricultural Structure and Production 1969*.

3. **MINING.** The raw materials being exploited in the region are petroleum, chrome, copper, lead and zinc. The search is active for other resources, such as natural gas.

a. **Petroleum.** From 1955 to 1972, the region had produced about 27 million tons of crude oil, production rising from 178,000 tons in 1955 to 3,600,000 tons in 1969. Besides meeting parts of Turkey's domestic needs, some oil products are exported thus earning for Turkey some foreign currency: exports amounted to \$2.5 million in 1971 and planned to have reached £10 million in 1972.

b. **Chrome, copper, lead and zinc.** Turkey is the world's second largest producer of chrome; Turkey's and the world's largest and richest chrome mines are found in the region. Chrome production reached 916,000 tons in 1971. It earned Turkey \$17.5 million in 1971 and planned to have been \$20 million in 1972. Copper production from the region has been 1,200,000 ton/year mineral and 130,000 tons/year concentrate, according to the Second Five Year Development Plan. According to the same source lead production has been 8,000 ton/year (concentrate) and zinc production 6,000 tons/year (concentrate). These minerals earn for Turkey substantial amounts of foreign currencies.

4. **ELECTRICITY.** The Keban Dam, located in Elazığ in the region, the construction of which began in 1965 to be completed in 1973, has the biggest hydro-electric plant in Turkey. Its initial capacity is 620,000 Kws rising to 1,250,000 Kws on completion. It has double the entire present electric power generation capacity in Turkey. But, however, "the power generated (in the plant) will go first to the industries of the north-western part of the country" (The Middle East and North Africa p.746).

5. **POPULATION.** The population of the region was 3,693,246 in 1965 (Census of Population pp.5-6) and estimated at 4,160,414 in 1973 (Under-development p.119). The region's population constituted about 12% and 11% of the total population of Turkey in 1965 and 1973 respectively. The region's population had been increasing at the rate of 3% per year (between 1946 and 1965). However, a critical situation has arisen recently. Half of the natural increase of population, since the second half of the 1960's, has been migrating from the region to the west of the country (Confidential Report, p.11).

According to the 1965 Census of Population, 258,909 persons born in the region were residents of areas situated outside the region. They have either migrated from or were forced by the authorities to leave the region. More than four-fifths of them had moved to Istanbul, Ankara, Adana, and Izmir.

The main reason for the increasing east-west migration is the lack of employment opportunities in the region due to it being more underdeveloped than the rest of Turkey, largely because it has been neglected by the central authorities.

6. **CAPITAL AND ENTREPRENEURS.** Though specific data about capital formation and movement and entrepreneurship are not available, a

quotation from the Turkish Five Year Plan indicates that most of the region's savings and entrepreneurs flow and move to the west of Turkey. The Plan states that "today even the meagre funds accumulated with difficulty in the socially and economically underdeveloped regions (mainly the region under discussion) are flowing into the developed region, together with the enterprising people. This flow increases the poverty of these regions and widens the great differences existing between the developed and underdeveloped regions" (The First Five Year Plan, p.49).

Compared with the region's exploited substantial human and natural resources and those awaiting discovery and exploitation is a sad situation of lack of economic, social and cultural development, both of the development instruments (such as manufacturing and building industries) and development goals (such as health, education and cultural services):

1. **MANUFACTURING.** The active population employed in the manufacturing sector of the region represented 2.7% of the total active population of the region, whereas the counterpart percentage for the whole country was 7.1% in 1963. (For lack of data, data on this section could not be brought up to date; most probably the situation has not changed substantially since then). In that year, there were in the region 27 large manufacturing establishments (LME) (Employing 10 workers or more), representing a mere 0.9% of the total number of LME in Turkey. The 'share' of the region in LME has been steadily declining; at the end of World War II, 1.7% of LME of Turkey was located in the region; 1.3% of the LME built during the war years was located there; and only 0.7% of the LME built between 1945 and 1963 was located in the region.

Most of the LME in the region are light, consumer goods producing firms. Of the 27 LME located in the region in 1963, 18 were tobacco, food, beverage and textile producing establishments. Apart from the LME there are a large number of small "industrial" firms in the region. However, they are very small and of little, or no, consequence for the development of the region.

2. **HEALTH SERVICES.** These services are very inadequate in the region and are by far lower there than in the rest of the country. The government is to blame for the inadequacy of health services in the region, because, according to the country's constitution, the government is obliged to provide health services and improve health conditions of the population all over the country. Discrimination against the region and its population in the field of health service is revealed in Table 3.

TABLE 3. Number of Population per 'Unit' of Health Services in the Region and in Turkey in 1965*

Area	Physician	Dentist	Nurse	Hospital Bed	Pharmacy	Health Centre	Infirmaries
Region	6,667	100,000	10,000	1,200	100,000	500,000	500,000
Turkey	2,680	16,667	6,667	600	20,000	125,000	333,333

* Compiled from the Statistical Yearbook 1968, pp.69-95
N.B. The provinces of Adiyaman and Tunceli had no dentist and Sakir and Tunceli had no pharmacy in 1965.

3. **EDUCATION.** Educational services in the region are very deficient and are much lower there than in the rest of the country.

a. **Illiteracy.** The rate of illiteracy in the region is much higher than in Turkey as a whole. The rate was about 60% for the male and 90% for the female population in 1965, one province having a rate of 99%, three provinces the rate of 97% each and four the rate of 96% in the countryside for the female population. In contrast, the rate of illiteracy in Turkey as a whole was 36% for the male and 63% for the female population in 1965 (Census of Population, pp. 270-281). Even though the rate of illiteracy in the region has been dropping, the actual number of illiterate persons had increased from 1,984,896 in 1950 to 2,703,456 in 1965. The rate of illiteracy in Turkey has been estimated at 90% by Rivkin (p.61) and 89.5% by the Area Handbook (p.127) in 1927. Assuming for the sake of illustration that the rate of illiteracy in the region was then 100%, the gap between the region and Turkey was 10 percentage points in 1927. The gap became 22% in 1965 (the rate of illiteracy in the region being 73% and in Turkey 51%). It is noteworthy that the gap was about 20% in 1960.

More indicative is the percentage of the population by last graduated school in the region in comparison with the rest of Turkey and with some other areas of the country. The inequality (in terms of differences) between the region and the rest of Turkey was between 2 and 5 times in disfavour of the region as Table 4 indicates.

TABLE 4. Population by last graduated school (11 years old and over as per cent of the population in respective area 1965*

Area	Primary School	Secondary School	Lycee School	Vocational School	High school & faculties
Region	8.2	1.0	0.2	0.5	0.2
Rest of Turkey	20.9	2.8	1.0	0.9	0.6
Aegean Region	25.9	2.3	0.7	0.9	0.4
Ankara Province	24.4	4.8	3.1	2.1	2.5
Istanbul Province	33.8	8.0	4.7	1.9	2.3

* Compiled from Census of population, pp. 294-297

4. **OTHER INFRASTRUCTURES** such as roads and railways, housing, drinking water, urban amenities, are insufficient and much lower in the region than in the rest of Turkey. (cf. e.g. Under-under-development).

Social services and per capita incomes in the region are much lower than in the rest of Turkey. For example, if the agricultural per capita income in Turkey is assumed to be 100, it amounts to between 41 and 65 in the region (First Five Year Development Plan, p.49) (refer to Under-underdevelopment).

5. **HUMAN RIGHTS.** Human rights covered by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966 are being flagrantly violated by the Turkish authorities in the region. Moreover, security of the person and way of life in the region is being constantly threatened by these authorities.

Threats to the person and way of life in the region and violations of basic human rights are reflected in the following facts:

- i) constant threat to the region's population, as a distinct nation to either adjust (i.e. be assimilated) or face elimination (as had happened to the Armenians) (cf. Van Nieuwenhuijze, p. 346).
- ii) threat of use of force against the region and its inhabitants if they do not comply with the wishes and policies of the central authorities (cf. Dagens Nyheter Nov. 11 1960).
- iii) ban on the use of the Kurdish language by Kurds imposed by the central authorities (cf. e.g. Hostler, p.112)
- iv) the imposition of second - or lower class status on the Kurdish population (cf. Hostler p.112, and Chassemaison p.20).
- v) ban on all cultural material in the Kurdish language of foreign origin in any form (cf. Official Gazette No. 12527 of February 14th 1967).
- vi) harassment and prosecution of authors and works by Kurds or on the region (cf. e.g. Kurdish Journal 1969 and File on Turkey, for some case studies).
- vii) constant pressure on the region's and Kurdish population to change their way of life in order to be able to 'participate in modern Turkey' (cf. Fisher p.517).
- viii) constant pressure on the region and the Kurdish people to deny, renounce and hide one's ethnic identity and national origin and pretend to be a "pure Turk" in order to have a chance to "pass" and be accepted by the dominant Turkish community (cf. Area Handbook p.77 and Vanly p.50).
- ix) Recurrent occurrence of semi-famine situations in the region and central authorities' reluctance to relieve the victims (cf. Kinnane p.34 and Kinross p.92).
- x) Limited scope and spatial coverage of social security schemes (cf. Plan p.101 and Statistical Year Book p.138).
- xi) denial of the rights to self-determination as far as the Kurdish people are concerned (this basic human right is both recognised and emphasised by the two Covenants and the Declaration referred to above as well as by the United Nations Charter).

Prevailing conditions in the region (and in Kurdistan-Turkey in general) and the relationship between the region and the central

authorities (centre) is a typical case of Friedman's "centre-periphery relationship" which "may be described as essentially a colonial one". The emergence of such relationships is normally "accompanied by a series of displacements from the periphery (region) to the centre of the principal factors of production, labour, capital, entrepreneur, foreign exchange and raw materials in unprocessed form (Friedman, Regional Development Policy, pp.12-13)

On the one hand, all factors of production have been and still are, flowing from the region to the centre (or exported). These include: labour, capital, entrepreneurs, technocrats, raw materials (such as petroleum, chrome, copper, lead and zinc), livestock and dairy products and agricultural produce and electric power. On the other hand, economic and social development, generating projects and services are very meagre. Basic services, such as education, health, urban amenities, road and transport etc. are inadequate in the region and are much lower than in the rest of Turkey.

Power relationships between the region and the centre are characterised by domination by the latter over the former. All decisions, even minor ones, concerning local and regional questions, whether political, economic, social, cultural or administrative, are made by and at the centre. The region has, thus, virtually no power-over-itself, i.e. it lacks autonomy. According to Galtung, autonomy means power-over-onself, while domination is lower-over-others. (Galtung, The European Community, A Superpower in the Making).

This colonial relationship, both in terms of expropriating the region's resources by the centre for its own development at the expense and to the detriment of the region's development, and in terms of wielding next to absolute power by the centre over the region, is accompanied by what Van Nieuwenhuijse calls the "ominous choice", which "choice" leaves the Kurds as losers either way, of either "adjust or be eliminated". (Van Nieuwenhuijse, p.346).

Faced with such a formula offered by the Turkish authorities and being and living under such harsh conditions, the Kurdish people in Kurdistan-Turkey are, indeed, in a very difficult situation. On the one hand, they can neither exercise their basic rights nor are they able to exert any political pressure to bring about or lobby for changes in or modifications of their present situation. This is so due to to what the Area Handbook summarises as the Kurdish people in Turkey "suffer many social disabilities and are often viewed with cautious suspicion." (Area Handbook p.80). On the other hand, the options open to them for regaining their rights and improving their conditions are very limited.

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Peesh Mergas at the
 battle front near
 Gali Ali Beg.
 Photo Lord Kilbrac

LETTER FROM SYRIA

Many Kurds, including all the members of the central committee of the Kurdish Democratic Party, are still in prison. The Baath newspaper (July 8th 1973) stated that a committee had been formed to resettle the inhabitants of the villages which are to be submerged in the new lake created by the Euphrates Dam. The resettlement of these Arab villagers is to be made in the Jazireh area, whose Kurdish villages were informed to vacate their villages and move to special reservations in the south of the country.

The background to these measures, which are designed to destroy the Kurdish entity in Syria, is outlined in the Baathist racial 'Arab Belt' plan. This policy was initiated by the government that seized power after the break between Syria and Egypt in September 1961. On 28th August 1962 this government issued a legislative decree (No. 93) for an extraordinary census in the Kurdish region (Jazireh), in order to fabricate statistics for the implementation of this plan. The results of this census caused the expulsion of thousands of Kurds in October 1966, more than 100,000 Kurds were deprived of their citizenship because they were not registered in the civil records before 1924, and Kurds were summarily arrested for no reason other than to spread a wave of terror and force them to leave Syria, as was the case on 21st August 1966 when 150 Kurds from all walks of life were imprisoned and tortured for more than nine months without any charges or trial.

Today the situation is more or less the same and the Arab Belt plan seems to reach its final stages as the latest measures show. Kurds remain to be treated as second class citizens and are not allowed to work in governmental departments or join trade unions. Hundreds of Kurdish teachers were dismissed from their jobs in 1972 and many of them jailed without having been released to this date.

These are but a few examples of the Syrian regime's 'socialist' and 'progressive' measures against the Kurdish people.

THE KURDISH REVOLUTION

in the Iraqi Military Junta's Book of Seasonal Accusations

by M. KAWA...

Since the creation of the state of Iraq in 1920, Southern Kurdistan and the Kurdish people have been in constant revolution; they have also been nationally oppressed by various governments of Iraq, whether colonial or native. The colonialists have annexed Southern Kurdistan to the newly created state because of the presence of petroleum in the area. The present Baath regime II is carrying out old policy of colonialisation of certain areas of Kurdistan (as a first phase in a much more ambitious scheme) by various means, because oil has been exploited or discovered in them. This colonisation takes the form of forcible expulsion of the native Kurdish population of the said areas and encouraging with attractive incentives and bringing Arabs from mostly the southern part of Iraq and settling them in these areas.

The policy of colonisation has two basic aims. Firstly, it aims at increasing the proportion of the Arab population in these areas as a first step to claiming that they belong to the "Arab homeland". This situation leads to the inevitable conclusion that the Baath Regime II does not genuinely believe in and is not concerned with preserving Iraqi unity or territorial integrity, because if such a belief and concern exists at all, resort to such policy of colonisation would be absurd. Secondly, it aims at inciting animosity between the Kurds (who are predominantly Sunni Moslem) and the Arab population of the South who are Shi'a Moslems, and are, like the Kurds, deprived of any say in the affairs or running of the country. (The power holders in Iraq are Arab Sunni Moslems from an area forming a triangle having one apex at Baghdad, the second at Mosul and the third at Anah. The small provincial town of Tikrit of about 10,000 inhabitants, being the place from which the present top Baath leadership come from. The population of this triangle constitutes only about a quarter of the population of Iraq.) In this way the Baath regime II hopes to keep the Iraqi people busy fighting each other.

Concomitant with the pursuit of this policy of colonisation, Baath Regime II is striving to give a semblance of legitimacy to its policy by accusing the Kurdish national movement and leadership of anything and by decreeing a "law" which it does not intend to carry out. (It is noteworthy that despite the passing of more than three months, the so-called "law of autonomy" or any part of it has not been implemented).

By accusing the Kurdish national movement and its leadership of being "agents of imperialism", "collaborators with Israel" etc., the regime hopes to legitimize its policy of colonisation by pretending to be trying to defend and preserve the interests of Iraq against an external threat rather than a domestic dispute. But in doing so, the regime is actually internationalising the Kurdish question in Iraq and bringing an external element into it. The regime is, however, extremely opposed to such an internationalisation of the problem. In this way the regime has put itself in an unenviable position, a position of its own making.

A careful look at the accusations made by the regime against the Kurds shows that they are not new and have been levelled against the Kurds previously prior to the conclusion of the March Agreement of 1970 between the Kurdish leadership and the present regime. The very fact that the Baath regime II has concluded an agreement with the Kurdish movement's leadership and has had five Kurdish ministers in its government render all these accusations empty, because if the regime had ever believed that these accusations have any basis, how could it justify coming to terms with them and give them five portfolios. If it did ever believe these accusations to be true, agreement with the Kurdish leadership would have meant endangering and betraying the interests of Iraq. If it did not believe them to be true, then using the same accusations now means only that the regime is hypocritical, and this is what it fundamentally is. The whole issue reflects the regime's hypocrisy and reveals its real objective. This objective has been and still is, the destruction of the national movement of the Kurdish people in Iraq by first eliminating its leadership;

When the Baath Regime II's use of force to achieve the said objective had failed twice, (in 1963 and 1969) it thought of another method - that of hypocrisy and conspiracy. This should not come as a surprise since conspiracy is actually in the

nature of the present leadership of the Baath party, as has been observed by independent scholars. As G.H. Torry puts it, the new brand of leaders of the Baath party are men "who have increased and organised the party's conspiratorial mentality and tendencies and who are ruthless. Many of these are the men who have spent years underground in conspiracy and carried out political assassination." (G.H. Torry "The Baath Ideology and Practice" Middle East Journal 23, No 4, p.470).

When conspiracy alone, like war alone, failed to achieve its objective, the Baath regime has decided on a combination of both conspiracy and ruthless war together in an all-out drive to 'crush' the Kurdish national movement in Iraq and its leadership. To justify and legitimize the new drive the Baath Regime II had no other option but to retreat into its old position, the position of levelling accusations against the Kurdish movement and its leadership, against their yesterday's partners in the government. (It is interesting to note in passing the dilemma of the Baath present position: the dilemma is how does the regime explain the fact that it has had until the beginning of March 1974 five Kurdish ministers representing the Kurdish leadership in its government who have been accepted by it and according to its own standards as "progressive", "patriots" and "honest" and have been entrusted with state secrets and given a say, albeit nominal, in the affairs of the state until they resigned, but as soon as they resigned the same regime accused them and still does, of being "reactionaries", "agents of imperialism" and "collaborators with Israel".)

A glance at the accusations made reveals the fact that they have been repudiated (whether explicitly or implicitly) and levelled by the very same individuals and groups. Premier Qassim was the man who let the Kurdish leadership return from exile. When he felt they were no longer an element for his remaining in power, he turned course and accused them of being "separatists", "agents of colonialism", "bandits" and "robbers". His allies called them and the movement "reactionaries" and "a desperate adventure by Kurdish nationalists". Qassim was overthrown and replaced by the Baath regime I. This regime came to terms with the Kurdish leadership, thus repudiating the accusations made by Qassim against this leadership. However, as soon as the Baath regime I felt that the Kurds were no longer a factor for their staying in power, they as well turned course accusing the Kurdish leadership of being "separatists", "agents of world communism" and "shu'ubis" (anti-Arab). Baath regime I was removed and President Arif I assumed all power. He in turn reached an accord with the Kurds, repudiating the accusations made by the Baath regime I against the Kurdish leadership. Once again, when Arif I felt that the Kurds are no longer an element for his continuing in power, he accused the Kurdish leadership of being saboteurs, and of "misleading" the Kurds. His brother, the then Acting Chief of Staff (and soon to be President Arif II) claimed on 16th November 1965 that "arms captured from the Kurdish rebels bore the Israeli star insignia". However, he never produced evidence. Arif I was killed in a suspicious air crash and was replaced by Arif II who was in turn overthrown and replaced by Baath regime II. Baath regime II has followed exactly the same "procedure".

When planning their July 17th 1968 coup d'etat, the Baathists contacted the Kurdish leadership and asked them to take part in the would-be coup, through the present President Bakir and Salih Mehdi Amash, Abd Allah S. al-Samarra'i and Anour Abd al-Qadir al-Hadithi. The Kurdish leadership rejected the request because of the bitter experiences the Kurds had with the Baath regime I in 1963. In retaliation, the Baath regime II, after it had come to power, staged a series of "confessions" aiming at discrediting the Kurdish leadership. On December 4th 1968 Radio Baghdad broadcast the "confessions" of 3 Iraqis, one of whom was Abd al-Hadi al-Bajjari. He told of a group he formed with CEMTO backing to supply information to CEMTO and certain neighbouring countries and to "reactivate the Kurdish movement in the North", a veiled accusation that the Kurdish movement and its leadership was co-operating with CEMTO. On May 17th 1969, President Bakir said that "Barzani's guerrilla movement" was an attempt to force a withdrawal of Iraqi troops from the Israeli front, a barely veiled accusation that this movement was co-ordinating its operations with Israel. On June 7th 1969, former mayor of Baghdad "confessed" to have been CIA agent and said that "the Kurdish rebels under Barzani were receiving aid and arms from

the U.S." - a direct accusation that the Kurdish movement was supported by the Americans. Not only this. During the same period, the Baath regime II was insisting on the same Kurdish leadership to start negotiations with it in order to reach a solution to the Kurdish question in Iraq, thus implicitly admitting that all the accusations it had made or made on its behalf against the Kurdish movement and leadership were baseless.

However, negotiations started and the March Agreement was concluded between the Kurdish leadership and the regime. Thus the regime explicitly admitted that all the accusations made against the Kurdish movement and leadership were absurd and void of any substance and meaning and thus made a fool of itself before the whole world. Everything seemed to have been settled, but as soon as the Baath Regime II came to feel that it had become well entrenched in power and that hypocrisy and conspiracy have failed it in its basic objective of destroying the Kurdish national movement, it, like all its predecessors turned course and returned to the same old "procedure" which the Kurds hoped had been abandoned. Present day accusations are exactly the same old ones, only some ideological seasoning has been added to them. The Kurdish movement and leadership have suddenly become again "reactionaries", "agents of imperialism", "collaborators with Israel", "separatists" and "bandits". However, the "Red Mulla" and "agents of world communism" have been kept in store this time because of political expediency, since the Baath regime II says that it is "progressive" because it has "good relations with the Soviet Union".

By levelling these accusations against the Kurdish movement and leadership and by making Iran a country that has "progressively retreated behind its own Iron Curtain making it exceedingly difficult for Westerners to interpret events in that country with accuracy and fairness" (Phebe Ann Marr, Middle East Journal 23, No.3, p.394), Baath regime II is trying to deceive world public opinion and isolate the Kurdish national movement.

From the above expose emerges a pattern that has been followed by all Iraqi governments since the creation of the State of Iraq. Iraqi governments newly assuming power or planning a coup to come to power try at least to neutralise the Kurds in return

for some vague, general commitments. Once they are well established, they go back on their commitments by accusing the Kurds of being this or that depending on political expediency. In other words, no Iraqi regime or government has been willing able or capable of really solving the central problem in and of Iraq, i.e. the Kurdish Question, because of the afore-mentioned procedure they all follow. In addition, it is inconceivable that any Iraqi regime coming to power through a coup d'etat, can be genuinely willing to accept or capable of carrying out the Kurds' demand for autonomy in Kurdistan-Iraq (real not paper autonomy). This is so their rule and remain in power, since all of them refuse the very idea of elections and parliament and other democratic institutions. Besides, Kurdish Autonomy means the creation of a second centre of power. This centre will, when founded, inevitably come into conflict with the primary centre of power in Baghdad because the latter must yield total despotic power to remain in power, as mentioned above, and because it reasonably thinks that the secondary centre of power will be a real threat to its very existence, since around the secondary centre of power will gravitate all the other political forces in the country that are oppressed by the primary centre of power. An additional factor at play is the Kurds' insistence on linking the success and continuation of their autonomy with democratic rule in Iraq. The primary centre of power in Baghdad, where power is over-concentrated, views any demand for democracy, elections, parliament, free press, freedom to all political parties etc., as threats to and attacks on its power basis (i.e. force) and thus its continuation in power.

To conclude, there seems to be available the following options for a permanent solution to the Kurdish question in Iraq:

- 1) To accept the Kurds' demand for autonomy for Kurdistan and democracy for Iraq.
- 2) To accept the Kurds demand for autonomy for Kurdistan guaranteed by some international body or bodies.
- 3) To continue the present war of terror against the Kurdish civilian population and achieve a Hitlerite "final solution".
- 4) To force on the Kurds the same decision forced on Bangla Desh.

Kurdish Popular Organisations



1. KURDISTAN STUDENTS UNION

The Kurdistan Students Union (KSU), which represents the students of Kurdistan-Iraq, was founded in 1953 to serve the interests of Kurdish students who were suffering from the national discrimination the Kurdish people suffered generally in Iraq. It has continuously fought to increase the number of Kurdish University students and the establishment of a Kurdish University (Kurdish students represented a minute percentage of government scholarships which were sent in hundreds abroad since 1958).

Until the 11th March 1970 Peace Agreement, KSU had to work secretly because of the ban on all Kurdish political and popular organisations, when it was officially recognised. It has stood

steadfastly during those dark hours when the enemy's onslaught ravaged Kurdistan, justly deserving our leader BARZANI's famous words: "Our students are the spearhead of the Revolution".

During the peace years (1970-74) KSU organised summer campaigns in the countryside of Kurdistan where thousands of its members converged upon the rural areas during the summer vacation to live with the peasants, exchanging ideas and knowledge and helping them to eradicate illiteracy and general farm work.



KSU members helping villagers at harvest time during one of the summer campaigns.

The 7th Congress was held in Sulaimani, Kurdistan-Iraq, on 30th March 1972 and lasted for four days. 465 delegates, besides representatives of Kurdistan Youth, Women and Teachers organisations and progressive student movements from many parts of the world, including a delegation from the Kurdish Students Society in Europe (KSSSE) attended the KBU Congress.

With the resumption of yet another military campaign against the Kurdish people by the fascist Baathists, KBU could no longer operate openly and has to work secretly in the towns under government control. However, its main work has lately been in the liberated areas of Kurdistan where thousands of students have joined the Revolution, including most of the staff and students of Sulaimani University which was occupied by government tanks.



KURDISTAN WOMEN FEDERATION

Historically women have always been prominent in Kurdish society and their role expanded greatly in the wake of Kurdish nationalism.

In 1945 the Revolutionary Society of Kurdish Women was founded in Kirkuk of women whose husbands and sons have joined the Barzan rising to organise help. In 1946 and during the Kurdish Republic of Mahabad, the Kurdistan Democratic Federation of Women was established and also a women organisation in Sulaimani. In the forties and early fifties Kurdish women worked within the secret Youth Society which included Kurdish students studying in the colleges and schools of Baghdad.

However, these organisations did not live very long under the difficult conditions and oppression the Kurdish peoples were subjected to, until the founding of the Kurdistan Federation of Women which held its first Congress secretly in December 1952. KWF played a great role in enlightening Kurdish women and took an active part in the struggle of the Kurdish people for their national rights in the September 1961 revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq. During the period of the March agreement (1970-74) it held its second Congress openly after the victory of the Kurdish Revolution and in April 1972 held its third Congress putting forward an extensive programme to curb illiteracy among Kurdish women in the towns and rural areas besides a plan for the establishment of domestic training centres and medical and family advice and planning bureaus.

In the face of many obstacles put in its path by the government

sponsored women organisation (Baathist) it kept its autonomous character and managed to achieve many rights for Kurdish women.

KWF is today playing a very important role in the liberated areas of Kurdistan. Many of its members have become nurses helping Kurdish doctors and organising relief for refugees and families who have become homeless as a result of extensive bombing of the villages and towns of Kurdistan in the latest Iraqi government campaign against the Kurdish people.

A European committee has been established among Kurdish women studying abroad to co-ordinate work and help between KWF and European women and humanitarian organisations.



KURDISTAN DEMOCRATIC YOUTH FEDERATION (KDYF)

The first Kurdish youth society was formed in 1933 which issued a pamphlet called Diari Levan, and in 1946, during the Mahabad Republic, Kurdish youth became active in the new-born state.

The present Kurdistan Democratic Youth Federation (KDYF) was established in 1953 and rapidly gathered around it the youth of Kurdistan, where it played an active part in rallying support among youth for the Kurdish Revolution which culminated in the victory of the 11th March Agreement of 1970 recognising autonomy for Kurdistan within a democratic Iraq. KDYF was now officially recognised as the only representative of Kurdish Youth and held its first Congress openly in Shaglavah in July 1972.

It has participated in many international youth festivals, the last of which was as part of the joint Iraqi delegation to the 10th International Festival of Youth and Students in East Berlin in 1973.

The new developments in Kurdistan-Iraq and the convergence of thousands of Kurdish youth to the liberated areas, and the Baathist government banning of all political and mass organisations outside their so-called front, transferred the centre of activities of KDYF to these areas and is today doing its share in the Kurdish people's struggle for survival and freedom.

KDYF has recently announced its withdrawal from the General Federation of Iraqi Youth in protest against the latter's pro-Baathist stand.

Photo David Graeme-Baker/SIPA Press



KURDISTAN: A New Way of Viewing the Middle East



Mr Elon Ahlback is a pastor in the Swedish church (Katarina församling, in Stockholm) was born in 1935 near Gothenburg, and has studied at the Universities of Lund in Sweden, Hamburg and Geneva. He is a member of the Christian Social Democrats International Committee. Was invited to Kurdistan in 1970 to attend the 8th Congress of the Kurdistan Democratic Party. He is married and has two children, Shereen 8 years and Kahan 6 years.

The Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) opened its eighth congress in the rocky, moon-resembling area of Hawraman in Northern Iraq close to the frontier of Iran on July 1st 1970. I found myself there with no other company but a group of foreigners invited. On an occasion like this one is, of course, overwhelmed with new impressions. One of the questions that came to survive in my mind was whether a congress like this could not give a new point of view on the problem of the Middle East: a point of view we might need here in Sweden.

So I have asked myself, for example, if our customary way of approaching the Orient does not suffer from a kind of one-sidedness. It is surely only reasonable that all attention should be directed towards the conflicts between the Arabs and Israelis as long as these offer the keenest menace to world peace. But it would be unreasonable to set forth that all the problems of minority groups and injustice will be solved the very minute peace is made. I shall maintain that the Kurds, no less than ten million souls, are by no means an unimportant nationality problem that could not later on touch world peace and us.

Here I wish to draw attention to the threshold-making effect the conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbours seems to have had on our debate about the Middle East. Far too sure opinions have been expressed formerly about the Israeli and Arabs and consequently discussion has become stagnant and we have been unable to penetrate the problems of the Orient any deeper. I am thinking of those who from motives at bottom religious have backed Israel and thus let the Arabs remain outside as well. Or I am thinking of those who have driven the attention of the Eastern block to the matter; closed their eyes to the religiously coloured motives of the Arabs in struggle against Israel and favoured a "scientific" view of the problems while the Israelis have remained outside. With this one-sidedness of thinking, nearly all other problems of the Orient have also gone beyond the horizon. In this context, there are some glimpses of debate I should like to mention. If it were said in certain circles that the Israeli State has been founded for not only religious and humanitarian causes but also by the force of political opinion to which the Arab world should remain scattered, low and open to exploitation, it would mean the risk of calling one Per Charton or even something worse. Or if, in some other circles, the bloody war the Arabs have waged against the Kurds in Iraq has been brought forward, the answer has been a question pronounced with deep indignation: Is it really true that the Kurds wage war against the Arabs (in this case the same as true allies of the Soviet Union)? In both cases discussion has stopped short. Twice better then that some change towards growing realism has been seen in debating and not least during the last few years. As far as I understand, both BSU and FFU congresses have become to a kind of compromise thinking when it has been seen that both sides in conflict work for demands really justified. Thereupon they have gone over the threshold and the door has opened for the problems of the Orient in general.

Let me try to illustrate, how the states of the Orient, how the Great Powers, how the United Nations, how the unallied states of the world may seem from the point of view of the Kurds.

The Kurds inhabit mainly a rocky district, partly inaccessible, that covers parts of Iran, Iraq, Syria, Turkey, and a small enclave in the Soviet Union. It is not said too much if we say that they live there like people of a second or third class, in

deep isolation, their standard of living being one of the lowest in the world. Nearly all capitals of countries populated by the Kurds come out as enemies of the Kurds. The case was driven to extremities in the East-allied Iraq before 11th March: after a sensationally successful struggle for freedom the Kurds then forced the peace treaty upon the enemy. Today the position of the Kurds is worst in the West-allied Turkey where the governing people quite recently stated that the six million "mountain Turks" are an even more dangerous enemy than the Soviet Union. Those well-informed in Eastern politics will know that such statements usually begin a new chapter and, indeed, we now have plenty of reports telling about attacks the Turkish gendarmerie and units have exposed the "mountain Turks" to. There can be no doubt whatsoever about the Turkish government intending to smash down every effort the Kurds will make to follow the example given by their Iraq kinsfolk. For people in Kurdistan this means that it is the Great Powers they will have to wrestle with to reach rights of citizenship. Whether the Kurds fight against Ankara or Teheran, it is the American weapons they see directed towards them. Whether they fight against Baghdad or Damascus, it is the Russian weapons they see directed against them. Kurdistan has not got the ambiguous pleasure of being backed by only one of the great block. They are being attacked by both East and West. From beginning to end the game of the Great Powers has contributed to weakening the position of the Kurds. It is by the command of the Great Powers that the Kurds have been scattered in all these diverse countries which for their own part tear each other by the hair and have turned out to make their Kurdish minority seem traitors, agents of the hostile block. Few years were needed for the Kurds of Iraq to be accused of being now footmen of communists, now agents of imperialists. Amidst all this the U.N. has turned out to be unable to listen to the cries for help uttered by the Kurds. The U.N. is by its decree bound to function more as a governmental club - even if the governments were not backed by the nations. The Kurdish problem is not something one could have come to grips with for the problem has not existed in formal constitutional meaning. The Kurds have had their struggle for life while fighting all the possible powers; during that time they have been kept even more scattered, lower and open to exploitation than any other now existing people in the Orient, the Arabs included. You may put your hand on your heart and ask what the unallied states have done for the Kurds. Is it so especially much? The game of Great Powers has settled on the way and who would quarrel with the Great Powers only to help a national minority in trouble? Also U.N.'s formalistic views have put obstacles on the way. We have already spoken about other kinds of thresholds of debate difficult to break through. The final result has been that the Kurds have had no real support from any side. A common phenomenon, but frightening in its concrete forms.

What conclusions would the Kurds like to draw from this background? It is only in one country, that is Iraq, that the Kurds by way of peace treaty have been capable of political activities on an officially acknowledged level so that they have also been able to draw some conclusions from their bloody past for the future. The peace treaty, or the Declaration of March 11th as they also call it, met the demands of the Kurds on surprisingly many points, at least as far as they are written on the paper. The Kurdistan Democratic Party enjoys official recognition as the main party - and I think it is essential that these circumstances are given attention here in Sweden if not when the KDP looks for contact with us. One of the Vice Presidents of Iraq will be a Kurd sent by the KDP congress. Five Kurds sent by the KDP congress belong to the government of Iraq. In Baghdad flats have been provided to form a political centre and main editorial office of Takhi. I have myself had a chance to visit both of them. Northern Iraq will be governed by the Kurds while the Arabic part of Iraq is correspondingly ruled over by the Arab Baathist Socialist Party, the KDP's coalition partner in the new government. The guerrillas of Kurdistan, Pesh Mergas, have the status of regular soldiers, their function being to maintain order in the "frontier parts of the north". Pesh Merga troops form such a unique kind of armed force that I think it a pity if other small countries, like Sweden for instance, neglected studying it closer. Their peace decrees further that the Kurds shall have their share of national oil income in proportion to their population. They have also agreed about free elections in the whole of Iraq: the KDP must be more concerned about this than the Baathist party can be. It goes without saying that the peace treaty makes a great strain upon social reforms in general.

The KDP congress of July 1st-7th fulfilled the peace program but also sharpened many of its points. First I shall only mention that Erwerdum, the meeting place of the congress, distinguishes itself by the ferro-concrete building where the negotiations for peace took place last winter: it was then people started calling the building "Palace of Peace". Bearing in mind the oriental instinct for symbols it looks no coincidence that the congress was to meet in this very place. We had a congress in a real spirit of peace although the rocky terrain was all encircled by watchful Pesh Merga troops armed to the teeth. From the opening ceremonies on July 1st I have committed to memory three things I should call political events par excellence. The self-evident number one will be that this congress generally took place in this open form with the KDP as an officially recognised party. Number two is without doubt the register of speakers that adorned the ceremonies. First of all spoke Mullah Mustafa Barasani, chairman of the KDP, generally respected as one of the most legendary champions of liberty, then spoke Doctor Mahmoud, a strong man in the party; A civil representative of the former enemy, the Baathists who had sent a delegation to the congress, spoke about newly won friendship. Then there were representatives of the Iraq Liberal Party (minor parties live underground in the south but can speak freely here in the north) of the Democratic Association for Youth, Students Association, Womens Association (all three of Kurdistan), the Democratic Party of the Syrian Kurdistan, the Democratic Party of the Lebanese Kurds, the Lebanon's Youth Association, the KDP's European Organisation (speaker: architect Jamal Alendar, Stockholm), Kurdistan's Association for Teachers and two Palestinian guerilla organisations represented in Baghdad: Arab Socialist Movement and Al Fatah. From all directions respect was expressed for the successful struggle for liberty of the revolutionaries of the KDP and Kurdistan. (Kurdish Students Society in Europe = KSSSE that will arrange the congress of the year in Stockholm on August 1st-5th).

The political event number three was a report sent to the congress by the leaders of the party: it was marked last on the list of speakers. That the report would emphasise the points that appeared in the declaration of March 11th we knew to expect. Judging from the politics of the oriental states as well as from the game of the Great Powers. It goes without saying that polite words were uttered both towards the East and West but a real loud onrush was directed towards the unallied states of the world. I shall be able to revert to this tendency later on in connection with the interviews I had with I had with leading Kurds. Orientation towards unalliance if not towards what we call neutrality, was being constantly reinforced. Efforts seem to be based above all on assurance that the past very dangerous isolation must be broken. After all the years of war and blockades one now seems willing to develop new relations over boundaries as well with humanitarian as concrete political organisations: this naturally all the time holding the balance which is required not to fall out with the coalition brothers in Baghdad. What is interesting here are comprehensively the foreign relations one can rely on and that may be for help in future construction. That the society of Kurdistan must be modernised administratively, socially and industrially, is a fact that cries out up to the skies. Schools, hospitals and means of communication show frightening defects. One finds it impossible to believe that a nation can subsist on such a low level, from the point of view of pure technology, while natural resources of earth and rocks are so great. Oil is already being exploited by a foreign company whose yearly profit amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars while the Kurds have no share whatsoever. But also iron, copper, gold, and much else can still be found unexploited. Kurdistan could be a well-to-do area on this globe if only its development took place in a favourable manner to the people living there.

During the congress one came to see how the foreign powers today observe the KDP. Interest shown by the West was moderate. "Voice of America" allowed one mention to the congress. Besides I saw few Western journalists. The East showed somewhat keener interest. One Russian and one East-German news agency had sent reporters. During the congress telegrams of good wishes arrived from practically all communist parties led by the Soviet Union. This would have been impossible before March 11th. The congress, however, strove to discretely repel interests of both East and West. We do not need to be surprised at that. The State of Iraq offers a good example of how the Great Powers may intervene with their interests. The economy of the country seems to be totally dominated by the capitalist oil-interests of the West, to which Iraq will be tied by a slave contract at least until the year 2000. The military powers, on the contrary, as well as political jargon seem to be dominated by what so many like to call Eastern imperialism. What kind of forms this may take is best illustrated by the war which is over now. According to many

opinions the Baathist Socialist Party has waged its fineco-coloured and wildly said costly war (it has swallowed up 35% of the national budget) against the Kurds, sets base, by order of the oil companies (!), while weapons and apparatus of propaganda have been provided by the Eastern block. This is generally considered as a situation very disgraceful for a free and sovereign state and judging from all it builds up a strong motive for the KDP to direct itself towards people of the third stand-point: the unallied. Surely there is a question to pose: how are the unallied going to expel the present fumbler from Kurdistan? Must we fear that nothing but pessimistic anticipations can be made.

The congress also made it possible to study the KDP's ways of making manoeuvres on the stormy sea the Middle East politically forms. Friendship from a proper distance seems to be the slogan With the Arabs we are brothers - as long as peace reigns., the Kurds say. I asked General Barasani how he judges the problem of Israel. He asked me not to pose that question to him but to those who take care of the Arab-Israel problem: Koygün, Nixon and Baath. The Kurds will not get mixed up with other people's problems while there is so much to look after at home. In this context I noticed that the Kurds would like to influence their neighbours. Peace by way of discussion is the only solution because war only creates new complications.

Increased freedom for the Kurds in the states of the Orient among which Kurdistan is situated would have influence upon the political efforts of other people - not least the Arabs - and lead up to increased realism. In other words, growing influence of the Kurds among the oriental kinsfolk should result in more emphasised efforts for peace in the Middle East. The statement is well-based as long as it is the peace-loving forces that are predominant in the liberty movement of Kurdistan. My impression has been that Kurdistan is a power like that although I have met among the leaders of the KDP political chatterers who create tension over the whole field from East to West. Likewise it is my conviction that the KDP and its political programme come very near democratic socialism. The KDP is not ready to do business either for East or West in any matter of vital importance. While fumbler are cast out to the unallied world in order to have development aid, it seems that one should not receive any binding help from East or West if a new war broke out with Baghdad. That is why Pesh Merga defence forces are kept in a state of preparedness in case new hostilities break out. Besides it is emphasised that the inside political and military forces of their own are the only one can rely on if struggle begins again. The Kurds have said to me that there are examples to be seen in the world where such inside power has not developed but struggle for freedom has been entrusted to foreign hands which has only led into catastrophe. Even if it is with sorrow, not to say melancholy, the Kurds look back upon the offering their struggle for freedom has cost, it is with pride that one sees afterwards that the struggle has been made through the media of one's own and made successfully in spite of superior powers one had ahead. Every people's right to live at liberty very comprehensively forms a cornerstone of ideology of the Kurds. In spite of all this firmness many question marks remain if we think about the social surroundings. To what extent is the KDP really going to influence the militant Baathist junta that dictates Iraq's foreign policies on the whole through the nominal administration?

During the KDP congress I had a chance to discuss with two of the representatives of these Palestinian groups. They explained to me that they had always given support to the struggle for freedom of the Kurds "because our organisations give support to the struggle for freedom of any nation for ideological reasons." I asked why it came out now that the Kurds had had their fighting and done it by themselves. It took a moment until the answer came. Then they said that their organisations had not wanted to quarrel with the Baathist regime for "ideological reasons ..."

As I flew home from the summer congress of the Kurdistan Democratic Party on July 7th, I was convinced that it was the unallied states of the world - and Sweden is surely one of them which owe a special response to the people of Kurdistan. The Kurdistan or Iraq is susceptible for development aid which at present may be arranged on an administrative level. There can be no reason to deny such help from the Kurds of Iraq. It is possible that one country like ours cannot accomplish very much. But it would be a good deed, if Sweden, within the compass of relations of foreign politics we have, took part in a multinational development programme and at the same time cultivated new political contacts and that, I believe, would mean giving support to powers working for democracy, peace and progress in the whole Middle East.

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RUBBLE—Villagers at Eilatoun, Lebanon, search ruins of homes after Israeli raid.

Heavy Fighting Reported

Iraqi Tanks and Planes Move On Kurd Stronghold in North

KURDISH FRONT Northern Iraq, April 14 (AP)—Iraqi tanks and tanks moved today against insurgent Kurdish forces near the oil center of Kirkuk, witnesses reported today.

Iraqi armored columns from Kirkuk and Sulaymaniyah converged on strongholds of the 100,000 Kurdish Army known as Pesh Merga, cutting the main road to Chamchal. But the Iraqi army was turned back with scores of casualties, witnesses said.

There were no reports of the fighting on Baghdad radio or from the Iraqi News Agency. Kurdish leaders claimed that Pesh Merga advance units were well forward of the main main-stay strongholds where the Kurds withdrew Iraqi Army assaults in the mid-1960s.

Witnesses reported that an Iraqi garrison was encircled by Pesh Merga units at the edge of the Arbil Plain. They said that the Iraqis had abandoned many tanks and were retreating in some of the positions where they were encircled by helicopters.

By Suzanne

Kurdish leaders gave no estimate of their own casualties. Casualties have occurred in recent weeks near the Dukan Dam. Ravine and Lake Arbil. Tension has been high in northern Iraq since Kurdish leader Mulla Mustafa Barzani rejected a Baghdad plan for Kurdish autonomy last month offered by Iraqi President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr.

(Iraq) Vice-President Saddam

Top Gaullists Urge Single Candidate

PARIS, April 14 (UPI)—Four Gaullist cabinet members and 30 members of parliament, and eight other party members, today urged a single candidate for the May presidential election.

As the fighting broke out today, Gen. Barraud and the 100,000 Kurdish Army known as Pesh Merga, cutting the main road to Chamchal. But the Iraqi army was turned back with scores of casualties, witnesses said.

There were no reports of the fighting on Baghdad radio or from the Iraqi News Agency. Kurdish leaders claimed that Pesh Merga advance units were well forward of the main main-stay strongholds where the Kurds withdrew Iraqi Army assaults in the mid-1960s.

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(Iraq) Vice-President Saddam

Kissinger Meets Syrian, Israeli; Golan Front Fighting Escalates

Battle Is Seen As Bloodiest Since Truce

TEL AVIV, April 14 (UPI)—Israeli cabinet members and Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan today agreed to a cease-fire in the Golan Heights front after the October war.

The ceasefire reported that 11 Israeli soldiers were wounded, and 10 Syrian soldiers were killed. The ceasefire was announced after a day of heavy fighting in the Golan Heights.

Israeli planes attacked Syrian positions in the Golan Heights today, and the Syrian army responded with heavy artillery fire. The fighting was described as the bloodiest since the October war.

By Suzanne

Kurdish leaders gave no estimate of their own casualties. Casualties have occurred in recent weeks near the Dukan Dam. Ravine and Lake Arbil. Tension has been high in northern Iraq since Kurdish leader Mulla Mustafa Barzani rejected a Baghdad plan for Kurdish autonomy last month offered by Iraqi President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr.

(Iraq) Vice-President Saddam



BRIEFING—Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan gives details of raid into southern Lebanon by Israeli troops. At left is acting chief of staff Yitzhak Rabin.

Threat to Depopulate Area

Lebanese Fear More Attacks After Israeli Raiders Kill 2

BEIRUT, April 14 (UPI)—An Israeli demolition of early yesterday in southern Lebanon villages, in which two persons were killed and 13 others injured, raised concern here today over a possible greater reprisal for Palestinian guerrilla actions against Israel.

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By Suzanne

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Talks Called 'Very Useful Constructive'

B. Richard Harwood
WASHINGTON, April 14 (AP)—Secretary of State Henry Kissinger today agreed to meet with Syrian and Israeli officials in the near future.

The meeting was described as "very useful" and "constructive" and was expected to take place in the near future. It was part of a series of talks between the two sides.

Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan gave details of a raid into southern Lebanon by Israeli troops. At left is acting chief of staff Yitzhak Rabin.

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U.S. Agrees on Arms, Training for Saudis

ABERDEEN, April 14 (AP)—The United States and Saudi Arabia today agreed to a plan to supply the Saudis with 100,000 rounds of small arms and 100,000 rounds of anti-aircraft ammunition.

The arms include small arms, anti-aircraft ammunition and other equipment. The agreement was part of a broader effort to strengthen Saudi military capabilities.

Selassie Names Crown Prince

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia, April 14 (Reuters)—Emperor Haile Selassie today announced that he had named his grandson, Prince Zare, as crown prince.

The prince was named as crown prince after the death of his father, Crown Prince Asfaw Wossen. The announcement was made in a formal ceremony.

KURDISTAN

in the International Press

Japan Times September 4, 1973

Destiny of the Kurds

By IBRAHIM NOORI
LONDON (Kyodo-Reuters) — The Kurds, who for decades have been fighting for an independent Kurdistan, are probably destined to "remain a race has been no fighting in northern Iraq under a peace agreement between the 75-year-old Mulla Mustafa and the ruling Baath Party Government. The source, who would not accept a different view, said that peace is

Defiant Kurds are ready for war

from GWYNNE ROBERTS: Kurdish rebel headquarters, Northern Iraq, 30 March

KURDISH leader General Mullah Mustafa Barzani this week revealed plans to proclaim autonomy unilaterally within Iraq or possibly even take more drastic measures if the crisis with Baghdad worsens.

Self-proclaimed autonomy would be in defiance of the Iraqi Government declaration announced this week to go ahead with its own version of self-rule for the Kurds with the formation of an 80-man legislative body in Arbil, Northern Iraq.

In a midnight interview at his secret mountain headquarters, the 70-year-old Kurdish leader

described this move as an attempt to impose fake autonomy and said it was totally unacceptable.

Shortly after the interview, the General ordered a full-scale war alert and imposed a day-time curfew of 'unlimited duration' throughout Iraqi Kurdistan.

Partisan troops in the northern mountains were put on an intensified alert and businesses and offices allowed to open only at dusk. This followed reports from Baghdad that a surprise attack by Iraqi jets may be imminent.

About 100,000 Kurds have

flocked to the rugged region held by the General's 40,000-strong Guerrilla army. Barzani's aides describe this exodus as 'a turning point in the history of the Kurdish revolution.'

'Kurds ran out of the cities of Kurdistan to fight for their rights,' the General said. 'The whole Kurdish people is ready to make sacrifices for real autonomy.'

The Kurds are angry about the Iraqi plans for Kurdish self-rule. They say the plans fall far short of their demands, enshrined in a March 1970 agreement signed by General Barzani and Iraqi Vice-President Saddam Hussein, and would amount to no more than decentralisation giving only limited control of local affairs.

General Barzani, a man of near legendary stature within Kurdistan, said the Kurdish leadership was studying the question of a unilateral declaration of independence. *Sanomat* May 25, 1974

Kurdien asia YK:hon

Irakin kurdikseymys viedään lähimmän kahden viikon aikana Yhdistyneiden Kansakuntien talous- ja sosiaalisuuston kaksipäivästä. Noin 3000 Mullah Abdol al-Rahman, entisen Irakin hallituksen ministeri lehdistötilaisuudessa Helsingissä perjantaina.

Kurdit käyttävät al-Rahmanin mukaan kaikkia mahdollisia keinoja saadakseen asiansa käsiteltäväksi. He syyttävät Irakin hallitusta kurdien joukkojen häistä.

Al-Rahman kertoi, että tähän mennessä on Irakin hallituksen toimeenpanemissa pommittuksissa kuollut 1120 ihmistä ja noin 3000 on loukkaantunut. Irakilaiset lentokoneet ovat pommittaneet noin 200 kylää Kurdistanissa. Hallitus on hirtittänyt 20 ihmistä, joukossa mm. 11 opettajaa.

Kurdit sanovat hallituksen käyttävän mm. napalmia siviili-kohteita vastaan. Pommittuksien uhrien sanotaan enimmäkseen olleen naisia ja lapsia.

Kurdien sisäministeri Pashmerga on pakottanut Irakin armeijan joukot vetäytymään suurimmasta osasta Kurdistanin vuoristokansunheja. Pääasiassa taisteluja käydään kukkuloiden Kirkukista Slemanian, Kirkukista Rawanduziin ja Mosulista Zakhoon lähellä Turkin rajaa johtavien pääteiden ympärillä.

The Washington Post March 22, 1974

The Plight of the Kurds

Scotsman (Edinburgh)

April 29, 1974

Iraqi air attacks on Kurds

ANKARA, Sunday — Iraqi jet fighters violated Turkish air space three times today during raids on Kurdish rebels in Northern Iraq, according to a senior Turkish official in the border area.

He told a correspondent that the MIG fighters had been bombing so close to the frontier that fragments of shell had scattered into Turkey and farmers had fled from the fields.

Iraqi air raids have intensified as an armoured Government relief force has pushed closer to the frontier town of Zakho, where the rebels are bombarding a 1000-strong garrison. — Reuters.

Western Mail, Cardiff

April 20, 1974

WAR IN IRAQ: Kurdish rebels have declared all-out war against the Iraqi Government. Kurdistan radio accused the Baghdad regime of the cold-blooded execution of 11 prominent Kurdish figures.

بغداد: امهملنا
الكراد الى يومنا

AL-HAYAT March 13, 1974

The Financial Times Wednesday September 12 1973

Iraq poison gas plan alleged

BY RICHARD JOHNS, MIDDLE EAST CORRESPONDENT

THE Iraqi Army is stockpiling Soviet-made poison gas for possible use against the dissident Kurds in the north of the country, according to the Kurdistan Democratic Party.

The allegation, for which the KDP claim to have irrefutable evidence, emerged at a closed meeting of the political committee of the Kurdish Students Society in West Berlin last month which was attended by two members of the Party's Central Committee.

This serious charge coincides with the outbreak of fighting between the Iraqi Army and the Pesh Merga, or Kurdish irregular forces. The renewed conflict was triggered off by the Army's occupation of a village called Asriya on the Syrian border on August 17 and has subsequently spread to the Kirkuk area. The Kurds claim that some 60 Iraqi troops, including a number of officers, have been killed.

The KDP says that the gas is of two kinds: one designed to penetrate the respiratory system causing fatal illness and another that can cause temporary unconsciousness for a period of 48 hours or more. It can be disseminated either by rocket or from the air.

KDP intelligence says that the gas is stored at the headquarters of Army's Second Division in Kirkuk and the Fourth Division in Mosul, as well as at the Taji base camp near Baghdad. It is added that eight Soviet advisers

have been supervising special training programmes in its use and that gas masks have been supplied for soldiers who may be called upon to launch it.

The new crisis in Baghdad-Kurdish relations has been brought about by a combination of factors, in particular the Government's attempts to pressurise the KDP into joining the National Front that was formed this summer between the ruling Baath Party and the Iraqi Communist Party; its continued attempts to "Arabise" the oil-rich Kirkuk area in advance of the referendum that should have

been held under the March 1970 agreement to ascertain whether this area, or province, should be part of the planned autonomous Kurdish region; and its failure to implement the accord.

Four KDP members were hanged by the regime in Baghdad last month, seemingly in retaliation against the KDP's refusal to join the National Front. When asked again to do this summer the KDP presented a memorandum outlining in greater detail than before its ideas about the form which regional autonomy should take. It was rejected by the Government.

THE TIMES

MONDAY APRIL 8 1974

Kurdish-Iraq war 'is inevitable'

By Our Foreign Staff

Iraq Government troops have withdrawn from some areas of Kurdistan and are consolidating along a conventional military front, according to Mr Shafiq Qazzaz, the information secretary of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP).

Led by General Mustafa Barzani, the party is struggling for a bigger and more autonomous Kurdish state within the Republic of Iraq. General Barzani rejected the limited autonomy decreed by the Baathist Revolutionary Command Council in Baghdad on March 11.

Mr Qazzaz, who left Kurdistan last week, is making a tour of Western countries to publicize the Kurdish cause and to make contact with humanitarian organizations. He said help was needed for the hundred thousand Kurds who had fled from Government-controlled areas into the "liberated" area under the Pesh Merga (Kurdish guerrilla forces).

Mr Qazzaz said the Government still controlled the main towns and the roads leading to them, but the Pesh Merga held sway over much of the surrounding hill country.

The Government had appointed new Kurdish governors to run the towns since March 11, but several of these already had deserted to the insurgents. His latest information was that the University of Sulaymaniyah had moved en bloc to the "liberated" areas. Both students and professors were now in the mountains, and lecturers were carrying on as planned.

In the same area, a unit of 80

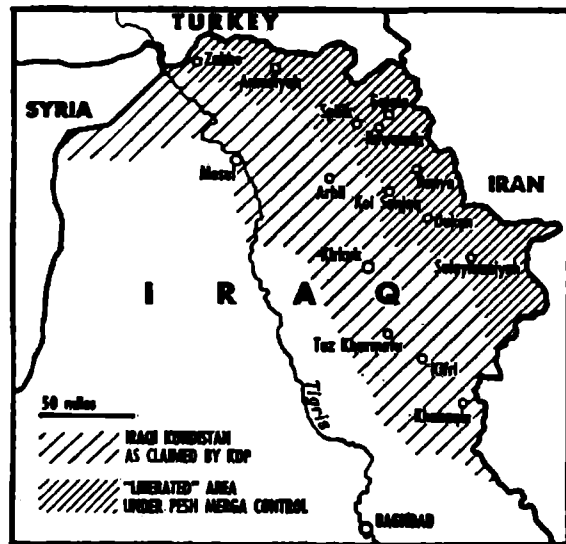
Arab soldiers had deserted to the Kurdish side with all its weapons. Early last week an Iraqi motorized and armoured column, advancing along the Sulaymaniyah-Dukan road, had been halted by the Pesh Merga and had suffered heavy losses.

Mr Qazzaz did not think these operations could yet be described as full-scale war, but he thought such a war was now virtually inevitable. It looked as though the Iraq Army was preparing to reconquer Kurdistan by a steady advance along a selected front, relying on the

superior weapons supplied to it by the Soviet Union.

He emphasized that reports from Turkish sources suggesting that the Pesh Merga controlled the whole Turkish-Iraq border were much exaggerated.

"In fact, we have no interest in controlling the frontier," Mr Qazzaz said. Most contacts between liberated Kurdistan and the outside world were through Iran. He admitted that the Kurds were getting help from Iran—"and we are grateful for it"—but denied that the aid included weapons.



The Financial Times

April 29 1974

'Hundreds killed' in fighting in Iraq

By Gwynne Roberts

IRAQI jets have killed hundreds of civilians during the last few days in large-scale bombing attacks throughout Kurdish-held areas of northern Iraq, according to Kurdistan Democratic Party sources.

One of the worst-hit areas was around Qaladeza where 100 people, mainly women and children, were said to have been killed and half the town reduced to rubble.

KDP officials alleged that Iraqi aircraft dropped napalm bombs there on Friday, severely damaging a modern secondary school apparently before children had time to evacuate the building and escape to nearby air-raid trenches.

The Kurds originally planned to use this very building to house the projected University of Kurdistan, where about 600 students scheduled to begin studies on May 1. Kurdish leaders subsequently ordered the closure of all schools throughout Iraqi Kurdistan.

Thousands of Kurds have been arriving in Qaladeza recently to

join the guerilla army of General Mullah Mustafa Barzani. The town also houses one of the regional headquarters of the Kurdistan Democratic Party.

Iraqi bombers have also attacked the Kurdish-held town of Halabja near Sulaymaniyah destroying 100 houses.

Daily Express
May 10 1974

Town destroyed

ANKARA, Thursday — Iraq troops were today burning down the predominantly Kurdish town of Zakho, according to a Turkish report.

رد على ما كتبه علي هاشم من بغداد

"الشورة الكردية" لم تطالب بالانفصال بل بالديموقراطية لجموع الشعب العراقي

مع إيران أو مع الكركاد وان لا قد
للعركة الكردية على المطالب
بالانفصال . مصلحة من يتجاه
السيد علي هاشم هذه الحقائق
ويستكت عن الاسباب الحقيقية
للمحنة التي يعانيها العراق بحكمه
القائم ؟

ديموقراطية بغداد

ثانيا - ديموقراطية الحكم

أنفسهم عناء أثبتت فليد في هذا
الادعاء وتحليله في ضوء الحقائق
التاريخية والجغرافية . فان الثورة
الكردية لم يسبق لها الطلب بالانفصال
كردستان - العراق عن العراق ، ولم
يسبق لأي مسؤول في الحزب والثورة
وأي بيسان صادر عن حزبنا
الديموقراطي الكردستاني ان طالب
بذلك وذلك لتفهمنا مصلحة شعبنا

اكتسب ثقته بما كتب من بعض ما
هو الحقيقة والواقع .
والان وبعد هذه الوقفة مع السيد
علي هاشم أو مع اسلوبه في ما
يلشر من تحقيقات عن العراق
نبدأ بالناقشة المباشرة للخبر والرأي
(الذي كتبه) في التحقيقات المشار
اليها . ولا يسعنا في طبيعة الحال
في هذا البيان أن نتناول كل ما

جامعا : « نشرت » « النهار » تحقيقات
متسلسلا لمراسلكم في بغداد السيد
علي هاشم في اعداد :
العدد ٧٤/٤/١٢ الرقم ١٢٠٩١
والاربعة ٧٤/٤/١٧ الرقم ١٢٠٩٢
والسبت ٧٤/٤/٢٠ الرقم ١٢٠٩٥
وتوضيحا للحقيقة نرجو نشر الاتي :
لعل من حق السيد علي هاشم
علينا وعلى جميع من يقرأ الاعتراف

له ببراعة صحافية امتاز بـ
كتاباته عن العراق على جميع
يقوم بهذه المهمة في الوقت
في المالم العربي فيه في الوقت

Dagens Nyheter (Sweden)
May 27, 1974

'Hittills hårdaste slaget i kurdkriget'

TT-AFP. VAN, söndag.
Kurdiska styrkor har dödat
230 irakiska soldater och skjutit
ner två flygplan i det största
slaget hittills i kriget mellan
kurderna och regeringen i Bag-
dad, uppger Kurdistans radio,
som sänds från södra Turkiet.
Slaget i Heblorområdet har
varat i flera dagar och pågår
än. Kurderna har tidigare rap-
porterat att den irakiska armén
brutit in 100 stridsvagnar, 500
militärfordon och åtta plan i
detta slag.

Kurderna öppnade redan 1972
att kriget skulle komma —
förr eller senare. Man såg allt
fler tillvalsländor becken: ira-
kiska divisioner koncentrerades
till slakterna runt de kurdiska
bergen; när kriget till
slut kom, rörde det sig om sex
företärta divisioner. Redan
våren 1973 tycktes kriget
ofrånkomligt.

Ommedelbart efter samman-
brottet den 11 mars inleddes
så den stora kurdiska folkvand-
ringen i krigets skugga. Över
100 000 människor har lämnat
sina hem och sina ägodelar och
flytt upp i de kurdiska bergen.
Bland dem: 4 000 lärare, 5 000
poliser, 10 000 skolelever, hund-
ratala ingenjörer och de få kur-
der som fått läkarutbildning.
Det går en läkare på 250 000
människor och hälsotjänsten
är även i normala tider helt
otillräckligt i Kurdistan. Under
kriget kan bara de enklaste
operationer genomföras.

Kurderna i Stockholm upp-
gav att mer än 200 byar bom-
bats från luften. Flera städer
har utsatts för napalmangrepp.
Och man utestuter inte att
Bagdad också sätter in gas-
vapen och kemiska stridsmedel
i kriget. Man har sedan ett par
år hävdats att irakiska armé-
enheter fått gasutbildning och
har depåer för den sortens
vapen. "Vi har konstaterat att be-

Civila drabbas värst av kriget i Kurdistan

Civilbefolkningen i norra Irak drabbas hårt av det krig som nu rasar
mellan kurder och araber i området. Över 1 100 döda och 3 000
sårade rapporteras från kurdiska städer och byar som utsatts för
bomb- och napalmattacker av irakiska flygplan.

svåra lidanden för civilbefolk-
ningen är stor. Redan har 15 000
"der tvingats fly över grän-
" till grannlandet Iran. Yi-
" ett mindre antal har
" i Turkiet.

ge har Irak, uppger
idagars i beredskap
"t de avärskom-
"arna och mili-
"bergen. Ab-
"ticken för
"speciellt
"arna
"ur-
"at .
"holv-
"ultrahuman.
"mordet förtätter
"slaget och har Del

Kurderna hävdar nu att Bag-
dad söker arabiska tidigare
slaget och har Del

The Kurdish struggle takes a new turn

distan överlevt mer än 15
krigsår. Kriget blev de-
ras fall.

RICHARD HAAS



New Printing House Square, London, WC1X 8EZ. Telephone : 01-837-1234

CIVIL WAR RETURNS TO KURDISTAN

Northern Iraq is not an area to which the world's news media have easy access. But it is by now clear that Kurdistan is once again in a state of insurrection against the Baghdad Government, and that the scene is set for a renewal of heavy fighting, if indeed it is not already taking place.

So ends a four-year truce between General Mustafa Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Arab Baathist regime of General Hassan Al-Bakr and Vice-President Saddam Husayn. On March 11, 1970, the Baathist leaders drew the logical conclusion from the inability of the Iraq armed forces, after nine years of intermittent warfare, to overcome the resistance of the "Pesh Merga", or Kurdish guerrillas, in the mountainous heartland of Kurdistan. A 15-point agreement was signed, recognizing the national rights of the Kurds and their autonomy "within the framework of the unity of the Iraq Republic". A mixed higher committee was set up to supervise the application of the agreement over four years. Five Kurdish ministers were brought into the Iraq Government, and soon afterwards a new Constitution was proclaimed which explicitly recognized Kurdish national rights.

But a number of crucial points were left unresolved by the agreement. In particular, the degree of autonomy to be conferred on the Kurds was not clearly defined; nor was the

geographical area within which they were to enjoy it. The KDP has consistently demanded a fully federal system and has insisted that the Kurdish state must include the province of Kirkuk. The Baathists have been willing to concede a more limited autonomy and have been determined to exclude Kirkuk from Kurdish control because it is the centre of the country's largest oilfield. They have not been satisfied with the KDP's suggestions that oil should be a central government responsibility but that the Kurds should get a share of the profits in proportion to population. Instead they have tried to "Arabize" Kirkuk and other peripheral districts of Kurdistan, both on paper by arguing from an out-of-date and inaccurate census and in practice by encouraging transfers of population. This has inevitably sharpened Kurdish resentment and mistrust.

Mistrust is profound on both sides. The KDP has accused senior officials of the Baath party of organizing two unsuccessful attempts on the life of its leader. Its militants are convinced the Baathist military regime can never sincerely accept a compromise, and that the only valid guarantee of Kurdish autonomy would be the introduction of "real democracy" in Iraq as a whole—the effect of which, they believe, would be to break the Baath's monopoly of power.

On the Baathist side there is the suspicion that the KDP's demand of autonomy for Iraq

Kurdistan is only the prelude to the dismemberment of Iraq and the formation of an independent Kurdish Republic (as envisaged by the Treaty of Sevres after the First World War), in which the 2½ million Iraq Kurds would join up with the five or more million in eastern Turkey, the 4½ million in Iran, the six hundred thousand in Syria and perhaps even the hundred and fifty thousand in the Soviet Union. Even if this danger seems remote, there is the fear that the KDP is a tool of "reactionary forces", whether in the United States, Iran or Israel, seeking to overthrow Iraq's "progressive" regime and reverse both its nationalization of the Iraq Petroleum Company and its alliance with the Soviet Union. General Barzani has occasionally made remarks which lend some colour to these suspicions, and the Iraq Communist Party, for long his close ally, has now drawn away from him and accepted an honorific but largely powerless position alongside the Baath in a "Progressive National Front".

It seems however that General Barzani's forces are still in control of most of Kurdistan and that the Government will not be able by conventional warfare to impose acceptance of the "autonomy" which it has unilaterally announced. There are rumours that it has plans to do so by unconventional means, notably the use of poison gas. There should be no doubt what the reaction of world opinion would be if these rumours were verified.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Times
March 19 1974

Civil war in Kurdistan

From Mr

Sir, We are most grateful to *The Times* for having raised the issue of Kurdish survival in the leader of March 16. There is a real danger of genocide if poison gas is used against the Kurds. This would be dangerous, not only to the population in the border areas, but also to those who have been fleeing from the cities in Iraq.

We only want to live in peace with our neighbours, and are very fearful that, after five unsuccessful extended military campaigns, designed to suppress the Kurds, they might this time use unconventional terror

methods; hence our fear of the poison gas. This would run contrary to the basic principles of humanity, as well as to agreed rules of international law.

We know that two different types of Russian-supplied poison gas have been imported with 40,000 gas masks. They have been stored in the Taji military camp near Baghdad, in the

second division in Kirkuk, and in the Mosul headquarters, the fourth division, where special commando units were trained in the use of gas. We also know that an eighth and ninth division have been established for the special purpose of conducting "unconventional" surprise warfare against the Kurds.

While the Kurds were negotiating for a peaceful form of autonomy, our leaders became painfully aware of military operations being made in readiness for a major military attack. It is hoped that the Baghdad Government will use the new found wealth for other purposes than to kill members of a small nation, and that the peace of the Middle East should not be upset by this military adventurism which can hurt Arabs and Kurds alike who have recently begun to live in peace.

Yours sincerely,

Secretary,
Kurdish Students' Society in Europe,
United Kingdom branch,
43 Cumberland Road, W3.
March 17.

DAVID HIRST reports from the war zone of 'liberated' Kurdistan

The lesson for Qala Diza

AT 9.45 on the morning of April 24 two Sukhoi fighter-bombers of the Iraqi Air Force swept low over the town of Qala Diza not far from the Iranian frontier. Its population, normally 10,000, had risen in the previous few weeks to 15,000 or 16,000.

Many of the newcomers were children and students, for it is to Qala Diza that the University of Suleimaniyah, the Kurds' one seat of higher learning, was transferred on the outbreak of hostilities between the rebel forces and the Iraqi Army. The Kurdish leader, Barzani, little instructed himself, has always stressed over the education of "future generations."

Qala Diza's only anti-aircraft gun was a solitary Russian-built Doushke. The pilots, secure in this knowledge, came right down within the height of the telegraph poles, witnesses recall, and as they passed over the centre of the town, strafed it, bombed, and rocketed it.

A whole quarter — shops, houses, a school, and part of a hospital — was demolished. They came back and did it a second time. At least 130 people died. They included 80 children and one soldier. When I left Kurdistan they were still digging for bodies.

Qala Diza was the first major strike in what Barzani describes as the "genocidal war" waged by the "wild beasts in Baghdad." Between April 19 and May 4, according to the Kurdish radio, there were 281 air attacks in which 367 civilians died.

Kurdish doctors cite a number of napalm cases. Medical facilities — a six-bed central hospital and field clinics — are rudimentary.

According to the Ba'athists Barzani is a "reactionary, feudal, imperialist stooge" who represents no one but himself. The most striking refutation of this claim is the extraordinary, largely spontaneous, migration of Kurds from the cities and villages of the plains to liberated Kurdistan.

It has never happened on anything like this scale before. Whereas previously perhaps five doctors offered their services, today — according to official estimates —

there are about a hundred. There are also 100 lawyers, 300 engineers, 600 high-school teachers, 5,000 primary-school teachers, 5,000 Government employees, 4,000 soldiers and policemen, 10,000 workers, 10,000 students — and the entire staff and student body of Suleimaniyah University.

THE GUARDIAN July 1973

AND now there are three. President Hassan al-Bakr of Iraq heads one of the most secretive ruling systems in the Arab world. The real meaning of the weekend's attempted putsch — if that is what it was — has yet to emerge. Rumours abound. One is that Bakr is under house arrest. Another is that Vice-President Saddam Hussein was the evil genius of the affair.

What is sure is that in the Revolutionary Command Council, the highest authority in the land only three Takritis remain where there were four and that the assassination of the Defence Minister, Hamad Shihab, is an upheaval which must have deeply shaken the strongest rule that Iraq has known since the overthrow of the monarchy 15 years ago.

Takrit is a provincial town, thoroughly drab and undistinguished up the Tigris about a hundred miles from Baghdad. For the past five years, it has in a sense become the new capital of Iraq. A town of 20 to 30 thousand people it has taken over a country of about eleven millions.

It is said that Saladin was born there but when I visited it two years ago I found that its citizens took a greater and more self-interested pride in other famous sons — such as President Bakr, Vice-President Saddam Hussein, Foreign Minister Murtada al-Baqi (though his Takriti origins are officially denied), and Defence Minister Hamad Shihab. At that time Takritis also filled such posts as Mayor of Baghdad, Commander of the Baghdad Garrison, the Republican Guard and the Air Force.

It is not known just how many Takritis or people from nearby towns like Ana and Rawa have found their way into authority. They try to hide their origins by changing their names — but Iran's Arabic radio station once hit on a telling propaganda line when, without any commentary, it simply listed the names of 73 Takritis who, it said, occupied prominent positions in the ruling hierarchy.

Defence Minister Shihab was buried in Takrit yesterday. Once there had been five. For before Shihab, another member of the RCC, Vice-President Hardan Takriti had died by an assassin's bullet.

Both fell victim to the endemic violence and medieval intrigue of Iraqi politics — a violence which these self-same



President Bakr (above) and assassinated Defence Minister Hamad Shihab

The Arab Mafia

DAVID HIRST on the endemic violence behind Iraq's recent upheaval



Takritis carried to unprecedented lengths, the only difference is that Shihab, target of a conspiracy against the regime, was consigned to his native earth with full honours, while Takriti, disgraced, exiled, and finally liquidated by the regime, was shovelled into it at dead of night.

Whatever the achievements of five years of Ba'athist rule, its methods are such that the temptation to describe it as an Arab mafia remains irresistible. If President Bakr — "struggler-president" Bakr — is the godfather, the apparently benign father of the party, in Saddam Hussein he has a most dynamic and efficient "consigliere." Basically what this most talented, dedicated, and ruthless of Takritis has succeeded in doing, alone among Arab rulers who came to power through the familiar military coup, is to subordinate the

army to the party, or at least to integrate the two in a viable combination. He himself, a civilian, rose exclusively through the party. He is utterly fearless — he first made his name when he participated in an attempted assassination of General Kassam.

According to his own account, he extracted a bullet from his leg with his own hands and escaped to Syria on a plane. He works as much as 18 hours a day. He is anxious to better himself — he took a university degree after his seizure of power. "With our party methods," he says, "there is no chance for anyone who disagrees with us to jump on a couple of tanks and overthrow the Government. These methods have gone."

The party methods that have replaced them are an elaborate system of surveillance, intimidation, and selective terror.

خبايا

خدمات
 لسان حال
 الحزب
 الديمقراطي الكردستاني
 طبع في مطبعة خدمات

• ناضل من أجل إنهاء الأوضاع الاستثنائية، وكتبت
حكم ديمقراطي منتخب من الشعب وتطبيق عميق
التحول الاجتماعي

• ناضل من أجل استكمال مستلزمات قيام جبهة وطنية حقيقية .

العدد ٥١٩

الافتتاحية

دماء شهدائنا لن تنهب هدراً

مرت في التاسع من حزيران ذكرى عزيزة وعلملة
والتيه لأبناء، حينما حدثت لحظة البعث القاتلة في مثل
هذا اليوم سنة ١٩٦٩، بأعداد العشرات من مواطني مدينة
البحرانية المنزلة مدخلت مدينة الظاهرة معاً في حركه
حفر بالبيلدورات وذلك عندما أرادت الإنقاذ لما
التيه من حركه الإطبال من هزائم كسفة بذلك من جعلها
وأصربها كل القيم الإنسانية والأخلاقية والبر والحق والوقوف
وعرض الحائط كما في هذا اليوم يذكرنا به جرائم بتمه ماثلة
التيه في هذه الأيام الأولى وهي نفس تلك الأيام من نفس
السنة في مدينة كوسينجي وفي نفس المناطق الأخرى من
كوسنكند ذكرى قديمة الحروب والنزوة التاسع من حزيران
أيوم الشهيد بالنظر لكثرة عدد المواطنين الذين استشهدوا
فيها وبساعة الجرائم المعنكرة التي أقررت بحق أبناء
شعبنا مستحقة

ان لدينا في حزيران اياماً أخرى القفرت فيها جبالنا
مماثلة حتى ابناء شعبنا المصطفين كالنفس عبر العصور
والعشرين وغيرها وكل هذه الايام والذكريات تنبع الى
وحدة الاعداء، في محاربة شعبنا من جهة وطولها هذا
النفس وعدم خضوعه للمعتدين من جهة اخرى ولينمى
استعداد ابناء هذه الشعب الصامد الصابر لقطع فريضة الدم
دماغاً من حوزته وكرامته.

لقد دأب أعداء الكرد وكرديستان على معارضة الازهاب بأجس صورة ضد قضيتنا الكردية كلما كان يطالب بتفوقه الديمقراطية والقومية المشروعة فقاموا من باب الازهاب قد تنجح في تقسيم ايرانية وروى الى ان الصراخ على المطالبة بهذه الحقوق الا ان تآمرهم وجهودهم في هذا المجال باتت كلها بافشل التوقع واضحت نتائجها فيما يخصنا لى الازهاب الى الكردية نصيبه المطاع من حقوقه المشروعة والنضال من

واليوم وبعد مرور إحدى عة
من حزيران / ٩٦٣ نجد
تتصرف بحق أبناء شعب
العلية الغاشية
في البلاد

حزيران اجمل اخيات التولكلور الكردي من العربة

ان الانفصالات والثروات التي قامت بها الأمة الكردية والتجسبات التي قمعتها تضرب مبعدا في التاريخ .
الفتاح الأمة الكردية ، ولا سيما في القرنين الآخرين ،
يتأكد يكون سلطة لا تقطع من الثروات العربية في سبيل
العيرة . ووصف الكثير من المستشرقين الخمسين في
الكردولوجيا هذا الكونغرس بأجلال ، قائلاً : « بأن من
المستحيل تزويج الأمة الكردية في الجبال الصاعدة » .
ان شعبا يتكبد بعد عشرات السنين احدا اجل لغيت
العيرة وانتزاعها من المنطقة . والاجبال الكردية
المتجسبات تكتلوا بحزم وامداد من قبل الثورة والفتنة ،
الاعالي الجبال الضخمة . لذلك الشعب الكردي انه لا ينسحب
من بلاد الاعدا ، وانه لا يفرح لمعصر انفعج انك خطه له
الامم الفتاح الذي كنت عليه .

ولعة في التاريخ النوري
الكردى قاط بارزة ومضيفة
وكتبة، انشهر حزيران النامي
يشكل احدي ابرل هذه النقاط
واكثرها اضاءة :

- قتي حزيران ١٩١٩ دلات
مركة د دربندي باذان د الشهرة
عن جيش الاحتلال الانكليزي
والنفوذ الكركة الباسا: السني
قاعا الشيخ العالم محمود الحنبل
١- وفي ٢٥ حزيران عام ١٩٢٥
اقتد السلطات الفرنسية في تركيا
بل احلم الشيخ محمد بران مير

آخر تطورات الوضع العسكري في كردستان.

القدس الذي هو الوحي المستمر
لنا ليهاد
كما تقوم وحاصل الحيث - مر
الماء ، بقرق وقص كل م
يشترط طريقها ، من قرى ومحد
وقعت دراجية .
وقد تغيرت الشرة
الانتقال ، بد

المصارف من وحداتها الممولة،
ومن الطرق التي اتبعت الحكومة
على محاولة - طريق كركوك -
ملجأ -
ملجأ -
طريق -
موصل -
جوز

الطغمة العثة الجدا

فقدت اللغات الفلكية
لهيئت العاكة
منه

البقية على الصفحة (٥)
بعثة صحفية تزور

کوردستان

كرستان بته - حنفه طالبا
بن الالمانى القناه الاولى

وہائز تودر وک :
ث
لئے لی مسلم
حت تصف
محبت
نہا
ہا

مؤلفان: یو کوردستان
و
دېسکوانی یو میرانی

ده ننگ

کوردستان
بیا
نهمان

[illegible]

partner to discussions rather than under Henry Kissinger's one-man diplomacy. The other was that the Soviets, by playing up to Syria, were trying to balance their declining influence with Egypt as their chief Arab ally.

In Cairo, President Anwar Sadat last week publicly told a joint meeting of the Parliament and the Arab Socialist Union, Egypt's lone political organization, just how strained relations were between Egypt and Russia. In terms clearer than ever before, Sadat announced that Egypt would no longer depend solely for arms on Moscow as it has done for nearly 20 years. The Soviets, said Sadat, had not been generous with their arms after the war. Indeed, Egyptian aircraft losses have still not been made up by the Russians; tank replacements have come from Yugoslavia and Algeria. Henceforth, Egypt would shop around. Said Sadat, "I have taken a decision in agreement with our armed forces that we should have diversified sources of arms. This decision has been put into effect."

Spartan State. Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy will have to take into account not only Cairo's increasingly independent role, but also the continuing unsettled political situation in Israel. Even while they watched the Golan Heights last week and alerted reservists to defend it, Israel's political leaders were busy trying to agree on a successor to Premier Golda Meir, who resigned two weeks ago. Labor Party leaders had a choice of selecting someone else, if the right supporting coalition could be found, or of asking Golda to continue with a caretaker government. In either case, the job would be only temporary since it would terminate in national elections in the fall.

Whoever accepts the post will have to deal not only with the handicaps of a short-term government but also with increasing Israeli discontent. Israelis are upset at the idea that having fought the war, they now have to keep their forces activated like some kind of 20th century Spartan state. There is thus a powerful impetus for making peace with Syria in order to have army reservists discharged and the economy return to normal. Another burr of discontent—and spur to negotiations—is the desire to get back the 65 Israeli prisoners, plus the jet pilots shot down last week.

That may be a long way off. In addition to their problems with Syria, Israelis are angry about the growing number of guerrilla incursions into Israel. Last week, in response to the attack on Qiryat Shmona two weeks ago in which rampaging guerrillas killed 18 Israeli civilians, there were violent incidents in which Jews attacked Israeli Arabs in a frustrated attempt to revenge the deeds that other Arabs had committed. Such outbursts only helped to make the Middle East situation, as Henry Kissinger descends on it again, about as frosty as the snow atop Mount Hermon.

MUSTAFA BARZANI (TOP); INSURGENT KURDS

TIME, APRIL 29, 1974

IRAQ

Kurds in Combat

The Kurds are a fiercely independent people who inhabit the rugged mountains of northern Iraq as well as parts of Turkey, Syria, the Soviet Union and Iran. Many of them have long yearned to have an independent nation, called Kurdistan, and in 1970, after years of bruising clashes with the Iraqi army, they finally won an agreement that guaranteed regional autonomy by March of this year. As the date approached, neither side could agree on what autonomy meant, and when the pact finally came unstuck, a key problem was a familiar Middle East issue: oil. The Kurds took literally violent exception to Baghdad's plans to keep control of the oil-rich region around Kirkuk, a heavily Kurd-populated city.

Suddenly the underground Kurdish army re-emerged from a four-year furlough. Supply lines to several Iraqi army garrisons were cut, and other military units were surrounded. Last week the Kurds began shooting at helicopters resupplying the food-short garrisons. According to the Kurdish radio, the Iraqis responded by bringing their Soviet-built bombers into action for the first time, laying waste to eleven Kurdish villages.

Muslims but not Arabs, the hagg-

trousered, occasionally blue-eyed Aryan Kurds of Iraq make up about one-fourth of the country's population of roughly 10.4 million. The Kurdish guerrilla army, called Pesh Merga (which means "facing death"), is led by a tenacious nationalist, Mulla Mustafa Barzani, 75. It numbers about 40,000 regulars. Iraq can draw on a 90,000-man army that is well equipped and advised by the Soviet Union; Defense Minister Andrei Grechko flew to Baghdad for consultations soon after the negotiations between the government and the Kurds broke off.

Bitter Repeat. Iraq charges that the Kurds are supplied with sophisticated equipment by the U.S. and Iran. TIME's Joseph Fitchett, who returned from a 13-day trip to Iraq last week, saw no evidence of this. The Kurds have only a few heavy weapons—notably World War II-vintage antiaircraft guns. But Iran, long at odds with the far-left Iraqi government, may well be providing the Kurds with small arms. The rifles carried by Barzani's bandoliered troops are mostly Czech-designed, Iran-manufactured Brno rifles.

"To the south of the Kurds' mountainous, 10,000-sq.-mi. redoubt," reports Fitchett, "are Kurdish valleys where villages have been largely deserted. Fearful of air raids, entire families have taken to living in caves. Even in towns farther back in the mountains, almost all activity occurs at night, including grammar school for pupils, who carry flashlights to get to their classes. The foothills are now a contested no man's land that has already been the scene of several skirmishes." Among other triumphs, the Kurdish radio claims that the Pesh Merga killed one Iraqi general in combat and shot down one of the Iraqis' Sukhoi-7 fighter-bombers.

Neither side seems eager for an all-out civil war. One reason the Baathist (Arab Socialist) government in Baghdad has been able to hold on to power since 1968 is that it recognized the need to compromise with the Kurds and thus de-



GEORGES JEANNERET—SYGMA

TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE



QALA DIZA

***will add another
chapter to the
murderous
history of the
bloodthirsty
Baathists of
Baghdad***



A man rushing his child to safety

Photos: DAVID GRAEME-



The school in which 80 children died

Qala Diza, a town of 20,000 inhabitants in Kurdistan-Iraq, was savagely bombed by the Iraqi Air Force in the morning of April 24th. The town was unusually crowded, as thousands of people from neighbouring areas under Iraqi Army control took refuge there. Also the majority of the staff and students of Suleimani University who were going to re-establish the University after it was occupied by government tanks.



A total of 130 people were killed, including 80 school children.

RAKER/SIPA PRESS

ta ner 3 000 soldater!

Journalisten Louis Malka (lilla bilden) bevittnade det första stora slaget i den kurdiska kampen för frihet, som nu blossat upp i de irakiska bergstrakterna! 3 000 soldater hamnade i kurdernas bakhåll. Bara ett fåtal fångar togs . . .



aktuellt-reportage Louis Malka – Bertil Lagerström/
översatt

■ ■ ■ Marsnatten var ljum och utan måne, en natt då folk kunde röra sig utan risk att upptäckas från luften. I gryningen var bak- hålllet klart. Ingenting kunde av- slöja det, man kunde ingenting se, ingenting höra. Den dalsänka som på turkiska heter Geyli Alibey – Alibey passet – skulle bli en kyr- kogård för 3 000 soldater.

Det irakiska ÖB kommandot – som vanligt dåligt underrättat – hade satt in trupper i Kurdi- stans vidsträckt bergslandskap för att undsätta två garnisoner, som blivit kringrädda av kurdiska stamkrigare. I Bagdad beslöt man att statuera ett exempel, som kur- derna inte skulle glömma i bräd- rasket. I den irakiska generalsta- bens ögon var kurderna rebeller, en hop illa utrustad och dåligt beväpnat slödder. Chefen för de 3 000 man som sändes mot kur- derna hade klara order: Utröta dem, visa ingen barmhärtighet!

● Denna marsmorgon 1974 låg jag på en klipphylla med utsikt över dalsänkan. Jag såg inte till en levande själ, förutom de två kur- diska officerare som var i mitt sällskap. En ensam rovfågel häng- de orörlig i den klara luften. I landskapet nedanför syntes inte en rörelse. Kanske just detta bor- de ha varnat de självsäkra office- rarna som förde sina män rakt in i dödsfällan. Cirka 1 000 meter

framför dem och 150 meter ovan för dem på båda sidor liksom bakom dem hade man gillrat ett bakhåll med hjälp av de bäst ut rustade och hårdast tränade sol- daterna i världen. De kurdiska soldaterna utgjordes verkligen inte av något slödder, som man trodde i Bagdad utan bestod av elitförband som nu var redo för befrielsekriget mot Irak.

● Regeringsstyrkorna från Bag- dad avancerade sakta tills de be- fann sig helt inne i dalsänkan. Då hördes uppi från berget en fågels gälla skrik. På några sekunder förvandlades den fridfulla dal- gången till ett helvete av eld och död när kurderna reste sig som en man och öste granater och kulor över sina fiender där nere. De ira- kiska styrkorna greps genast av panik och allt blev kaos när solda- terna sprang om varandra för att söka skydd. Många slängde helt enkelt ifrån sig sina vapen för att kunna springa fortare, andra bara kastade sig ned kanske i förhopp- ning om att bli tagna för döda.

De som vände och rusade framåt möttes av en mördande eld uppi från bergssluttningarna. De som försökte undkomma samma väg de kommit, fann reträttvägen avskuren.

I två timmar rasade denna kamp. Så ljud över stridslarmet en trumpetsignal. Omedelbart upp-

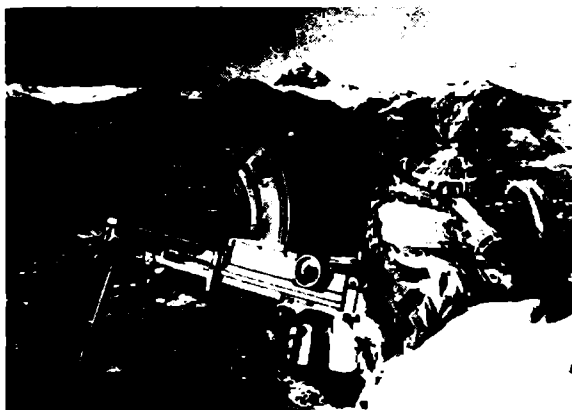


FORTS FRÅN FÖREG SIDA

Sex kurdiska frihetskämpar fritogs ur fängelset!

hörde eldgivningen och kurderna drog sig tyst tillbaka. På slagfältet kvarlämnade de ungefär 3 000 döda och sårade iraker. Regeringstrupperna hade fått ett dräp-slag och de drog sig tillbaka i panik. Den låxa de skulle ha lärt kurderna hade de själva fått ta emot. Irakerna fick klart för sig att kurderna inte var det slödder man hade antagit, missadare som man kunde hänga upp och tortera efter behag.

● Jag befann mig på plats i egenskap av observatör medan den kurdiska och irakiska regeringen förhandlingsvägen försökte komma till en uppgörelse om Kurdistans framtid. I Bagdad hade jag fått höra att kurderna önskade bli helt självständiga och att man under inga förhållanden kunde gå med på detta. Men när jag kom till Kurdistan fann jag att denna uppfattning inte stämde med verkligheten. Kurderna önskar visserligen självstyre men vill stanna kvar i den irakiska staten. Regeringen i Bagdad erhöj så sent som i februari en viss frihet, men dessa medgivanden var så njugga att de stolta kurderna tillbakavisade anbudet. Det var då som man i Bagdad beslöt att med våld kuva kurderna på samma sätt som man gjort tidigare. Man tog beslutet trots att man visste att man var i taktiskt underläge. Irakerna måste strida i kurdernas eget land som är vilt och bergigt, en terräng som gjord för gerillakrigföring.



Ingen tränger ostraffat in i kurdernas berg!

● Under den månad som jag gästade kurderna fann jag, att varken mångårigt förtryck eller hotet om total utplåning på något sätt plågade dem. De har motstått sina fiender i söder sedan tidernas morgon och har aldrig underkastat sig några herrar för någon längre tid. Man berättade för mig om det stora upproret 1946, då kurderna bildade den självständiga staten Kurdistan av stycken av norra Irak, västra Iran och östra Turkiet. Jag fick också höra talas om hur kurder gång efter annan hade massakrerats, men att de all tid hade hämnats på dem som var ansvariga för massakerna.

● Kurdernas område - Kurdistan - är ett bergland som alltså ligger innanför Turkiets, Irans och Iraks gränser. Men det bor också kurder i Transkaukasien, som tillhör Sovjet, och på berget Aragats sluttningar i den sovjetiska delrepublik Armenien. Kurderna är ett folk på mellan två och tre miljoner. Av dessa finns en miljon i sydöstra Turkiet, 750 000 i nordvästra Iran och drygt en miljon i nordöstra Irak. Det är ett delvis nomadiserande folk med persiska som modersmål.

Kurdernas rätt till nationellt oberoende erkändes av fredskonferensen i Paris efter det första världskriget, men i fördraget i Lausanne 1923 nämndes inte ens kurdernas anspråk. Spänningen ökade då och kurderna startade ett befrielsekrig mot turkarna. Det slutade med kurdernas nederlag och 48 av deras stamhövdingar hängdes. År 1930 utbröt ett nytt uppror, som också krossades, och 1946 ledde Mullah (präst) shejk Mustafa Barzani en revolt.

● Kurdistan reser sig plataliknande över de omgivande stora slätterna, och landets stora hjättegestalt är just Mustafa Barzani. I århundraden har strider försiggått här och mycket blod har flutit. Tyvärr tyder allt på att så kommer det att bli också inom den närmaste framtiden. Kurderna betraktar bergen som sin "mur".

Den muren hejdade ryssarna under första världskriget och den har ofta stoppat turkarna.

Kurderna avskyr araberna. De gör ingenting för dem, menar de. De hyser också stark antagonism gentemot Storbritannien och USA, eftersom dessa stater, enligt kurderna, gav bort deras land till just araberna.

Under det senaste decenniet har en ny beslutsamhet vuxit fram i Kurdistan och nu hotar man irakerna med samma bittra medicin som dessa en gång tvingade på kurderna när dessa var försvarslösa. Det hände när kurderna var oeniga. Men nu har man funnit att enighet ger styrka och man har kunnat enas under den gemensamme ledaren shejk Barzani.

● I mars i år utbröt så det största upproret hittills. Barzani bestämde taktiken, som gick ut på att man skulle undvika att döda men däremot till varje pris hämnas fiendens alla övergrepp.

När oljekrisen bröt ut och araberna började använda oljan som tryckningsmedel vände sig kurderna väster ut med en enkel begäran: Hjälp oss så ska vi ge er all den olja ni behöver! Faktum är att Barzani har makt att sätta bakom orden och om västmakterna beslutar sig för att hjälpa honom, kommer Irak inte att ha något annat alternativ än att ge Barzani vad han och hans folk begär.

Vi behöver västmakternas hjälp för vårt förföljda folk, sa Barzani till mig. Han erkände att man fått hjälp från Israel, men tillade att "en som håller på att drunkna griper efter hjälp var han än kan finna den". Iran har också sant varor och förnödenheter till kurderna och den irakiska Baath-regimen erbjöd dem en del av vad man får in på oljan. Och nu när kas vi pudelns kärna. Ty orsaken till den relativa givmildheten från Bagdads sida är oljefyndigheterna i Kirkuk, som shejk Barzani hävdar ligger på kurdisk mark! I februari hotade kurderna att angripa och förstöra oljefälten i Kirkuk om inte Bagdad blir mer frikostigt mot kurderna. Detta hot har upptagits allvarligt i Bagdad, ty de kurdiska stridskrafterna - Persh Merga - är väl utbildade och har i dag god utrustning. Irak kan visserligen möta kurderna med en mängd gånger större numerär styrka, men detta behöver ej bli utslagsgivande i en eventuell kraftmätning, något som de senaste månadernas strider har visat.

● Kurderna håller sig med en raffinerad underrättelsetjänst uppbyggd enligt samma modell som den tyska och brittiska under det andra världskriget. Långt i förväg visste de, att 3 000 man irakiska trupper skulle lämna Erbil och försöka undsätta de belä-



Mustafa Barzani leder sitt folks kamp mot irakerna.

rade garnisonerna i Ruwandiz och Zehar. Vad irakerna inte kände till var att kurderna hade full kontroll över Alibey-passet ända sedan den 11 mars i år. Inte ens de irakiska spanningsplanen, som dagligen flög över området, hade kunnat avslöja den saken, eftersom de kurdiska stridskrafterna var så väl camouflerade.

● Den irakiska regeringen kände inte heller till att kurderna hade fått veta att Irak importerat giftgas från Sovjet tillsammans med 40 000 gasmasker och att man tränade personal för att använda detta vapen mot kurderna.

När shejk Barzani fick kännedom om dessa barbariska planer, vände han sig till västmakterna för att förbjuda dem att ingripa mot Irak att inte använda vapnet. Han yttrade att insättandet av ett sådant vapen bara skulle skärpa den kurdiska motståndsviljan och att kurderna skulle slåss till absolut sista man. Irakerna har all anledning att vara rädda för Barzanis soldater som anfaller under motot "Vi möter gärna döden!" Enligt kurdisk soldatmoral är det en ära att stupas för saken.

● I november förra året tillfångatog irakiska styrkor sex kurdiska frihetskämpar och dömd dem till döden för att de var rebeller. Fyrtio andra kurder fick då order att rädda sina landsmän. Det visade sig omöjligt att få ut dem från den fästning där de satt. Men irakerna tänkte göra ett propagandatummer av avrättningarna och göra dem offentliga.

Den morgon då exekutionerna skulle äga rum bevakade omkring 200 irakiska soldater det torg där galgarna var resta. Tusentals människor hade kommit till platsen för att se rebellerna dö. Men omedelbart innan snarorna skulle läggas om de dömdas halsar öpp-

Forts sid 56

Tiistaina huhtikuun 2. pnä 1974

Kurdit iskivät rajusti hallituksen joukkoihin

Ankara (Reuter) Pohjois-Irakin kurdisissit ovat aiheuttaneet raskaita tappioita Irakin hallituksen joukoille, turkkilainen uutistoimisto Haber ilmoitti maanantaina.

Uutistoimiston mukaan sissit hyökkäsivät Geyli Albeyn solassa 3000 miehen vahvuisen Irakin armeijan osaston kimppuun sen ollessa matkalla auttamaan kahden sissien saartamaa varuskuntaa.

Ruwandiin ja Zebarin vuoristoalueella sijaitsevista varuskunnista tilanne sissien saarrettua ne oli "epätodellinen" kertoivat Turkin rajalle tulleet tiedot.

Haberin mukaan jonkin verran taisteluja käytiin edelleen Kirkukin ympärillä ja strategisessa Alibeyn solassa, jota kurdit ovat pitäneet hallussaan maaliskuun 11. päivästä lähtien.

Uutistoimiston ilmoitus vahvisti tiedot jotka kurdien oma radioasema Kurdistanin ääni esitti maanantain vastaisena yönä.

Uutistoimisto Haberin kuulemassa lähetyksessä sanottiin, että satoja irakilaisotilaita oli surmattu ja 230 oli antautunut sisseille Alibeyn solan alueelle tehdyssä hyökkäyksessä.

Kurdien omia tappioita ei radiolähetyksessä ilmoitettu.

Kolme konetta pudotettu

Lisäksi kurdit olivat ampuneet alas kolme hallituksen lentokonetta, joista kaksi oli kuljettamassa sotilaita Kirkukin öljykeskukseen ja kolmas oli pudottamassa tarvikkeita Gallalan lähellä sijaitsevalle Irakin armeijan prikaatille, Kurdistanin ääni kertoi uutistoimisto Haberin mukaan.

Kurdisissit käyvät 76-vuotiaan mulla Mustafa Barzanin johdolla taistelua itsehallinnossa Pohjois-Irakin vuoristoalueella. Heidän vaatimuksenaan on että runsaasti öljyvaroja omaava Kirkukin alue tulisi kurdien hallintaan.



Pohjois-Irakissa puhjenneissa taisteluissa kurdisissijä komentaa heidän pitkäaikainen johtajansa mulla (herra) Mustafa Barzani.

Bagdadin hallitus asetti 15 vuorokauden määräajan, jonka kuluessa noin puoleentoista miljoonaan nousevan kurdiväestön oli määrä hyväksyä hallituksen sanelema itsehallintoehdot.

Sovinnosta ei tietoa

Määräaika päättyi maaliskuun 26. päivänä, mihin mennessä sovinnosta sissien ja hallituksen välillä ei ollut tietoaakaan. Silminnäkijöiden mukaan Irakin kurdiväestö on määräpäivän um-

peuduttua ollut varustautumassa sotaan.

Uutistoimisto Haberin mukaan kenraali Barzanilla on tätä nykyä komennossaan lähes 50 000 kurdia. Hallituksen joukkojen lähestyessä Kirkukia Barzani määräsi myös 17-vuotiaiden ikäluokan armeijansa vahvistukseksi.

Letter from Iraqi Kurdistan

BY JIM HOAGLAND

HAI OMRIAN, IRAQ.

Like the Babylonian, Assyrian and other empires that have risen and fallen on the timeless plains of Mesopotamia, the 20th century has been unable to invade the forbidding mountain lands of Kurdistan. Change has been forced to sneak in through the mountain passes, usually on the back of war.

Village life of the ruggedly handsome Kurds whose soft eyes glow in laughter like dark pearls, still revolves around the rifles that are this society's main status symbol, the goats and cattle that are often given one of the best rooms in a herder's earth and stone house, and the carefully tended fields of apricot trees and vegetables.

Now, in a small but politically significant group, Kurds educated abroad are beginning to trickle back to Kurdistan and promote limited modernization. In an area where men have survived for centuries through banditry and hunting, Community Development is being given a hesitant try.

The village guest house is still the center of community activity in this land where those strangers trusted enough not to be shot on sight are welcomed royally. The status of the Agha, or village chieftain, depends directly on the lavishness of the hospitality he provides for the wayfarer.

The visitor who comes to see Mulla Mustafa Barzani, the Kurdish guerrilla general and nationalist leader for half a century, naturally receives the most elaborate spread Kurdistan can offer here in Barzani's summer headquarters, which is a small village surrounded by the white canvas military tents of Barzani's traveling retinue and black goat hide tents of nomadic herdsmen.

Barzani spears and presses on his guest pieces of chicken from the groaning table laid with steaming platters of rice, kebab, eggplant soaked in a rich tomato sauce and kibbeh. It is washed down with the local watery yogurt drink or, as a dispensation for the outsider, Baghdad-bottled Orange Crush.

Honey brought in directly from a nearby hive is one dessert. Barzani prefers the apricots, plums and peaches grown here. Strong, heavily sugared tea follows the meal.

Barzani expresses disappointment in not having been able to play host to Western visitors since early 1972, when relations with the Iraqi government turned bad again and Baghdad began refusing outsiders permission to make their way to the general's mountain lair. Arrangements for trips now have to be made through a sort of Kurdish underground railroad.

"We see only those whom we don't want to see now," Barzani says sourly, referring to the stream of Russian and other Communist diplomats and journalists that Baghdad has sent to mediate with the rebellious Kurds.

Barzani has mellowed little in his 70 years. He has left one part of the guest house, damaged by grenade explosions and riddled by bullets two years ago during an assassination attempt, exactly as it was on that day. He points to blackened particles that cling to the ceiling and says that those are the only re-

mains of the men who blew themselves up while trying to get him, on Baghdad's orders.

Asked about his family, Barzani says he has nine sons, the youngest three years old, and seven daughters. A question about the age of his oldest son brings a sudden explosion of anger from the general that clearly unsettles the aide who is translating his answers from Kurdish into English.

"There were ten sons but only nine are my sons now. There is a dog who was my eldest son, who went over to Baghdad and is now living in Algeria. He has become an enemy of mine and of my people," Barzani slams the subject shut.

No one else is willing to provide information about the son, who evidently defected to the Iraqi side more than a year ago.

Constantly at Barzani's side are his sons Idriss, 29, and Massoud, 27. Fresh faced, eager and as quick to laugh as Barzani is to scowl, they ask a visitor about Watergate and Pompidou's health. When they are not scribbling orders on notebook paper to the army and local government departments, they find time to listen to foreign radio news broadcasts.

Idriss is the heir apparent to leadership in the Kurdish movement. The conventional assessment of diplomats, journalists and other Middle East watchers is that he may not be strong enough to hold the movement together after Barzani. But like so much conventional "wisdom" in this unpredictable region, it could be dramatically wrong. Idriss moves and talks more gently than Barzani, but with the same kind of authority. And he has had the advantage of firsthand observation of Barzani practicing his speciality-- surviving in the rough and tumble of Kurdish life.

Shakhawan Shwan has been in the Community Development business for two months. Before returning to Kurdistan, he received a degree in architecture in East Germany.

Now he and six assistants-- all working under a total budget for \$1,500 a year -- travel around Kurdistan, patiently sitting under walnut trees and telling villagers why they should build corrals and move the cattle and goats out of their houses.

"The health programs we have in mind won't do much good unless we can get the villagers interested in changing the basic conditions of village life" the 35-year-old architect explained after a meeting in Khoshkan, home of 200 persons, 300 goats and 150 head of cattle. "Then we can begin building public baths, starting literacy campaigns and other programs."

Khoshkan is tucked deep in the Sakran mountains, on a boulder-strewn dirt track that is mounted, with bone-jarring difficulty, by one of the Kurds' few Landrovers. Beyond Khoshkan, a bubbling spring fed by the melting snows of the mountains surges across the cuts and cuts the road in this season.

The chief physician at the small but immaculate hospital in nearby Nau Pirdan has also returned to Kurdistan from East Germany in the past year. An even more recent arrival is Shafiq Qazzaz, who spent the last 12 years in Washington, earning a doctorate and working on a Kurdish-English dictionary.

Qazzaz, who is to head a new Information Department for Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic Party, says that educated Kurds are being drawn back by the traditional leadership's new willingness to give them meaningful jobs.

Citing Barzani's successful nine-year civil war against Baghdad and the Iraqi government's promises of full autonomy, Qazzaz said "It is clear that this movement is here to stay and that the time has come for those of us who have lived abroad to come back to contribute to it." - The Washington Post.

Islamic Seminar

in Russia, dove, a differenza di un'eventuale "Lev Bebel" di un segretario generale del Pcus, Breznev, il sovietico avrebbe dovuto affidare, secondo le stesse parole di Sadat, « i ministeri wahabiti » fra i due Paesi.

[illegible]

l'Unione Sovietica — soltanto gli esecutori indiretti e « veder annoiati » nelle tendenze imperiali e del mondo libero, piuttosto di essere rivale in iniziative. Il ruolo decisivo di certe verticistiche in questi ultimi mesi ha accompagnato le più organizzate ed efficaci diplomazie al Nord. Da una parte, dopo la lotta del « Negro-Celtica americana », è stato registrato un fortissimo ruolo del « gruppo » di stampa e Stati Uniti. Dall'altra, si assiste a una decisa tendenza del mondo arabo a dialogare con la Comunità economica europea. L'ultima indicazione di questa volontà di « andare avanti con l'atlantico » è stata, adolfata in un quar-

דוד יחיא אברהם יהונתן יצחק
 יד יצחק יחיא

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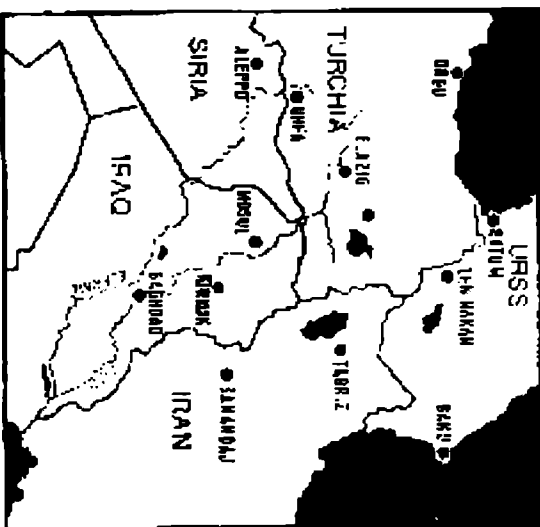
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La parti in grigiă indicano la zona abitate din eurd

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di Boris Streltchenko dipen-
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Mandarin, *Admiral* -
secondo di cui è l'ultimo

Il grande giornalista sovietico e ucraino, oggi filonazista, è venuto alla Galizia, ha raccontato, ancora, come l'Armata Rossa ha conquistato l'intero Galles durante la guerra. Dopo la guerra di liberazione, che avvenne nel 1945, il galles non fu mai più occupato dalle truppe naziste, e questa volta era la volta di un altro popolo, che cercò di liberare il Galles dal suo dominio. Ma non fu così. La guerra era finita, ma il Galles era ancora lì, e non era ancora stato liberato. Il Galles era ancora lì, e non era ancora stato liberato. Il Galles era ancora lì, e non era ancora stato liberato.

Serge Mammucì
a Marine Corps

ناطق باسم البارزاني: الوزراء العراقيون الجدد لا يمثلون الشعب الكردي

«الكل»

داني وهي لكرستان «
وقال انه يعتقد ان لهذا التعيين علاقة بخطط تهدف
الى شن هجوم عسكري لكسر شوكة البيشمركة ميليشيا
الاكرد التي يقدر عدد افرادها بنحو ٨٠,٠٠٠»

لندن - ٩ نيسان - رويتر - قال السيد شفيق القزاز
الناطق باسم الحزب الديمقراطي الكردستاني ان
١٠٠,٠٠٠ كردي تركوا المدن واعتصموا في جبال كردستان
خلال الاسابيع الاربعة الاخيرة.

واضاف في مؤتمر صحافي عقده في لندن امس ان بين
هؤلاء اطباء وعلماء وخبراء من منطقة كركوك النفطية
التي تعتبر نقطة الخلاف الرئيسية بين الحزب الذي
يتزعمه الملا مصطفى البارزاني وحكومة حزب البعث في
بغداد.

وقال القزاز سكرتير الحزب الكردستاني للمعلومات
الذي يقوم بجولة في أوروبا سعياً وراء كسب تأييد
لطلاب الحزب ان هناك ٥٠ طبيباً في كردستان الان في
مقابل ستة كانوا فيها قبل ١١ اذار الماضي عندما
نشبت الخلاف بين الاكراد والحكومة العراقية.

واعبر القزاز ان الوزراء الخمسة الذين عينوا قبل
يومين لا يمثلون الشعب الكردي.

واضاف ان السيد عبيد الله مصطفى البارزاني اهد
الوزراء الخمسة هو ابن للملا مصطفى « خرج عليه منذ
سنتين وانضم الى البعثيين ».

ورأى في تعيين الوزراء الخمسة « محاولة لظامة
واجهة تستطيع حكومة البعث من ورائها انشاء حكم

Uprooted by the civil war
between rebellious Kurds
in Iraq and the forces of
the Baathist Government,
this old Kurdish woman and
her grandson have taken
refuge in the mountains of
Kurdistan. For them the
conflict means uneasy days
and nights in strange sur-
roundings.

THE OBSERVER 2 JUNE 1974



DAVID GRAEME-BAKER

Lord Kilbracken



General Barzani, photographed at his secret headquarters

The north is ours, says Kurds' chief

By Lord Kilbracken, who returned yesterday from the Kurdish rebel-controlled area of northern Iraq.

THE INSURGENT Kurds in Iraq have established a *de facto* independent state in their northern mountain region. General Mustafa Barzani, their 71-year-old leader, told me last week at his military headquarters. Much more autonomy had already been achieved than was contained in the Baghdad Government's offer last month which he rejected. "I shall shortly be making an official declaration of complete autonomy in the area under our control and influence," he added.

This embraces about 80 per cent of an area about twice the size of Wales where the Kurds are in an undisputed majority. But it does not include such major centres as Arbil, Kirkuk and other garrison towns where perhaps half of the estimated 2,500,000 Kurds in Iraq are under Government control.

The conflict is of significance to Western powers because the oil-rich centre of Kirkuk is the core of the dispute. Although predominantly Kurdish, it was excluded from last month's offer. The unforeseen strength of the Kurd's reaction is an embarrassment to the hard-pressed Baath regime in Baghdad. General Barzani, who carries his years lightly, left me in no doubt that his claim to Kirkuk "would never be relinquished." His men are within eight miles of the city, but it is strongly defended and he seemed to accept that no further advance would be possible.

He was planning "no major offensive," he had not the resources to attack the lowland regions. But Government forces are in peril in several towns surrounded by his army of 40,000 *pesh mergas* ("those who face death"), including Souleimaniya and Zakho.

Three factors combine to place the insurgents in a far stronger position than before and give them justification for claiming that self-rule has been achieved:

1. The *pesh mergas* are better equipped, although General Barzani denied the claim last week by Saddam Hussein, Iraqi Vice-President, that "massive" aid was reaching them from the United States via Iran.

2. Recruits to the movement after rejection of last month's offer of limited autonomy totalled about 200,000, including many educated Kurds from major cities as far away as Basra. Among them were 80 doctors, 4,500 teachers, 30 professors, 5,000 policemen, 160 engineers and more than 100 army officers to constitute an élite never before available. The offer, which the Government expected would divide the Kurds, has instead united them.

3. A six-minister civilian administration has been set up for the *de facto* autonomous region, replacing army rule. It hopes to function successfully because so many with administrative experience have joined the revolution and those who gained practical knowledge of government by holding ministries in Baghdad under the terms of the 1970 truce have offered their services.

Zarathustra

The Mede

93 years ago, Friedrich Nietzsche began to make notes for his book "Thus Spoke Zarathustra" and portrayed himself as the modern version of the ancient philosopher. HAKIR TEIMOURIAN, a Kurdish journalist living in London, looks at the original Zarathustra and the development of his church.

To what land shall I flee? Where bend my steps?
I am thrust out from family and tribe;
I have no favour from the village to which I would belong,
Nor from the wicked rulers of the country!
How then, Lord, shall I obtain thy favour?

Zarathustra Spitama, or Zoroaster, the philosopher-prophet of ancient Central Asia, is thought to have been born in the Zagros highlands of Western Iran, or Eastern Kurdistan, in 630 B.C., when our ancestors, the Medes, were at the zenith of their power. The religion he founded later became the state religion of the Persian Empire, and the doctrines he formulated travelled far. Plato, in the 4th century B.C., had a particular reverence for Zoroastrianism and borrowed his duality from it. A quick glance at Judaism, Christianity and Islam, too, reveals the many ideas they have in common with, and probably borrowed from, Zoroastrianism. The essential oneness of God, His triad manifestations, the opposition of the Devil, the Day of Judgement, Heaven and Hell, etc. are too numerous to be due to chance. It can be seen, therefore, that Zarathustra deeply influenced the course of Western civilisation and continues to shape the lives of many of us now. Yet, most people in the West have never heard of him, and those who have, wrongly identify him with Nietzsche.

According to Professor R.C. Zaehner of Oxford, the traditional date assigned to Zarathustra's major achievement, the conversion of King Vishtaspa, is 258 years before Alexander, which from the Iranian point of view means the death of Darius III in 330 B.C. When Zarathustra converted the king of Chorasmia in North East Iran, he was 42 years old. We may therefore conclude that he was born in 630 B.C.

However, Zarathustra prefers not to speak of himself in his poems and our knowledge of his life is very limited. We know, for example, that he was forced to emigrate from his homeland before he found favour with the court of Chorasmia, but we do not know exactly in what district he was born. He does not say whether his father had been a landowner, soldier, or like himself a priest, but he does complain of his own lack of wealth and power:

I know, O wise one, why I am powerless:
My cattle are few, and I have few men.
To thee I address my lament: attend onto it, O Lord,
And grant me the support which friend would give to friend,
As Righteousness; teach the possession of the Good Mind.

One may be tempted to conclude from the above poem, which shows him to have enjoyed co-operative influence, that he suffered from greed and a taste for power, but in the light of other evidence, that would seem a mistaken view. His sincerity, and dedication were proved by his many years of exile and isolation, and his will to power resulted from his painful discovery of the connection between wealth and influence. He knew that his principles would find earlier acceptance if he were rich and for this reason he even wished to become a horse breeder:

This I ask thee, O Lord, answer me truly:
Shall I receive for my wage, through Righteousness,
Ten mares with a stallion and a camel,
Which were promised to me, O Wise One,
Together with Thy gift of Integrity and Immortality?

Successful religions or sects, it seems, have had inherent in them at their beginning the ideology of a new political force, class or nation. In order to find acceptance, the founders have had to be the ideologues or spokesmen of an emergent economic grouping. In other words, a new successful religion or sect has always been the spiritual arm of a new political order. Viewed from this angle, whose voice and spokesman was Zarathustra? A study of his poems, which are all that remain of him, and also a geographical study of Central Asia as it was then, show that he was the voice of agricultural settlers who represented a higher stage of civilisation. For over three thousand years before his time, the setting up of feeble but permanent farming

settlements had become common practice in that part of the world, but such communities had never enjoyed peace and security for long. The countryside was the roaming ground of numerous nomadic tribes whose swift horsemen plundered the villages and took their young workers into slavery.

At the time of Zarathustra, the number of settlements had increased further, but due to general sparseness of population, they were still too small and far apart. The armies of the war-lords in the market towns could extend no protection to them either, specially since each market town had its own hierarchy of duties and the consequent religious-economic rivalries resulted in their frequent wars and general weakness.

What Zarathustra brought to the people was a new, unifying mythological system. He did not have to invent a new system of ethics. That had come into being with agriculture itself and Zarathustra merely had to give it formal expression. What was most needed now consisted of a supergod, with a revised body of laws, capable of uniting all the settlements and directing their militancy towards the common enemy. Zarathustra achieved this by preaching a God of Light and Righteousness, called Ahuramazda, and a Spirit of Evil and Darkness, called Ahriman. The two were locked in battle, and every human being had the duty of participating on the side of his creator, Ahuramazda, who would be the ultimate victor.

Every Zoroastrian had to constantly remember his three principal slogans: good thoughts, good words, good deeds. These slogans had important practical applications. For example, they made the telling of lies a deadly sin, which in turn made outcasts of merchants and shopkeepers: Zoroastrians could not believe it possible to be a merchant and avoid telling lies in praise of one's own goods. They also believed that God had created the world in six stages, in the last stage creating the Original Man, Gayumart, in His own image. Gayumart and the rest of Creation were permeated by the so-called element fire. Therefore Zoroastrians revered fire as a symbol of God and His work, in the same way that Christians revere the cross.

A more basic deduction depicted farmers, cattle raisers and craftsmen as friends of Ahuramazda, while it portrayed the roaming, parasitic hordes of the steppe as having joined hands with the Devil, Ahriman. No one could remain neutral in this holy war. A man either chose the Good Life and earned eternal bliss, or else, trod along the wrong path towards the horrors of Hell.

The propagation of these heretic ideas caused Zarathustra to be expelled from his family and tribe, but he was convinced he would eventually succeed and herald in a new era, when all mankind would be civilised, settled to honest toil, and united in its love for Ahuramazda, the God of Righteousness. For years therefore he endured isolation, poverty and humiliation, until at last a war-lord called Vishtaspa was able to see the capabilities of the new religion in extending his kingdom by making him, Vishtaspa, the champion of all farmers. Thus Zarathustra attained respectability and acquired the resources of a prominent war-lord for the implementation of his ideas. However, it took many centuries before Zoroastrianism reached the zenith of its influence under the Sassanid emperors. Persia was then engaged in almost constant warfare against Byzantium and Zoroastrianism was given the important role of being a spiritual bulwark against Christianity and the Roman cultural influence.

The greater sophistication of the new Sassanid society, the long wars against the Romans and the consequent heavy taxes, the increasing corruption within the empire's administration and some other factors all combined to cause widespread disillusionment among the people with the Zoroastrian church. In other words, the church became wholly identified with the corrupt, tyrannical state, and a stream of other sects and religions began to appear in the various corners of the empire, which spread from Armenia and Syria to the shores of the Indus in India. Although the Persians respected the established churches of other agrarian societies under their suzerainty, the new emergent religions were all crushed by the emperors' armies until the tide turned with the Arab invasion in the 7th century A.D. and the Sassanids were easily overthrown. Many historians have noted that discontent among the Persians had reached such a level that the majority welcomed the Arabs as possible saviours.

The Zoroastrian church still survives with over 250,000 adherents who are gathered in small pockets in such commercial centres

as Bombay, Calcutta, Tehran, Yazd (in southern Persia) and even London; but the religion itself has lost its dynamism and many of its teachings, as with those of other religions, have become irrelevant, for it is only the revolutionary ideology of a bygone age. The praise of wheat growing and cattle raising sounds remote from life in over-crowded cities whose children have never seen a live lamb, but this must not be allowed to obscure the true greatness of Zarathustra's mind and character. He was one of the great system-builders of philosophy who improved the lives of millions after him, and his struggles for achieving a happier world were as heroic as any in later history. His main aim was to create a civilised, compassionate, rational

society passionately engaged in the pursuit of truth. This goal will remain valid throughout the life of our species, and today, after a passage of two and a half thousand years, some of his poems are as fresh as the day they were sung for the first time:

Where shall enjoyment be found instead of Pain, where forgiveness?

Where shall Righteousness be attained

When shall the vills of the future saviours come forth,
The dawn of the days when, through powerful judgement,
The world shall uphold Righteousness?

INDUSTRIALISATION in Developing Countries

by J.A.

There is an oriental fable that once upon a time a monkey and a fish were caught up in a great flood. The monkey had the good fortune to scramble up a tree to safety. When it looked down into the water he saw the fish struggling against the swift current. Filled with desire to help his less fortunate fellow, he reached down and drew the fish from the water. To the monkey's surprise, the fish was not very grateful for his unsolicited aid.

The analogy of the fable is appropriate in relation to human beings living in two different cultures and conditions. The way to safety for a community can cause death for others. Still the developing countries in a rapidly developing world want and need a lot of assistance - economic, technical and many other kinds of help. But technological development is a complex process and imperfectly understood even by specialists. The expression technological development is inadequate to describe society's development. The term socio-technological development is more relevant as development is much more than just the acceptance of material and technical improvement. It is a cultural, social and psychological process as well. For, associated with every technical material change, there must be a corresponding change in the attitudes, thoughts, values, beliefs, and behaviour of the people who are affected by the material change. These non-material changes are more important; although they are often neglected and overlooked. In a newly developing country, industrialisation and the resultant labour relations will affect traditional family structure. If the workers and their families can accept these changes to new social patterns and reconcile their attitudes with the new conditions, industrialisation need not be disruptive (rapid). However, such reconciliation is often difficult and the process of development is accordingly slowed down.

We often with education share the values of the complex civilisation of the West, and tend to think of development - which we often equate with progress - as manifest in science and technology. Better cars, nicer buildings, faster airplanes, more comfortable homes etc. It is not realistic to think that these innovations are bad; but it is more realistic to think that it is important to see how these elements can contribute to a better life for people in every part of the world.

Attempts to change a society from rural to industrial is always faced with resistance to change. The resistance is cultural, social and psychological. With the rapid introduction of industrialisation into a developing country two different cultures meet. Sometimes the differences are immense and can cause tragic consequences which sometimes are difficult to repair. Pure education and technological competence cannot confer enough know-how to decide what other peoples should attain. The society should be prepared for industrialisation before its introduction. It should come gradually and should be based on local industry and handicrafts and cottage industry which already exist in the society. I believe that there can be no development by mere imitation. We have to consider culture as the basic ethos of a community. Society means people, and culture means their behaviour. People as a society comprise culture representing the totality of tools, techniques, social institutions, beliefs, motivations - a group value system.

DOMESTIC INDUSTRY AND HANDICRAFT v. HEAVY INDUSTRY

All countries which are now industrialised have passed through different stages of development and also had to face problems somewhat similar to those which countries in their early stage

of industrialisation have to meet with at present. One problem arises from the fact that most of the industrialising countries have to depend on the industrially advanced countries for the supply of equipment and machinery, although some of them have recently started manufacturing their own machinery on a small scale. Machinery in the industrialised countries is designed mainly for use in these countries, therefore special consideration must be given to the usage of this kind of equipment. It seems unrealistic to introduce highly advanced industrial methods when plenty of unskilled labour is available to perform the job equally well. But simple mechanised handling, not necessarily power driven, can however often help to remove the need of unnecessary heavy toil. Similarly the introduction of highly mechanised and automatic machines for the winding process is looked upon with disfavour by trade unions in countries with surplus labour, since, in their view, the increase in productivity per capita and the rise in wages is not justified when there is widespread unemployment in the country.

Although there is a marked movement of workers from agriculture to industry, they retain for the most part their link with their agricultural occupation in the village. In this respect they are different from the factory workers in the industrially advanced countries where the worker is completely divorced from the country-side. This is because of the demographic features in developing countries and the lack of stability of the industrial labour which creates special social problems. Industrialisation in the West means the transformation of production from handicraft and cottage industry to mass production. Handicrafts continue to play an important role in the economic life of the developing countries, particularly in the Middle East and Asia, examples are Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan.

The importance of the handicrafts and small scale industries arise from the following facts:

- 1) Scarcity of capital
- 2) Low mobility of labour
- 3) Lack of trained workers

Some countries have already realised that to protect handicrafts and cottage industries is essential, since it is felt that their rapid breakdown will throw a large number of people out of agriculture and worsen rural unemployment, and that in its turn will result in heavy social costs.

It is recognised that in the long run handicrafts and small cottage industries can exist along with less costly methods of factory production if the productivity of handicrafts is increased by the use of modern techniques - the condition of the work is organised and both handicrafts and the light, simple industry should be integrated together as a part of a programme of a socio-industrialisation. If these two sectors are not integrated it will result in very serious problems of employment and labour conditions.

The countries starting late with their industrialisation have the benefit of the experience of those who started before both in regard to technology and the way in which industrial labour problems are dealt with, although it is recognised that in application there is need to adapt them to the conditions of developing countries.

The Rebel Kurds

part three



Left: A Kurdish soldier wears a gas mask near the battlefield. Right: Pesh Mergas: guarding a strategic pass.

Mass return of educated exiles

ON BOTH my previous visits to the rebel-held area in Iraq, in 1966 and 1969, there had been virtually no educated Kurds amongst those I met, apart from members of the Central Committee of the K.D.P. and a few army officers. There was only one doctor for a million people—and he happened to be a senior member of the Political Bureau—Dr. Mahmood Osman. The revolution was almost wholly confined to peasants and pesh mergas.

It was vastly different now. Only a few weeks earlier, there had been an astonishing and spontaneous exodus of as estimated 200,000 Kurds from areas controlled by the Government to the de facto autonomous region. What made this of special significance was that those included, for the first time, large numbers of men and women with professional and academic qualifications: 60 doctors, 4,500 teachers, 30 professors, 3,000 policemen, 100 engineers, 100 army officers, many judges and lawyers, 1,500 students, and nearly all the Kurdish administrative officers, from towns such as Kirkuk and Arbil.

They had made their way over the mountains by foot or on mules—often a journey of 14 days or more—to join the revolution. Some had come from as far away as Basra beside the Persian Gulf.

Now, wherever I went, I met people who spoke English, where previously there had been only three or four. When I visited the well-equipped hospital at headquarters, there were five highly qualified doctors on duty—including a surgeon and a gynaecologist—not to mention two trained nurses.

MASS EXODUS

The mass exodus had started a few days before the late President, Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, made his offer

Exclusive report and pictures by Lord Kilbracken

Right: A pregnant mother at Naoperdan Hospital receives treatment from a trained nurse who, along with over 60 doctors, has recently joined the Kurdish revolution.



of limited autonomy for the Kurdish region on March 11—the deadline set by the treaty exactly four years earlier. It was already well-known by all the Kurds that his offer could never be acceptable. First and foremost, no census had taken

place (as had been promised) to decide whether Kirkuk would be included. But also it was correctly anticipated that an inadequate degree of self-rule would be proposed. Al-Bakr certainly thought his offer would divide the Kurdish people in Iraq—just

as the Treaty in 1921 had divided the Irish people. He imagined that large numbers, weary after 13 years of intermittent warfare, would prefer to accept the inadequate compromise he put forward to returning to strife and hardship. Instead it united

the Kurds to a degree that surprised even the K.D.P.

I myself found it remarkable that this single pronouncement had brought over so many tens of thousands who had previously accepted life under Arab domination. Again and again I put the question to new arrivals from Baghdad, Sulaymaniyah, Kirkuk: "Why now?" Often they found it hard to explain.

But the general feeling was that they knew well the terms would be rejected by Barzani; that the revolution was stronger than ever, and needed them; that this time they could win the impending struggle and free their homeland—perhaps not by force of arms, but by hastening the overthrow of the hated Baathist regime and replacing it with a democracy for all Iraq, within which the Kurdish people would have the rights they demanded.

NEW ELITE

The influx of this new elite has altered the whole face of the revolution. Without it, Barzani could hardly have claimed, as he did when speaking to me, that a de facto independent state had now been established in the area under his control and influence. For it has made it possible to set up an effective civil administration, besides greatly strengthening the revolutionary pesh merga army.

I had one more long meeting with Barzani before beginning the long trek homeward. Having received "information" that a major attack might be imminent in the area, he was moving early next morning to a new secret hideaway. We talked and smoked for hours, then sat down to a memorable feast at which I counted over 20 different dishes on the table.

Fighting has intensified ever since. News of it is reaching the outside world through the powerful "Free Kurdistan" radio station, which began operating shortly

before my arrival, and can be picked up as far away as Beirut and Teheran. Its daily news bulletins in Kurdish, Arabic, Persian and English are being widely disseminated by the Western press.

A new level of bitterness was reached five weeks ago, when the Baathists executed 11 prominent Kurds on the sole ground that they were K.D.P. members. The K.D.P. retaliated by shooting 19 Arab army officers held prisoner.

SUCCESSOR

On the night before my departure, I attended a full meeting of the 21-man Central Committee, the body responsible under Barzani's chairmanship for governing the area and directing military policy. Barzani himself was absent, but his two sons, Idris and Mahmod, were prominent in the discussions. Also members are the five who held ministries in Baghdad under the terms of the 1970 truce; all had resigned in March and made their way back to rebel HQ.

A triumvirate heading the Committee are accepted as being the leaders, and one of other would probably succeed Barzani: Haseeb Karim, K.D.P. General Secretary; Mahmood Osman, Minister of Health, and Mohammed Abdul-Rahman, Minister of Education. But Idris and Mahmod are growing in prestige and power and may one day be contenders.

However no-one even likes to consider the possibility of Barzani proving mortal. The time came for me to leave. Such is the hospitality of the Kurds that I had not spent a single dinner during all my visit. At first light next morning, Ali and the Landrovers were waiting. Farewells all round. Then I was heading back towards the snow-covered pass and the level plains beyond.

CONCLUDED.

The Women's Spring

A spring walled about with stone -
 A girl goes in, a girl comes out.
 In the village this is the women's spring,
 Passion's Mecca for lusty swains.
 At evening, group after group, the curly-haired lads
 Block the road, hot-headed and impatient.
 As oft as is heard the tinkle of a maiden's girdle
 From the nest of their mouths flies out 'Mercy on us!'

The Girls

Girl of Hewraman, bejewelled from head to foot;
 Fragrant with cloves* and balm;
 Elegant beyond words; arrayed in bright colours;
 Graceful of figure; soft and yielding of body;
 Her side-long glance a smile from the star of hope;
 The lilt of her speech the song of birds;
 Her life the springtime of youth and love;
 The parade for her beauty the orchard pathway to the spring!

* A piece of jewellery commonly worn by Kurdish women is the mēxekbend - a perforated locket containing cloves.

The Road Through the Orchards

Before you reach the village of your desire
 The snake-like path glides in among the orchards.
 The soft breeze in the shade of walnut and mulberry
 Dries the sweat from the weary traveller's brow.
 'Be not weary!' The hail from this bower and that bower
 Eases the tedious road from orchard to orchard.
 'Peace be upon thee, uncle beneath the walnut-tree!'
 The weary one's greeting to the feeble and old.
 'Welcome, on my eyes, my curly-haired boy*,
 My squirrel on the tree, my lively youngster'.
 You march on and on, from terrace to terrace;
 Then at last you reach the margin of the houses.

* The young bloods of many parts of Persia and Kurdistan wear the hair 'bobbed' at the level of the neck and brushed up in a curl at the back from under the hat; this is the 'kakolh'.

Song

Courting at evening on the spring road
 Lets loose across the valley a blaze of song.
 The sun goes down, darkness descends on the valley.
 The music of 'Kina Leyl'* goes on unending.
 The moon comes up, the crag is bewitched by her beams;
 And still persists the plaint of 'Kina Leyl'.
 Dark eyes! Dark eyes!
 A paradise for courtship, this Hewraman.
 Every stick and stone of Hewraman
 A tribute is to its graceful girls.
 Dark eyes! Dark eyes!
 Hewraman is the home of the dark-eyed beauties.

* The title of a song: the meaning in the Hewrami dialect is 'Maiden Beloved'.



11th CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS

BUDAPEST, HUNGARY, MAY 7 - 14, 1974

The 11th Congress of the International Union of Students was held in Budapest, Hungary, from 7th to 14th May 1974. Our Society, which has been a full member of the IUS since 1964 was represented by a five member delegation and actively participated in the sessions of the Congress. After the executive committee's report many organisations took the floor expressing their views on the work of the Secretariat and the struggle of their organisations and role as students in their people's struggle for peace, democracy and progress. Many delegates felt that a need existed for widening the scope of IUS to include many other student organisations who are still staying out. During the discussions the need for a review of the constitution of the IUS was proposed by some organisations. However, this was postponed.

In its speech the Kurdish delegation conveyed to the Congress the urgent plight of the Kurdish people in Iraq who were once again subjected to another military campaign by the Iraqi regime. It also criticised the Secretariat for not fulfilling its duties regarding the implementation of the 10th IUS Congress resolutions in support of the Kurdish people's struggle for their national rights, and its partial stand in the conflict in Iraq. The Kurdish speaker strongly protested against a statement in the Executive Committee's report recognising a 'peaceful' solution to the 'Kurdish problem'; while a war was waged on Kurdistan-Iraq since the end of March.

The Congress adopted many resolutions in support of 'liberation movements' all over the world. It called for 'unity and solidarity among the world student movement in the struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism, and for peace.' However the Congress stopped short of the Kurdish struggle and failed to adopt a resolution in support of the Kurdish people's fight for their national rights.

In a resolution hailing 'the achievements of Iraq' the Congress welcomed the 'granting of autonomy for Iraqi Kurdistan'.

The KSSE delegate addressing the Congress after this resolution was adopted said that he expected this result (50% of the delegates did not take part in the voting, stunned at the undemocratic way in which the KSSE amendment was handled by the chair. There were also five abstentions.), but regretted that '... this Congress has been made party to, and has condoned, a savage war of aggression and genocide waged against the Kurdish people in Iraq'.

In addition publications of KSSE were not allowed to be displayed in the Congress, and many other obstacles were put in the way of our delegation. However, it was able to draw attention of our delegation. However it was able to draw the necessary attention and concern among many delegates. It is ironic that KSSE which was elected as a member of the financial committee and commended for its 'role in the International Student Movement' in the 10th Congress of IUS in 1971, should be today branded as a supporter of the 'right-wing elements' in the Kurdish Revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq and the sufferings and cries of the Kurdish people and students cast aside for the time being.

President Hassan Albakir
Republic of Iraq,

We the undersigned, meeting during the 11th International Union of Students Congress held in Budapest from 7th-14th May 1974, protest against the summary execution of five Kurdish university students: Leila Kassab and her comrades, who were tried by a military court and not given the chance to defend themselves in a public civilian court and were submitted to inhuman treatment.

West African Students Union (WASU)
Student Union of Nairobi University (SUNU) - KENYA
Yugoslav Union of Students (YUS)
Union Generale des Etudiants de Tunisie (UGET) - TUNISIA
NSU - NORWAY
Australia Union of Students (AUS)
National Union of Zambia Students (NUZS)
SRI - ICELAND
Kurdish Students Society in Europe (KSSSE)

The Secretariat
I.U.S.

Praha 2
Vocelova 3
CSSR

Dear Friends

We acknowledge the receipt of your telegram concerning the recent events in Iraqi Kurdistan.

Although we appreciate your concern about the situation in Iraqi Kurdistan, we are very surprised at the one-sided and biased tone of your telegram.

Our Society includes in its ranks all those who have come to Europe for the purpose of studying, from all parts of Kurdistan, regardless of their political views and affiliations. We are deeply disturbed by the hasty manner in which you have expressed your views regarding recent events in Iraqi Kurdistan. As a member organisation directly concerned with the issues under discussion, our society KSSE is surely entitled at least to be consulted, before IUS commits itself to such definite views as expressed in your telegram, which we look upon as having been prompted by malicious and distorted sources of information. Furthermore, this kind of action on your part does not contribute in any way to the task of reconciling and cementing relations between patriotic and progressive forces in Iraq.

The situation urgently requires the active participation of democratic organisations and individuals in the sincere efforts to remove the root causes of the incidents which have arisen between the progressive parties in Iraq; especially since the declaration of the joint statement by the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP) on 20th November 1973.

We note with regret the existence of a carefully stage-hostile propaganda campaign inside Iraq and outside against the Kurdish Revolution and its leadership. This campaign is naturally looked upon with glee by the enemies of the Arab and Kurdish peoples of Iraq: imperialism, chauvinism, militarism and dictatorship.

We on our part continue to implement and express the genuine wishes of our members, as so overwhelmingly confirmed by the 16th Congress of our Society (August 1973) i.e. solidarity with the just struggle of our people in Iraqi Kurdistan and complete confidence in its leadership, Kurdistan Democratic Party, headed by Mustafa Barzani.

The cornerstone of this leadership has always been, from the outset of the Kurdish Revolution in September 1961, that all democratic forces in Iraq should be able to exercise political activities freely in Kurdistan and that they would be given active aid and shelter in order to escape the oppression committed by successive Iraqi governments. A prime example of this was in 1963 when the Iraqi Communist Party was subjected to a physical campaign of liquidation, when most of its leadership was wiped out including the Secretary General of the Party. The remainder of the Communist Party escaped to the area under Kurdish control, and was thus able to rebuild its organisation and resume its activities. This situation prevailed until recently, when elements of the Communist Party were able to involve their party in plans which are contrary to the fundamental beliefs of the Kurdish Revolution and of the Iraqi democrats.

Their provocative actions manifested when some of their members in Kurdistan received arms and ammunition from the Iraqi Army, explicitly aimed at setting up special power centres in Kurdistan which can be used in conjunction with the regular units of the Iraqi Army against the Kurdish Revolution.

The KDP has done its best to persuade the Iraqi Communist Party about the folly of this sinister step by certain elements of the Party. So far, instead of desisting from the provocative acts, these elements have intensified their efforts in that direction.

It is the duty of all progressive organisations in the world to persuade the Iraqi Communist Party to isolate those elements which are attempting to involve their Party in plans which are diametrically opposed to the basic interests of the Arab and

Kurdish peoples of Iraq. The real task of all progressive forces is to deplore such diversionary tactics, founded by certain chauvinist elements in the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP), and concentrate on the need for struggle in order to attain autonomy for Kurdistan and democracy for Iraq.

Finally we propose to form a joint mission to visit Iraqi Kurdistan in order to ascertain all the facts.

We take this opportunity to convey our fraternal greetings.

The Secretariat of the Kurdish Students Society in Europe (KSSSE)

SHORT STORY

A PARABLE FOR WINTER

by Kurdo

A large room with a low ceiling, which had a window with many broken panes, its glass replaced by pieces of cardboard, constituted the first year class of the 'KAMA' primary school in one of those remote villages of Kurdistan.

About two dozen boys garbed in an assortment of woollen clothes of faded colours from age and dirt, dishevelled but healthy looking, the back of their heads flat, a common feature of Kurds, they sat on all shapes and manners of objects, from old rusty petrol cans, timber blocks and bricks; improvisation is the first law of nature among the peasants of Kurdistan and these young ones were no exception, as desks, heating and lighting and other commodities common in the town schools were non-existent for them. Nobody cared, the administration in the far away cities and towns didn't even feign sympathy to their plight. Certainly not since the great uprising began. They had had their share of napalm and paid their toll in blood with the rest of the villages of Kurdistan.

It was some years ago, during one of those truces that followed every time a new dictator grabbed the reins of power down South and wanted to bide his time till ready for yet another campaign of terror, that a detachment of Pesh Mergas came hurriedly down to construct the school; four large rooms of no definite shape or design, made of limestone quarried from the nearby hills. Three teachers, young and enthusiastic party members, uncommonly resourceful for townsmen living in the country. The teachers and the rooms were a gift from the party. The rest was up to the villagers.

Little Symko always liked to sit near the window although the coldest part of the room in this cruelest of all winters, because whenever his boredom turned to exasperation he would steal a few hasty glances to the beautiful landscape outside and traverse with his imagination into magic journeys along the valleys and gorges, down the glaciers and ravines. His dreams often ended with a sharp rebuke from the teacher amidst the boisterous shouts and laughter of his fellow pupils.

Today was Thursday and this was the last lesson. Symko was impatient. He wanted to be home to play in the snow with his cousins, to watch his two domesticated squirrels at their fiendish and hilarious games, to be away from this dark and miserable room, and as his unfocused eyes gazed steadily at the blackboard, reflections of that bitter night swayed in front of his eyes; pictures of that evening last summer when darkness was just descending upon the hamlet, the first of the stars twitching into view and everything lay quiet and still.

Suddenly dogs barked, men ran out and, in the distance along the ridge to the south, men and mules appeared scudding along at a rapid pace. When reaching the outskirts of the village there was a commotion. Suddenly everyone surged forward, towards their house. Ahead of the crowd the new arrivals walked firmly with a long narrow box high above their shoulders, and Symko's uncle, an old shrivelled man, whispered to him "Your father has gone to heaven".

Early next morning a large crowd from his and nearby villages buried his father. The Pesh Mergas from his father's battalion were all present as their voices rose lamenting the death of a comrade. Women veiled and men wept. The ballad ended with those haunting words which he had since memorised:

Don't weep for the valiant martyrs
Alive forever in our hearts they shall remain
The setting sun will remind us of their blood at every dusk

It was a week later that his mother told him about his father's last words: Symko must go to school and become a doctor. Sometime later he knew why his father had ordained such: his life could have been saved if a doctor had been present to extract the pieces of shrapnel from the wounds, but there was none. In those days in the whole of the free zone there were only two or three.

Awakened from his contemplations by the shuffles of feet and the rush to the door, it was the end of the lesson and everyone was hurrying outside. Great shouts and shrieks emerged from the boys as they threw chunks of snow at each other. Symko walked slowly to the door stuffing his exercise books into a cloth knapsack. He pulled his thick woollen socks over his baggy trousers, tightly, and rolled his new blue scarf around his neck and head. Then with little hurried steps he went to the further end of the school yard where his conveyance was pre-occupied with the bale of hay that was laid out on the snow before it. Symko untied the donkey, brushed the flecks of snow off its back, stroked its ears and whispered "Let's go home".

As he rode out one of the teachers called to him "Be careful. Don't rush the beast and avoid the 'over-hang'".

Symko replied shyly in the affirmative and down the slippery narrow road he rode.

As he reached the stone bridge just outside the village an old grizzled man, carrying a bundle of wood on his back, called to him asking about his uncle and then warning him not to venture by the over-hang.

Darkness was fast settling, a blizzard was in the making as Symko reached the foot of the great snow-covered mountain. On the other side lay his village, his home, a fire, a bowl of hot broth, his two playful squirrels. As he ascended the cold, vicious wind was sweeping down, burning his face. He put a handful of raisins, that his mother gave him every morning for his journey, in his mouth; not because he was hungry but because he thought he must keep his jaws moving.

A very little later he was at the fork, one path rising gently to the peak, the other a steep and treacherous route direct to the top.

Symko stood still for a moment and then kicked away furiously and shouted at his donkey. With a sudden vigour he came to life and was unfrozen. Up they went, the boy and the beast, towards the overhang. The wind blew angrily, whistling through the cracks and crevices. A huge rock, sticking out just off the peak, covered with a mountain of snow and lying directly over the pass was the dreaded overhang.

The storm was angry. The snow stirred - then it came down.

Symko sensed the avalanche an instant before, he dismounted and hurriedly turned the ass around but it was too late.

Next morning the storm was gone and nature stayed quiet as dogs barked and men with lanterns shouted. They had been searching since dawn. Then they too suddenly became quiet and still. They had found what they were looking for. Buried beneath the snow was a dead donkey and a lifeless boy, hugging the beast for warmth that never came.

TRIBUTE

A.M. HAMILTON

THE PRAGMATIC IDEALIST

The name Hamilton is stamped permanently upon the topographical face of Kurdistan: the famous Hamilton Road, which runs from the Arbela of Alexander past the home of Saladin to the Iranian plateau. Hamilton, the man is as well remembered by the people of Kurdistan as his wonderful engineering feat through their country. Not surprisingly, a Hamilton cult was developing even among the new generation of Kurds. To all his friends the untimely death of Mr Hamilton, on 18th November 1973, deprived them of an authentic friend, who was immensely admired for his pioneering works and for his abundant human qualities.

Mr Hamilton's love for Kurdistan and for its people was one of the greatest things to him. This love for the rugged and beautiful mountainous country came from his birth and his ancestry. He was born in 1898 at Waimate in the South Island of New Zealand, a land of snow mountains, deep gorges and rushing rivers as well as fertile pastoral plains. His ancestors were Scots, renowned for a sturdy independent character as the the Kurds. As an engineering student in New Zealand he was called on to do survey work in the mountains. At times he would be told to place a survey pole on the summit of a mountain four or five thousand feet high before breakfast. All this prepared him to contend with the extremely difficult terrain where in 1928 he was sent to build a road through Kurdistan. It also fitted him to compete with the Kurds on their own mountains when he was invited to take part in their hunting or cave explorations. He was always proud that he could keep up with a Kurd on a mountain, and could handle a firearm with a skill and accuracy equal to that of their best shots.

The story of his achievement in driving his road through the gorges and bridging the rivers with the help of local work force is told in his book "Road Through Kurdistan", first published in 1937. There too will be found the account of his relationship with the people of the area, and the reader will understand why it was for the rest of his life Mr Hamilton continued his friendship with the Kurdish people. From the second edition of his book in 1958, can be discovered how his experiences in Kurdistan led to his life's work in designing and constantly improving standardised steel bridging which, because of the novel features incorporated, has since been used extensively throughout the world. It was Mr Hamilton's proud boast that well over a thousand of his bridges have been erected, yet not one has failed in use. They range from foot bridges over England's motorways to the giant Mangla bridge over the Irelun tributary of the Indus in Pakistan. And it was because of the need for such bridges, made of light parts, easy to erect, yet capable of a wide variation in strength and span, for the river crossings of the Ravandiz Road, that the principles of this design were worked out in Hamilton's mind while he blasted his way through the gorges.

Whenever a chance arose Mr Hamilton would try to promote the Kurdish cause with whose ideals of an autonomous Kurdistan, able to use for its own development its fair share of the royalties from the oil wells in Kirkuk, he was deeply sympathetic. Thus he wrote in the Daily Telegraph (May 30th 1968) "The most famous of the Kurds Saladin's claim to lasting fame - exactly like that of the present Mulla Mustapha Barzani - rests not so much in his being a competent commander in war but that unlike so many before and since, he fought with chivalry; leaving women, children and prisoners unharmed. This quite undisputed characteristic of the Kurds made a deep appeal to all British soldiers and airmen who at times fought them. Western purchase of oil, bringing wealth beyond dreams to the Arabs of today, makes the destruction and misery in Kurdistan surely as undesirable and unnecessary as anything in the age could be. Even to vary the prescription Iraq should try something else - to let Mulla Mustapha put into motion his autonomous Kurdistan with the Kurdish population's share of oil royalties that are their due, and scrap the war completely - just to see how it works out - is something he would underwrite. Why not try it?"

Mr Hamilton would attend the Newroz - Kurdish New Year - celebrations staged by the Kurdish community in London every year. He could be seen, surrounded by students, conducting an animated conversation ranging from personal news to a vigorous discussion on the current situation in Kurdistan. The empathy and kindness he showed towards the Kurdish people knew no bounds.

Mr Hamilton's devotion to the Kurdistan cause was exemplified by his reaction to the tragic news of the death of his son, at the age of 19, a student at Aberdeen University, in a climbing accident in Scotland. Mr Hamilton wrote to Aberdeen University asking for a scheme for Kurdish students to study at the University in memory of his son.

Hamilton loved Kurdistan and he was loved and will always be honoured by Kurdistan.

H.Z.

The Hamilton Road. Photo Lord Kilbracken



The Social Character and Achievements of the Kurdish Revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq

by Siwan

INTRODUCTION

The geographical position of Kurdistan in the heart of the Middle East has historically often made it a battle ground for many invasions, way back to Alexander the Great. The first nominal division of Kurdistan, into spheres of influence between the Turkish and Persian Empires, came about in 1639. However the Kurdish people's independent character and love of freedom stood defiant over the centuries and have never been assimilated by successive conquerors. Kurdish principalities remained autonomous until the fall of the Turkish Empire after the First World War, when Kurdistan was divided and annexed to the modern states of Turkey and Iran and the newly created ones of Iraq and Syria.

This state of affairs and the continuous war against foreign invaders and corrupt central governments was a major hindrance in the way of a social and economic advancement and evolution of the Kurdish society. Even after the First World War, the governments which ruled over the different parts of Kurdistan preferred to exercise their power through corrupt tribal and feudal chiefs to exploit the peasants and suppress any national tendencies. This naturally caused Kurdistan, although rich and wealthy in natural resources, to lag behind the neighbouring areas and is today the most underdeveloped region in the Middle East.

It was against this background and conditions that many revolts flared up in Kurdistan demanding a recognition of the Kurdish people's national rights and a share in their country's wealth, which was exploited by the central governments and treated as a colony, a supplier of raw materials, and a market.

THE SEPTEMBER 11th 1961 REVOLUTION

On 11th September 1961 the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), under the leadership of Mustafa Barzani led the Kurdish people's revolt against the new military dictatorship in Baghdad under Kasseim, which refused to recognise and implement Kurdish national rights outlined in the provisional constitution, and waged a military campaign on Kurdistan.

The Kurdish revolution's programme stressed the need for

curbing illiteracy among the peasants and an immediate land reform to shift power from the big landlords, who owned about 64% of the land. It organised crash courses for students who have joined the revolution to prepare teachers for the illiteracy schools and also trained nurses and medical assistance to help the few doctors who struggled in their modest clinics in the mountains to treat air bombing victims. This social programme of the Kurdish Revolution rallied behind it all the peasants who became the back-bone of the Revolution, and it is interesting to observe that throughout the years of the armed struggle, the landlords who lost their lands often went to the government's side and were greatly financed to gather mercenaries up to this day, where a so-called 'progressive' government claims to be implementing land reform in Iraq.

One further aspect of the Revolution is its democratic nature which was clearly manifested in the Congress of the People in Koi in 1963, to discuss the peace negotiations with the new government in Baghdad, the non-existence of ranks among the Pesh Mergas (Kurdish Revolutionary Army) and the elections of the village councils. The national and religious minorities in Kurdistan are respected and treated equally, and every minority has a representative in the Council of the Revolution.

THE 1970-74 PEACE

On March 11th 1970 the Kurdish people scored a great victory by the recognition of the Iraqi government of autonomy for Kurdistan.

The Kurdish Revolution being also a social movement depends both on the support of the Kurdish masses and the translation of its achievements into tangible services for the people of Kurdistan. Having suffered many years of official neglect and lack of development, the Kurdish community has remained plagued with many social and economic ills, which require immediate and full attention. More than 75% of the people of Kurdistan remain illiterate, a situation which was aggravated by the constant disruption of education due to the absence of peace and the lack of educational facilities in the liberated areas. All this has led to the growth of a whole generation of Kurdish children



Refugees from Iraqi Army devastation. Photo Lord Kilbracken



Refugees from Arbil get a welcome lift from a truck soon after entering the liberated area at Gali Ali Beg. Photo Lord Kilbracken

without any education.

To say that tuberculosis and kidney diseases are rampant throughout Kurdistan is to demonstrate in only few examples the constantly deteriorating health conditions in the area. The picture grows gloomier when we realise that health and sanitation facilities for the treatment and prevention of various diseases exists on a very limited scale. To effectively demonstrate this lack of medical care, one has only to state the fact that there is only one doctor for every 250,000 of the inhabitants and there is a small supporting group of dressers and nurses.

Although the March Agreement promised the reconstruction of Kurdish villages, destroyed by air bombardment, and extend medical care to all, this did not go beyond show-piece projects in the large towns and official neglect of the rural areas continued. Therefore, the heavy task of enhancing the welfare of the people once again fell on the shoulders of the Kurdish Revolution, which laid down, in these obscure peace conditions, a vast programme of community development. Village councils were elected, medical centres were established and a Department for Community Development (Komelajati) was formed to carry out this programme with the help of the village councils.

The programme was basically orientated towards achieving two goals: first to promote development in the form of public projects like town and village planning, various streams, spring and canals are cared for, the building of schools and hospitals and measures that will offer better and immediate services to the people such as setting certain sanitation and price standards in the shops, hotels and market places. Building public parks, shops, and providing clean water and electricity were two other major concerns that were given attention. The second main task of community development programme was to work jointly with the village communities to help improve their own conditions while the department provided certain services. Among the important tasks in the field of co-operation was to continue the campaign to eradicate illiteracy.

Another issue was the introduction of some sanitary measures, where citizens were asked, for example, to build their own

septic tanks according to specifications, which prevent the building of such facilities on or close to rivers and springs. Efforts were also made to eliminate the health hazards created by the close habitation of man and animal. For this purpose the practice of keeping livestock and other animals within or close to the family's living quarters was discouraged and the inhabitants of individual villages were being asked to make a collective effort to build one large animal shelter, where the entire village's livestock would be kept. Through the co-operation of the Kurdistan Students Union some members of the students' summer camps were to spend part of their time in some villages working with villagers in building these animal shelters.

In the Health Department a veterinary unit was established to advise villagers on animal care. A special centre for artificial insemination was opened in order to improve local kinds of animals and to have a good generation.



Cultural activities in the liberated areas



The Health Department had also many clinics in various areas and has lately opened a new medical centre to eradicate tuberculosis in Kurdistan. During epidemics special teams are sent to the countryside for vaccination and treatment.

THE NEW WAR IN KURDISTAN

The signs of a new military campaign by the Baghdad regime converged into the liberated areas of Kurdistan an exodus of more than 200,000 people, including hundreds of engineers, teachers, doctors, civil servants, students and workers. The new situation and the extensive bombing by the Iraqi Air Force halted for the time being, the normal activities of the above mentioned departments and efforts were concentrated on helping victims of air raids and finding shelter for the thousands of refugees. The Revolution reorganised itself into several new departments: health, public works, education, agriculture and land reform, youth, and others, to make use of the great number of professional people and students in its programme. The new economic blockade prevented food and medical supplies from reaching the Kurdish area. Women, Youth and Student organisations play an active role in these social services and the staff and students of Sulaimani University who joined the Revolution re-established their university in a school in Qala Diza - savagely bombed on April 24th, killing 60 schoolchildren and students.

One would observe that the ambitions and aspirations of these departments by far exceed their means, for the problems are those of a society which has remained poor and underdeveloped for too long. The fact that the political question remains unsolved, and that for more than a decade the Kurdish people have had to put everything else aside and to pick up arms in order to defend its existence, all these are factors which have prevented the Kurdish Revolution and its various organs from keeping the economic and social conditions of Kurdistan from further deteriorating, let alone trying to keep pace with the basic and increasing needs of the Kurdish society.

Nasrerdan Hospital. Photo Lord Kilbracken



A Pesh Merga teaches his child.
Photo Gerard Klijn

A Paper on the KURDISH PROBLEM in Iraq

This paper was presented to the delegates of the United Nations Seminar on the Rights of National, Ethnic and other Minorities, held in Ohrid, Yugoslavia from 25th June - 8th July 1974.

Friends,

In the name of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, we would like to convey our fraternal greetings to you, participants of this Seminar.

As the terms of reference of the Seminar do not allow for representatives of national minorities other than those from member states to take part, we deemed it appropriate to address your meeting in this manner.

As you are well aware, the Kurdish question in Iraq is of direct relevance to the topic of your Seminar. There are three million Kurds out of 10.5 million total population of Iraq, constituting an indigenous ethnic region with an area of 72,000 sq.km. out of 451,000 sq.km. of Iraq which has been known as Kurdistan.

According to the Treaty of Sevre, 1920, the Kurdish people were given the right of self determination on an equal basis with the other peoples of the Ottoman Empire, but unfortunately the treaty was never implemented. Consequently in 1925 the Mosul Wilayat (Kurdistan Iraq) was annexed to the newly created state of Iraq under British mandate. Britain specifically pledged to the League of Nations that it would ensure that the Kurds must enjoy their national rights, this having been made a condition of the annexation, which was carried out without the consent of the inhabitants of the region concerned.

Ever since, the people of Kurdistan-Iraq have struggled to secure their national rights in the form of an autonomous Kurdistan within a democratic state of Iraq. But this struggle has met with many obstacles, namely these created by elements whose raison d'être is to continue a policy of national oppression and exploitation against the Kurdish people in Iraq. Thus the Kurdish citizen in Iraq is not merely treated as a second class citizen, but has been positively discriminated against in all aspects of life.

The following are some facets of this policy:

1. Citizenship

- a. Tens of thousands of Kurdish individuals have been deprived of their Iraqi citizenship since 1961, and have been summarily expelled with all their possessions confiscated by the Iraqi authorities, many of these affected have done their national service in the Iraqi Army.
- b. The law regulating the affairs of aliens in Iraq (Law No. 36, 1961 and its recent amendments) excludes all Arabs from any parts of the world from the category of aliens whereas Kurds who have been living permanently in Iraq since before the creation of the State of Iraq in 1922 are considered aliens. Thousands of families were forced to abandon their dwellings, hundreds of villages in Kurdistan have been evacuated by force from their inhabitants and replaced with Arab tribesmen from the South in order to change the ethnic composition of the region.
- c. According to a law passed by RCC, No Iraqi who marries a foreigner can be employed in the public sectors of the country (which in Iraq constitute 90% of public employment), but if that foreigner happens to be an Arab he or she is not considered as a foreigner regardless of the country of origin. However, Kurds from neighbouring countries are considered to be aliens.

2. Education

Within the following Kurdish provinces of Sulaimaniya, Duhok, and Erbil, the percentage of students attending school is the lowest of all Iraq.

For the last ten years no Kurds have been accepted in the Air Force College.

Number of Kurds accepted in the Military and Police Colleges is between 2-5% (with the last figure being true only for 1970 following the March Agreement).

Rarely any Kurd is accepted at the Military Staff College.

Since 1961 the percentage of Kurds receiving scholarships has not exceeded 3-4%.

There is no permanent or specific budget for education in Kurdistan and the allocation of funds is left to the discretion of the Ministry of Education in Baghdad.

Even when Kurdish schools exist in such provinces as Ninawa, Diyala and Kirkuk, Kurdish children are discouraged from and even threatened against enrolling in such schools.

Due to the low standard and quality of education provided rarely Kurdish students are accepted at the College of Medicine, Engineering and Dentistry.

Obvious discrimination is practised in the case of Sulaimaniya University through the procedure of centralised registration which is controlled from Baghdad. This procedure was put into force after the creation of the Sulaimaniya University, and this has led to the sending of fewer Kurds while more and more Baathist students attend this institution. Furthermore, Kurdish professors are often discouraged from joining the faculty of the University.

3. Government

The only decision-making body (political, economic, administrative etc.) is the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) whose decisions carry the power of law. The RCC membership is not to exceed 12 and qualifications for membership are that one must be a member of the Regional Command of the Baath Party and hence a definite obstacle in the way of any Kurd into the RCC. Furthermore, the Regional Command of the Baath is treated as the sole political leader in Iraq and it thus undermines the political and the recognised leadership of the Kurds in Iraq.

a. Ministry of Defence

Of all the top staff of the Ministry including commanders of divisions, battalions etc. there are only two Kurds.

b. Foreign Affairs

There are no Kurds even at the level of Head of Section or Director-General. Out of about 80 ambassadors there is only one Kurd. Out of 500 diplomats there are only 10 Kurds.

c. Ministry of Oil

Although 70% of Iraqi oil comes from Kurdistan there are no Kurdish Director-Generals either in the Ministry, the Iraqi National Oil Company (INOC) or at Kirkuk. There were some Kurds among the staff of the IPC but recently 560 of them were expelled.

d. The Cabinet

Out of 23 cabinet posts there are only 2 so-called Kurdish ministers and 3 Ministers of State who have no power at all. Out of 23 Deputy Ministers there are only 3 Kurds. Out of 250 Director-Generals there are only 15 Kurds.

In general no Kurds are accepted within the security and intelligence branches of the Iraqi government.

All of this constitutes a violation of Article 2 of the March 11th 1970 Agreement which states that "The participation of our Kurdish brothers in the Government without discrimination between Kurds and non-Kurds in appointments to public posts, including important and key posts in the State, such as Cabinet Ministers, Army Commands, and other such posts, had been and still is one of the important points which the Revolution Council aims to achieve. While approving of this principle the Revolution Government re-iterates the need for work to apply it in just proportion taking into consideration qualifications, population proportion and the deprivation which our Kurdish brothers have suffered in the past."

4. THE ECONOMY

While Kurdistan is the richest area of Iraq (endowed with oil, minerals, tourism, adequate rainfall, favourable conditions for agriculture) budgetary allocations for the development of the area, even during the last 4 years of peace and agreement, have remained at the low and fluctuating rate of 7-12%.

- In 1970 a decision was made to build an oil refinery, and

even though Kirkuk is the oil-producing area, the refinery project was moved to Hammam 'Alil and this led to a cost increase of 20%. This was done simply to deprive Kurdistan of the benefits from the existence of this project.

While raw materials for iron and steel industry come from Kurdistan (iron ore from Sulaimaniya and gas from Kirkuk) the government has arbitrarily moved these projects to Basra in the south.

During the last four years many road-building projects were approved for Kurdistan; however all these have been stopped including those which were already in progress. For the next two 5-year economic plans for Iraq there are provisions for only two roads in Kurdistan: one from Kirkuk-Mosul-Mahmur bypassing Arbil and it is built mainly to facilitate the Arabisation policy; the other is Mosul-Zakho which is being built for military reasons.

In general there seems to exist a decision for not building roads which will lead to the establishment of a network of communication for Kurdistan. For example, to go from Galala to Qala Diza (a mere distance of 50 km), one is forced to travel close on 400 km.

Out of 150 industrial projects in Iraq there are only 4 in Kurdistan.

Out of 25 members on the Economic Planning Board there is only one Kurd.

Tobacco constitutes a major cash crop in Kurdistan. As a monopoly of the government, the examination of the crop and its final purchase is used as a means of economic pressure on Kurdistan through arbitrary and discriminatory methods of purchase, lack of adequate subsidies, timing and quantity of the product purchased.

Although Kurdistan is the main source of water for Iraq, the general design is to take this water and build irrigation projects in the south. For example, the Kirkuk Irrigation project which cost nearly 200 million dollars is designed to irrigate areas south and southwest of Kirkuk where Arab tribes are brought in and settled. During negotiations for the final implementation of autonomy for Kurdistan the Government remained adamant refusing to give Kurdistan any power concerning irrigation planning.

5. POLICY OF TERROR

During the last two years 83 members of KDP and others were arbitrarily arrested and have been killed without the benefit of a trial or investigation. Among those who died under torture were Police Col. Hussain Shirvani and Majeed Hagi Qadir.

An assassination attempt was made on the life of General Barzani on September 29th 1971. A second attempt was made on Barzani's life on July 16th 1972. An attempt was made on the life of Abdul Wahab Atrushi in Spring 1972 and while he was serving as Governor of Arbil.

An attempt was made on the life of Idris Barzani in December 1970 while he was in Baghdad to congratulate President Bakr on the occasion of the Muslim Feast.

An attack was carried out against the KDP headquarters in Mosul on April 14th 1970.

- In October 1971 the Kurdish citizen Mustafa Jamil was arrested and asked to provide information about some Kurdish leaders. Under torture he lost his toes and was forced to walk on broken glass.

- It was obvious that some of the eleven Kurds who were recently executed had been severely tortured. Some had their limbs torn out and others their eyes gouged.

6. GENOCIDE

On June 9th 1963 (while the Baath were in power) and in the city of Sulaimaniya, 128 persons were rounded up at night and transferred to the outskirts of the city where they were executed en masse and dumped in a mass grave.

- Around the end of June 1963 and in the Kurdish town of Key Sanjaq six people were tied to telephone poles and executed.

- In July 1963, Taha al-Shakarchi (who in February 1974 was appointed Commander of the 8th Division in Arbil) was commanding officer of an Iraqi Army unit near Key Sanjaq. Near the village of Chinarch he rounded up 15 Kurdish NCO's in his unit, forced them into a tea house and using his tanks he demolished the house over them. Six months later and after the collapse of the Baath regime, the bodies of the NCO's were discovered.

- In Spring of 1966 at the village of Saruchawa close to the town of Raniya, and while an Iraqi Army unit was approaching, the village elders led by the village Mulla (religious priest) holding out a Kora

holding out a Kora appealed for mercy on behalf of the village community. In response they were all moved down by machine guns and buried in a mass grave.

- On August 19th 1969, the village of Dakan within the Shaikhan district (Mosul province) fell into the hands of an Iraqi Army unit. The children and women of the village had already taken refuge in a close-by cave. Under direct order and supervision of the Commander of the Fourth Division and the Commander of the Shaikhan district, the Iraqi Army surrounded the cave and burned alive the 67 women and children trapped inside the cave. On October 9th 1969 a Kurdish representative met the President of the UN General Assembly at New York where he presented a memorandum supported by documents and photographs condemning the Baath government's dastardly act at the village of Dakan.

- On April 26th 1974, the town of Qala Diza, about 100 km north of Sulaimaniya, was heavily bombed with napalm. One hundred and thirty civilians were killed, most of them children attending school.

- On 30th April the Iraqi Army entered the town of Zakho and set fire to the town.

Friends,

The rights of national, ethnic and other minorities are an integral constituent of a just and peaceful world. We are of the opinion that international organisations, such as the United Nations and its agencies can play a vital role in bringing about appropriate solutions to these problems.

With best wishes for a constructive and successful seminar,

Memorandum on the situation of the COMMUNISTS in IRAQ

presented by the Kurdistan Democratic Party to political parties, organisations and public opinion leaders in and outside Iraq.

For the last two months the newspaper Tariq Al-Sha'ab has been publishing unfounded information on the situation of the Communists in Iraqi Kurdistan and through all this the newspaper has been trying unsuccessfully to mislead the parties, political forces and the general public both within and outside Iraq and to depict for everyone in which the Communists in Kurdistan are supposedly being subjected to a big campaign of repression and persecution by the Kurdistan Democratic Party and its armed supporters in Kurdistan. In order to put matters in their proper perspective and to serve truth and do justice to the facts of history, we find it necessary to shed some light on the actual reasons behind this unfair campaign of distortion and slander waged by the newspaper Tariq Al-Sha'ab against our party and our people's liberation movement led by our leader Mustafa Barzani. Thus we find ourselves forced to enumerate the facts about this situation in order to enlighten the world public opinion and the masses of our people inside Iraq. Being aware of the facts in this matter, our own Kurdish people have already expressed their disgust against this unfair campaign of slander and a large number of people throughout Iraq including the nationalist and democratic forces are also aware of the truth, but we truly regret seeing some progressive groups around the world taking a biased stand in favour of this unfair campaign against us and even without having looked for the real truth in the question. We had hoped that some of these circles with whom we have had friendly relations and cooperation would not be deceived by such allegations.

1. Due to the democratic content of our Kurdish people's national liberation movement and the nature of Kurdistan's social composition, no political parties have emerged other than the Kurdistan Democratic Party and the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP). Whatever political trends existed in the last quarter century had only exerted a secondary influence on our Kurdish society. In spite of the spirit of competition and the occasional problems which arose between us, relations between our party and the ICP were, in the same period, characterised by cooperation and friendship and those relations improved even more after 1963 when the members of the ICP became the target for destruction following the overthrow of Abdul-Karim Qasbi's regime. Those among the leadership of the ICP who escaped destruction, sought refuge in Kurdistan for themselves and their headquarters. Relations with them continued in a friendly and positive atmosphere until the last few months of 1973. We maintained such a positive attitude because of our belief in democratic principles and ideals and because the liberated territories of Kurdistan have always been a source of refuge for all nationalist and revolutionary elements in Iraq who were often forced to flee their own areas, due to the policies of oppression and persecution which successive Iraqi governments practices against them, and came to stay in Kurdistan. After the conclusion of the agreement of March 11th 1970 between our party and the Baath Arab Socialist Party, and whether it was during the meetings between our two parties or through our press and publications, our party spent every effort with the Iraqi government and the Baath Arab Socialist Party to stop their harsh measures against the communists and the followers of other Iraqi nationalist parties.

2. Because of the actions of the ICP in the last few months, our party has become convinced that there exists among some of the leaders of that party an opportunistic and chauvinistic trend and there is evidence that this trend is in control of the ICP leadership at the present. Driven by its own opportunistic and chauvinistic nature and obviously supported by Arab chauvinism from outside the Communist Party itself and from certain circles within the Iraqi government and the Baath Arab Socialist Party, this trend is bent on disrupting the customary friendly relations between us for the sake of making limited and immediate gains for themselves. All of this began with their gradual withdrawal from the Kurdish question, the silence which they have maintained regarding the negative aspects of the Iraqi government's policy against the Kurdish people, especially its Arabisation policy practised within the Kurdish area and its repeated shelling of Sinjar and other areas. They remained silent even two assassination attempts were made on the life of the President of our party, Mustafa Barzani. They also began a deliberate campaign of false accusations against our party and casting doubt about its correct stand on Iraq's basic problems. All this was followed in the middle of September 1973 by their deliberate creation of problems and forcing us into armed clashes with them in the area of Alqosh. Furthermore, they used all these provocations as an excuse for receiving their first shipment of weapons, including thousands of pieces of arms and great quantities of ammunition from certain quarters within the Iraqi government and the Baath Arab Socialist Party in order to arm

their followers on a large scale and in Kurdistan alone. They began establishing military positions and fortifications within areas where there already existed Pesh Merga bases and under the pretext of fearing assaults on them. Thus they began their provocations against our supporters in Qaladisa, Derbandi Khan and Tuz Khurmatu and other areas which they mistakenly thought they could control. During that period we spared no effort by meeting with them and trying to persuade them to put an end to their policy of receiving arms from the Iraqi government and for the purpose of using it against the Kurdish people, and we explained to them the lack of wisdom in such a policy and the dangerous consequences it will have for the relations between our two parties in particular and on the Iraqi people in general and warned them of the reaction and the resentment their policy will produce both among the Kurdish people and the friends of our people and party outside Iraq. However, our efforts seem to have been in vain as they have persisted on the same wrong policy.

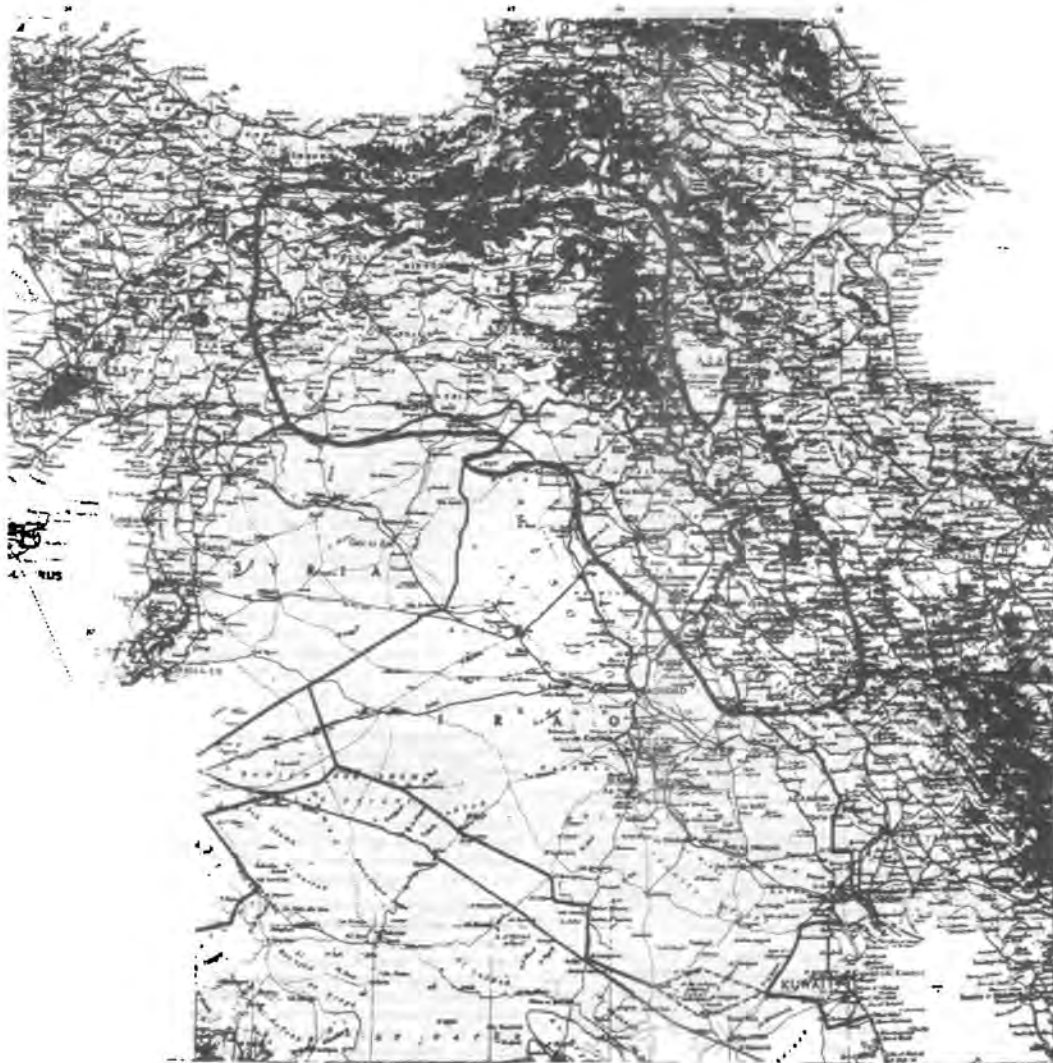
3. No doubt those who are aware of this problem and have knowledge of the joint statement made by both our parties on November 20th 1973 and the decisions on which we agreed, such people know that we have carried out our part of the agreement. Their only obligation in this was to disperse their armed bands of followers and scale them down to what they were prior to the time of this crisis. This they did not abide by, but then we asked them to form a joint committee which will follow up the implementation of the terms of the agreement between us, and this also was turned down. Furthermore, the agreement requires that there be periodic meetings between the leadership of both sides to solve those problems between us which exist or may exist in the future. Thus far they have not agreed to this suggestion either and on the contrary their newspaper Tariq Al-Sha'ab continues (according to a plan prescribed for it by those among the leadership of the ICP who are the guiding force behind the chauvinistic and opportunistic and hostile policy against our Kurdish people) to publish fabricated news on the situation of the Communists in Kurdistan, news which aims only at increasing the tension in our relations and use this as a pretext for continuing an intensified campaign of slander and accusations against our party both in and outside Iraq with the hope on the one hand, of turning the world public opinion against us and on the other hand to appease Iraqi chauvinism to which the chauvinistic elements within the ICP leadership seem to be subservient.

4. There is no doubt that the present attitude of those elements towards our Kurdistan Democratic Party and the liberation movement of our Kurdish people contradicts all the principles which guide the struggle of nations for freedom and their right of self-determination since such an attitude clearly indicates their stand against the just and genuine aspirations of our Kurdish people and puts them in a defenceless position when faced with the protest and bitterness of the people of Kurdistan and their disappointment in such an attitude.

5. Having presented the facts as they are, we would also like to state that our party is a revolutionary vanguard party guided by humanistic and democratic principles and ideals, and that the charges of liquidating and persecuting Communists labelled against us by Tariq Al-Sha'ab are slanderous and deliberate charges and the few casualties which occurred during the armed clashes were from both sides and they were all among those armed elements who participated in the encounter. This vicious press campaign can in no way affect the policy of our party and its normal relations with friends both here and abroad. Our party shall remain a major advocate of freedom, democracy and social progress in Iraq and it is an inseparable part of the revolutionary force against imperialism and reaction in the world. We hope that the leadership of the ICP will reassess its stand on the Kurdish question and stop considering it a tactical question which is set aside for immediate and short-term considerations and the chauvinistic trends both within and outside the party itself. We call upon all international groups and organisations not to be misled into taking any position without first seeking the truth especially since it is an obligation on the part of these circles to honestly work for the solution of the problems between us and the hostile elements within the ICP leadership and not to be attracted to half-truths and to unjustifiably stand against our Kurdistan Democratic Party and the liberation movement of our Kurdish people. We also call on them to send their own representatives into the area to ascertain the facts for themselves as we indicate our readiness to facilitate their visit to the best of our ability.

KURDISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY POLITICAL BUREAU
January 1974

KURDISTAN AND THE KURDS



"The Kurds' problem as part of the present-day worldwide stream of national liberation movements is undoubtedly one of the generally recognized and highly stringent issues of the struggle waged by the oppressed people for national self-determination and independent political, economic and social development, at the same time, however, it remains in its essence almost unknown."

COUNTRY

Although Kurdistan is seen today as only parts of the territories of many states in the Middle East where international frontiers cut across the land and the people, geographically and ethnically these parts continue to form one homogeneous and contiguous unit.

The country consists mainly of mountainous terrain and fertile valleys watered by many rivers. Kurdistan includes some of the highest mountains in the world, known through their biblical connections, namely Mount Ararat (5000 meters) and Mount Judi, as the places of rest of Noah's Ark. In fact the country enjoys one of the outstanding scenic beauties of the world, besides being rich in many natural resources, mainly oil and other minerals. Agricultural products include wheat, barley, rice, tobacco and fruits. Dairy products, wool and forestry are other economic resources of Kurdistan.

Kurdistan has undergone two major fragmentations, one during the 17th century when it was divided into areas of influence between the Ottoman and Persian Empires, and more recently after

World War I when various parts of Kurdistan were added to the territories of the modern states of Iraq, Syria and Turkey. At present, therefore, Kurdistan can be said to form the north-western part of Iran, east and south-eastern part of Turkey, north-western part of Syria, a sliver of Soviet Armenia in the U.S.S.R., and north and north-eastern part of Iraq.

Although statistics vary as to the number of Kurds, one may estimate the population of Kurdistan to be between 18 and 20 millions.

THE KURDS AND KURDISH SOCIETY

The Kurds are an Indo-European people and speak Kurdish which, as an Indo-European language, constitutes one of the major languages of the Iranian groups such as Persian, Tajik, Pashtu and others. Perhaps some of the most obvious national characteristics which form a distinct badge of identity for the Kurds are their language, colourful national costume which distinguishes both Kurdish men and women, and their land, Kurdistan, where the Kurds have lived for many centuries.

A Kurd may best be characterised as a mountaineer well-adapted to the terrain and climate of his homeland. Kurdish peasant women enjoy greater freedom than their Turkish, Persian and Arab neighbours. A number of women have been prominent in local politics and even armed revolts. The environment is thus favourable for female emancipation and Kurds have been eager to take advantage of any opportunity for modern education which the oppressive governments ruling over Kurdistan denied them.

Judging from their rich folklore, the Kurds are a people very fond of music, dancing and poetry. Ahmad i Khane, Hajji Qadiri, Koyi, Pirnawar, Mawlawi, Goran, Hajjar and Bekas are only few among many poets and literary figures. These people had a marked effect on enhancing Kurdish nationalism, particularly Ahmad i Khane and Hajji Qadiri Koyi.

Kurdistan is an agrarian society; however, feudal and tribal ties are constantly diminishing because of political and economic developments in Kurdistan. Historically these ties were encouraged by the central government to keep, through consolidating the landlords power, the Kurdish society backward and suppress and exploit the peasants.

Further the Kurdish Revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq had a great influence in breaking these ties, as a land reform programme was carried out during the years since the revolution began in 1961.

HISTORY

From the dawn of history the Kurds have rarely submitted to conquerors or raiding armies which frequented the Middle East. Kurdistan was always a confederation of principalities and Kingdoms and the Median Empire was the greatest single Kurdish state in history.

After the Islamic conquests in the 7th century A.D., the Kurds like the rest of the peoples of the area, adopted Islam, leaving their old Zoroastrian religion and, along with the Arabs, Persians, and Turks, played a leading role in extending and expanding the Islamic civilisation. Kurdish power reached its height in the 12th century when Saladin (a Kurd) regained the Holyland from the invading crusaders.

With the rise of the Ottoman Empire the Kurds, like the Arabs and Armenians, were weakened considerably and although the Ottoman military campaigns never succeeded in occupying and subduing Kurdistan, it resulted in the disintegration of the bigger Kurdish principalities into tribal and feudal systems and, by the middle of the 19th century the last of the Kurdish principalities in Botan crumbled under the attacks of the Ottomans.

The modern history of Kurdistan begins with the rise of nationalism and the establishment of modern political parties aiming at national rights and self-government. At the turn of the century and during the latter half of the nineteenth century a series of uprisings and revolts by Kurdish leaders against the Turkish and Persian rule were crushed severely.

KURDISTAN AFTER WORLD WAR I

World War I marks an important turning point in the history of the struggle of the Kurdish people for self-rule. Their aspirations were encouraged by the defeat of the Ottoman Empire and by Point 12 of President Woodrow Wilson's "program of world peace" (January 1918) which stipulated that the non-Turkish nationalities of the Ottoman Empire should be assured "of an absolute unaltered opportunity of autonomous development". A delegation representing the Kurdish patriotic societies

attended the peace conference. The Treaty of Sevres² signed in August 1920 by representatives of the allies and of the sultan, provided for the recognition or creation not only of the three Arab states of Hejaz, Syria and Iraq, but also of Armenia and to the south of it, Kurdistan, which the Kurds of the Mosul vilayet (Kurdistan-Iraq), then in British occupation, would have the right to join. (In 1925 the League of Nations sent a commission to southern Kurdistan to decide the 'future' of the vilayet of Mosul.

The commission reported to the council of the League that seven tenths of the population of the vilayet of Mosul are Kurds and that "the Kurds are neither Arabs, Turks or Persians They are different and clearly distinguishable from the Turks and still more different and remote from Arabs". The commission further recommended that instead of including the vilayet in Turkey or Iraq "an independent Kurdish state should be created".)

However, the Treaty of Sevres was never ratified due to the rise of Ataturk in Turkey and the new interests of the French and British in the area. Thus the Treaty of Lausanne (1921), which superseded it, made no mention of Kurdistan. Hence, southern Kurdistan was included in the newly created Iraqi Kingdom, western and northern parts to Turkey and Syria, and Persia gained the eastern parts.

KURDISH STRUGGLE TAKES A NEW TURN

The Kurds were disappointed and disillusioned after many promises and statements of policy by the Western powers, whom they had never been in contact with before, and felt cheated, resorted to the only means of retaliation in their power: armed revolt. The first revolt was in Kurdistan-Turkey in 1925, initially successful, the uprising was repressed ruthlessly and brutal measures of reprisal were taken. Many Kurdish intellectuals and political leaders were hanged. By 1929, another revolt broke out establishing its control over large parts of Kurdistan-Turkey, but after prolonged struggle the uprising was crushed by the Turkish Army. Here it is worth noting J.L.Nehru's "Glimpses of World History" (Vol.II, Allahabad 1935, p. 1108) in which he wrote: "So the Turks, who had only recently been fighting for their own freedom, crushed the Kurds In 1929 there was another revolt of the Kurds and again it was crushed, for the time being at least. But how can one crush forever a people who insist on freedom and are prepared to pay the price for it?"

True to Nehru's prediction, the sufferings inflicted upon the Kurds only increased their resistance and resolution and all the repressive measures did not stop or slacken Kurdish revolts in all parts of Kurdistan.

THE KURDISH REPUBLIC OF MAHABAD

The autumn of 1942 saw the formation of the Komala party. In 1946 Qazi Muhammad, who had joined the Komala in 1944 and became prominent in its politics and a leading figure in Kurdistan, declared the Kurdish Republic of Mahabad which included most of Kurdistan-Iran. The most progressive aspect of the Kurdish government was its educational and social welfare programme. This new republic was dependant on the U.S.S.R. for help to develop its own force to stand the dangers threatening it by the Iranian government which was backed by the British and Americans. But, while the Kurds prospered under the new Kurdish administration, their fate was already decided by the super-powers in the Yalta conference when Stalin agreed to leave Persia a British sphere of influence in return for help during World War II and some oil concessions later. So after only 11 months of existence the colonial powers dashed the hopes of the Kurdish people once more.

SOUTHERN KURDISTAN

In Kurdistan-Iraq the situation was more or less the same and a series of revolts broke out. The biggest was the one led by Sheikh Mahmud in 1919. In 1930 a revised Anglo-Iraqi treaty was signed which provided for an end to the mandate in 1932. Disappointed by the absence of any specific safeguard for Kurdish rights, the Kurdish nationalists campaigned for a boycott of the general elections for a new parliament which would be asked to ratify the Treaty. In the course of a demonstration, soldiers of the Iraqi Army fired on the crowd at Sulaimani, injuring more than 200 people and killing 45. Sheikh Mahmud rose again demanding Kurdish autonomy. It was eight months before Sheikh Mahmud surrendered to the Iraqi Army, backed by the RAF. The Treaty was passed and in due course Iraq became an independent state. As a pre-condition for its membership in the League of Nations, Iraq agreed to grant the national rights of the Kurds within the framework of Iraq.

This was ignored, but the Kurds did not stop at that, and the

period from 1930 to 1943 marked a series of ill-fated rebellions in Kurdistan-Iraq led by Mustafa Barzani who had a leading role in Kurdish politics and revolts since then.

The last seven decades were full of uprisings and revolts by the Kurdish people to secure their national rights. Their failure was due mainly to: the complex political situation in the area and the conflicting interests of the big powers. Another reason being the absence of strong political organisation and co-ordination between the Kurds themselves. However, the 1961 revolution in Kurdistan-Iraq marks a turning point in the Kurdish struggle. The effectiveness of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), and its experienced president General Mustafa Barzani, in the present revolution, militarily, politically and ideologically, makes this struggle different from the previous uprisings.

The new campaign by the Baathists has once again focused world attention on the area, and the extensive reports in the international press show this clearly. Undoubtedly, the Kurdish movement has gained more and more recognition and its effects are spreading to all other parts of Kurdistan initiating more humane policies towards the Kurdish people.

Notes

* The text contained two Articles affecting the Kurds. Article 62 providing for local autonomy in a part of Eastern Anatolia where they constituted a majority of the population, and Article 64 reading as follows: "If within one year from the coming into force of the present treaty, the Kurdish peoples within the areas defined in Article 62 shall address themselves to the Council of the League of Nations in such a manner as to show that a majority of of the population of these areas desires independence from Turkey, and if the Council then considers that it should be granted to them, Turkey hereby agrees to execute such a recommendation, and to renounce all rights and title over these areas If and when such renunciation takes place, no objection will be raised by the principal Allied Powers to the voluntary adhesion to such an independent Kurdish State of the Kurds inhabiting that part of Kurdistan which hitherto have been included in the Mosul vilayet."

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The Kurds: A Nation without a State
 This booklet, in German, was published by the Austria branch of KSGE in 1972 as an introduction to the Kurdish question. It can be obtained from the Austrian branch, address:
 Kurdischer Studentenverein in Österreich
 Postfach 160
 1011 Wien



Die Kurden Volk ohne Staat



- * The ninth conference was held in the Germany during the period from 3rd to 6th August 1964. The number of the students attending it was 183.
- * The tenth conference was held in the Berlin during the period from 17th to 22nd August 1965. The number of the students attended it was 125.
- * The eleventh conference was held Berlin during the period from 26th to 30th August 1966. The number of the students who attended it was 117.
- * The twelfth conference was held in Belgrade during the period from 27th to 31st December 1967.
- * The thirteenth conference was held in Berlin during the period from 11th to 16th August 1969.
- * The fourteenth conference was held in Sweden during the period from 1st to 5th August 1970.
- * The fifteenth conference was held in Romania during the period from 15th to 19th August 1972.
- * The sixteenth conference was held in Berlin during the period from 16th to 20th August 1973.
- * The seventeenth conference was held in Berlin during the period from 27th to 31st December 1975. This conference failed in keeping the organization united. Consequently, the society was split.

Kurdish Student Society in Europe has an ample supply in the field of journalism. It had issued many magazines and publishments in Kurdish, English, French, Arabic, Dutch, Persian, Turkish . . . etc. *Kurdistan* was the most important magazine that the society had issued. The original issues of this magazine are included in this book.

The first issue of the *Kurdistan* magazine was published in 1958 and the last issue was published in 1974. Most of its issues are in English. In order to know more about this magazine, one can have a look into its issues.

Nawzad Ali Ahmed
Stockholm- Sweden

A brief description of **Kurdish Student Society In Europe**

During the period from 10th to 16th August 1959, seventeen Kurdish students studying in Europe at that time, decided to establish an organization. In this, they were much encouraged by Dr. Nuraddin Zaza who made the first step in this respect. In a meeting, held in *Wiesbaden* in Western Germany, where all the aspects of the idea were taken into consideration, the participants decided to establish a cultural society giving it the name *Kurdish Students ' Cultural Society in Europe*. According to the decisions they made, the society was dedicated to the exchange of information among the students distancing itself from politics and the Kurdish political national movement.

In its third conference, the society decided to change its name to *Kurdish Students ' Society in Europe* and it continued to hold its conference every year. The society remained as a united organization up to 1975. During the period from 1959 to 1975, the society held sixteen conferences as follows:

* The first conference was held in the Federal Republic of Germany during the period from 10th to 16th August 1959. Seven students attended this conference.

* The second conference was held in Britain during the period from 2nd to 4th January 1958. Twenty-two students attended it.

* The third conference was held in Western Germany during the period from 4th to 8th August 1958. Seventeen students attended it. In this conference, the name of the organization was changed into *The Kurdish Student Society in Europe*.

* The forth conference was held in Austria during the period from 23rd to 26th 1959. Forty students attended this conference.

* The fifth conference was held in Berlin during the period from 21st to 26th August 1960. The number of the students who attended this conference was 72.

* The sixth conference was held in the Federal Republic of Germany during the period from 21st to 26th August 1961. The number of the participants was 109.

* The seventh conference was held in the Federal Republic of Germany during the period from 9th to 15th August 1962. The number of the students attending it was 110.

* The eighth conference was held in the western Germany during the period from 9th to 15th August 1963. The number of the students who attended it was 156.

Kurdistan

Published by the
Kurdish Students Society in Europe

Prepared by:
Nawzad Ali Ahmed

روونكرننهوه و سوپاس و پئزانين

6 ساله لىم كتيبه دا كارده كه م، سهره راي نووسيني پيشه كى و به دوا داچوون بۇ ناوه رۇكى ژماره كان، نهوهى زۇر مه به ستم بووه هر 17 ژماره كه كۆيكه مه وه و په كيار هه موويان چاپ بكه مه وه. به لام تا چه ند رۇزىك له مه وه به ريش هه وه له كان به كه مو كورى به كۆتا هاتن. نه دۇزىنه وهى ژماره 16 بووه كه لىنيكى گه وره له كتيبه كه دا. كتيب چوو ژىر چاپ و بىنومىد بووم له دۇزىنه وهى نهو ژماره به، به لام هه ر چاو له رىگا و گوئم هه لىخستبوو بۇ هه والىك، نهوه بوو جارىكى تر كاك عومەر شىخمووس به هانامه وه هات و له ناميه كى به په لهى نه لىكترونىدا بۇى نووسى بووم؛ نهوه ژماره 16 ى گۇفارى كوردستان له لاي كاك نه رجومه ند هه ورامى ده ست ده كه وىت و نكابه به م تله فۇنه په يوه ندى پيوه بكه. نهو كاته كتيبه كه كه وتبووه ژىر چاپ و قورگى ئۇفسىته بۇر ير كرابوو له كاغەز و خبر و شعري له گه ل كات ده كرد. سوپاسيان ده كه م كه داواكه يان قبول كردين چاپى كتيبه كه يان راگرت تا ژماره كه له نه وروپاوه گه يشته كوردستان.

ئىنجا هه قه؛

جارىكى تر سوپاسى كاك عومەر شىخمووس بكه م كه نه پيشت كتيبه كه بى كه مو كورى ده رىچىت.

سوپاسى كاك نه رجومه ند هه ورامى ده كه م بۇ چل سال ده چىت نهو ژماره بهى هه لگر تووه

سوپاس بۇ به رتوه بهر و كارمه ندانى چاپخانهى حەمدى كه به رامبه ر به چاپكردى نه م كتيبه سه برى نه بوويان هه بوو.

سوپاس بۇ بنكهى زين و نه كادىماي هوشيارى كه بوونه مامه خه مهى كتيبه كه.

خوينه رى خوشه ويست؛

بيوره كه له پيشه كى كتيبه كه دا نووسراوه؛ نه م كتيبه ژماره 16 ى تيدانيه، نهوه نه هه لهى چاپه، نه حكايه تى مار و په يزه به. كه هه والى سۇراغكردى ژماره 16 - م گه يشت كار له كارترازابوو زۇربهى مه لزه مه كانى كتيبه كه چاپ كر دابوون، چاپكرده كه بۇ ژماره 12 هه لكشاپوو. هه ر بۇيه نه م روونكرده وه مان به باش زانى كه بنووسين؛ نه م كتيبه كۆكراوهى هر 17 ژماره كهى گۇفارى كوردستان؛ ئۇرگانى كۆمه لهى خويندكارانى كورد له نه وروپا- به.

ئيتىر هه ر سهر فراز و سهر كه وتوو بىن

له گه ل رىزى

نەزاد علی نەحمەد

هه لىز

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